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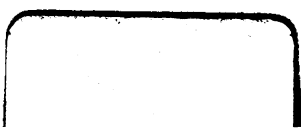
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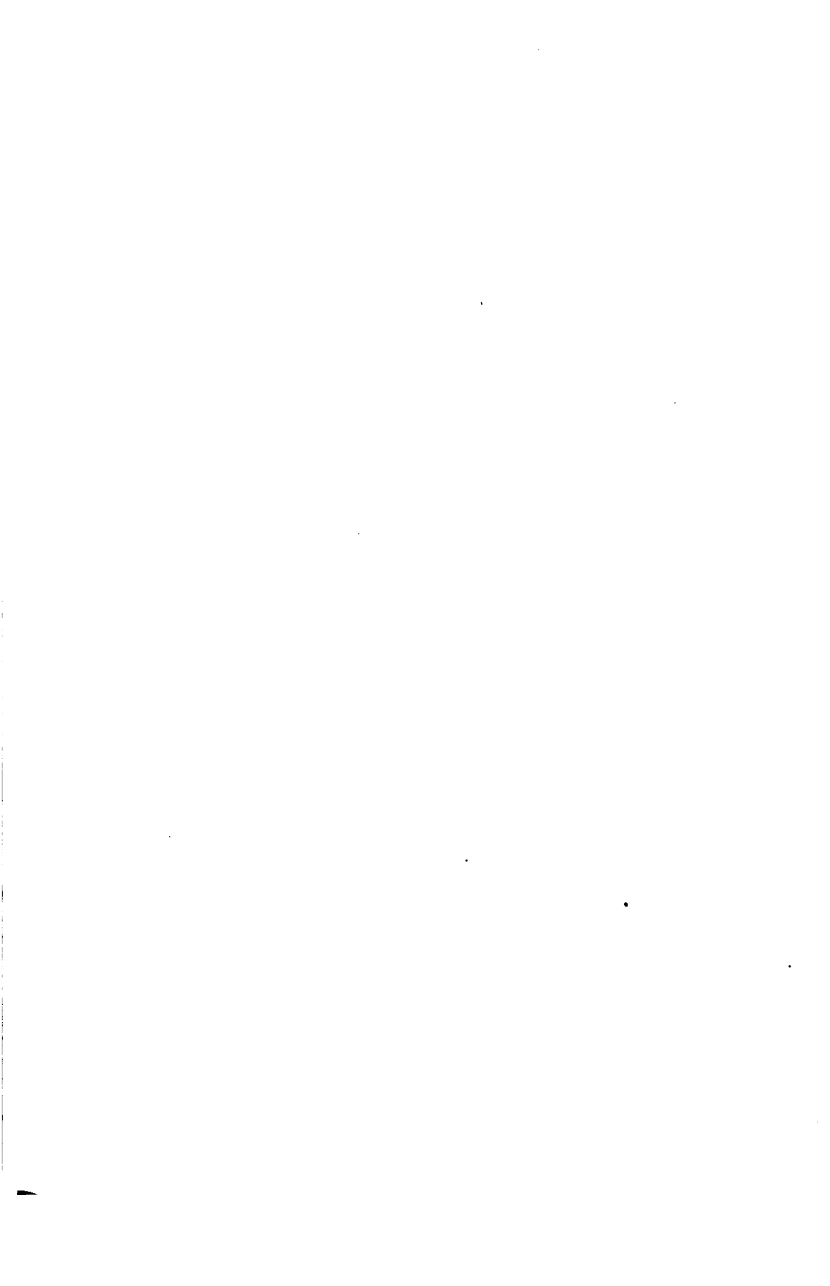


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*Geo Edwards.*

THE BRITISH  
**CONTROVERSIALIST,**

62 . .

AND

**LITERARY MAGAZINE:**

DEVOTED TO THE IMPARTIAL AND DELIBERATE DISCUSSION OF  
IMPORTANT QUESTIONS IN

RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY, POLITICS,  
SOCIAL ECONOMY, ETC.,

AND TO THE PROMOTION OF SELF-CULTURE AND GENERAL  
EDUCATION.

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"MAGNA EST VERITAS, ET PRÆVALEBIT."

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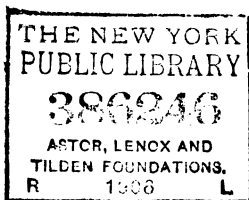
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## PREFACE.

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AT no period, since the establishment of this Serial, has the public mind of our country been so deeply and widely agitated on questions of such grave import as during the brief space of time over which the publication of this volume, in its monthly parts, has extended. It may be true that few new objections have been brought against commonly received truths, but the old ones have come from new quarters, and been urged with increased force and effect. No longer is it left to men without the pale of the Church to doubt her peculiar doctrines, and deny her special facts; for this is now done by some of those who occupy her positions of honour; who are engaged in teaching in her seminaries, and in ministering at her altars. With whatever feelings of hope or fear this fact may be regarded, we have in it a striking illustration of the restlessness of the thought, and the fearlessness of the opinions, which are the peculiar outgrowths of our day. In it, too, may be seen how feeble are mere forms of words, and how powerless are mere organizations to regulate sentiments, and stereotype convictions; for through all these the spirit of free inquiry will range unchecked; and above all these the desire for truth will maintain itself supreme. But inquiry—all the more because it is free—requires guidance, the desire for truth needs direction towards right modes of gaining information, and those who furnish either merit the title of public benefactors. To that high honour the Editor of this work aspires, and hence he has secured in the present volume a careful *logical* examination of the celebrated “*Essays and Reviews*,” as well as a series of arguments, *pro* and *con*, on the propriety of the course adopted by the dignitaries of the church, with regard to that work. Nor is this all that has been done to employ controversy to good purpose; for questions respecting the institution of the christian ministry, the true principles of art, the existence and operation of the House of Lords, will be found fully, and we hope fairly, discussed in these pages, with others having reference to the Secession of the Free Church of Scotland, and the wisdom and economy of the employment of females in the various branches of trade and commerce. And, further still, under the head of the *Topic*, there have been given outline debates,

embodying the varied thoughts of many minds on matters of present, though not necessarily of passing interest.

In addition to the controversial sections of this Volume, there are others of varying yet standing interest, the contents of which consist of valuable philosophic and biographic essays, original poetry, educational advice, and literary intelligence,—the whole constituting a work diversified in its contents, yet harmonious in its character, and unique in its design.

For the constituent matter of this Volume, we are indebted to many known and unknown friends; and gladly do we seize this opportunity of again gratefully recognizing their aid and services; at the same time, we would remind them that they have by their contributions not only lightened our labours, but assisted us in disseminating knowledge, and in promoting the cause of truth. Nor must our acknowledgments end here. To our readers generally, we are under obligation for the efforts which they have so constantly made to further the interests and extend the circulation of this Serial. Thus, though they may write no article nor give publicity to a single thought in our columns, each of our readers may assist us in our mission, and help us in our endeavour to enlighten and to bless.

Napoleon is said to have estimated the power of four journals at more than 100,000 bayonets. "Had he lived in our day, what estimate would he have put upon the power of the united press of this country?" If this be powerful now, what will it be in years to come? These questions force us to think, and also cause us to hope, because they refer to matters which are not only indications of progress, but unmistakeable prophecies of that surely coming time when right shall become might, and intelligence and moral power shall govern the world. For the development of that future we are willing still to labour, by improving all present opportunities, and by discharging "the duty which lies nearest to us," in the firm belief that duty, earnestly performed, is never performed in vain.

Though we review the past with pleasure, in the firm belief that it has been fraught with no slight profit to our readers, we do not hesitate to admit that we have not yet satisfied ourselves with the results of our efforts, and that we hope, as the years roll on, to increase the value and utility of this Magazine as an organ of *free* thought,—in the highest sense in which it can be said to be free,—in submission only to the laws of human thought, and those of their Great Ordainer.

# THE BRITISH CONTROVERSIALIST.

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## Modern Logicians.

### No. I.—SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

LOGIC is now almost universally regarded as the science of the necessary and formal laws of thinking. It is not only a criticism, but a canon. It presents to the mind not only a doctrine to be believed, but an organon to be used. It is at once a training and a restraining of the intellectual actions. As a science, it is analytical, and strives to discover and determine not only how the mind does think, but how it must think. As an art, it is dialectical and practical, governing the operations of the mind by those laws which a true analysis has yielded; testing the reasonings of our own or other minds by reference to these laws; and detecting, by this process, falsities and fallacies in thought or speech. Logical requires to be strictly held separate and apart from psychological science; nor ought its teachings to be dependent upon, or alterable by, any change in metaphysical beliefs. To secure accuracy, determinateness, and distinctness of thinking, it indeed establishes a technic or art, but that merely as a convenience, not a necessity. Its true function is legislative—to show what should be, not to teach how that which should be can be brought to pass. No pure science has yet succeeded in segregating itself from the practical life of man; neither has Logic held itself aloof from human interests. In the earlier ages it was among the first to adapt itself to man's wants, and to labour for the ascertainment, by the investigation of truth. Zeno employed it as a controversial weapon; Socrates used it as a discipline; Aristotle imparted system to it as a science, and taught the facile management of it as an art. The after ages, enamoured of the singular unity, compactness, and utility of the *Organon* he gave them, that they could perceive no fault in it at all. Its seeming perfection caused it to be stereotyped among mankind, and, amid all the motion and commotion of centuries, it continued immovable and steadfast. Change upon change passed over all things, yet Logic braved the innate radicalism of man as a progressive being. Minute subtlety and dexterous acumen thirsting for change, and searching for some means of gratifying the

1861.



intense iconoclasm of an age in which thought threw off the swaddling bands of old creeds and old laws as effete and worthless, at length succeeded in seeing or fancying a flaw in the age-venerable organon which Greece had given to the Middle Ages. The laborious activity and engrossing power of St. Anselm, Abelard, Peter Lombard, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Raymond Lully, could not save it from the destructive energy of Ludovic Vives, Peter Ramus, John Concis, Thomas Campanella, and Luther. Then Bacon and Descartes arose, and Logic was swept into the engulfing whirl of change, from which no human effort or intent is exempt.

Every country began now to re-construct and re-organize a system of thought for itself: Logic was no longer *the*, or even *a*, universal science. France gave us "The Port Royal Art of Thinking;" Germany supplied Wolff, Lambert, and Kant; Flanders produced Wyttenbach; Italy presented Vico and Genovesi; Spain claimed consideration for Verney; and England rejoiced in the plain good sense of John Locke's Essay. Revolution has not yet exhausted her efforts, nor has any Logic yet appeared which has succeeded in gaining the enthroned seat from which Aristotle has been cast, disrowned.

The object of the present series of papers is to take a survey of the lives and writings of the chief writers on Logic who, within the present century, have contributed, by their aid, to the re-establishment and restoration of the science and art of Reasoning, to supply concise but, it is hoped, intelligible summaries of the several systems they have, the grounds upon which they rest, and the results to which they tend. For the first place in this intended collection of memoirs we have chosen—we believe our readers will acknowledge with good reason—the Aristotle of Scotland, the late Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh.

"No system of Logic deserving of notice ever appeared in Scotland; and for logical writers of any merit we must travel back for more than two centuries to three contemporary authors, whose abilities, like those, indeed, of almost all the more illustrious scholars of their nation, were developed under foreign influence—to Robert Balfour [author of 'Commentaries on the Logic, Physics, and Ethics of Aristotle'], Mark Duncan [M.D., and author of an 'Institutio Logica'], and William Chalmers [author of 'Introductio Logica'], professors in the Universities of Bourdeaux, Saumur, and Anjou." This is the judgment deliberately pronounced by Sir William Hamilton on the logical repute of his countrymen in the *Edinburgh Review* of April, 1833, and adhered to, in all but the statement of time, by re-publication in his "Discussions on Philosophy" in 1852. The judgment then valid no longer holds force. Sir William himself has blotted out this reproach, and a system of logic noticeable on many grounds now owes its birth to Scotland. As the earliest original Scottish system-maker who can be written

in the annals of Caledonian philosophy, as the first man who supplied a marked deficiency in the intellectual history of his nation, if for nothing else, Sir William Hamilton deserves remembrance, and demands notice. This we proceed to give.

Sir William Hamilton, the son of Dr. William Hamilton, Professor—in succession to his father—of Anatomy and Botany in the University of Glasgow, was born in the College Buildings—a set of residences erected, about 1727, for the professors—in High Street, Glasgow, on 8th March, 1788. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of William Stirling, Esq., of Calder. He had a brother, named Thomas, who became a military gentleman. Dr. Thomas Hamilton, the grandfather of Sir William, was the colleague of Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, George Ross, Dr. Black, &c., and was along with Dr. William Cullen, the founder of the Glasgow Medical School. Dr. William Hamilton, his son, and the father of the subject of the present sketch, though he died at the early age of thirty-two, left behind him an almost unequalled reputation as a skilful expositor of medical science. By descent, Sir William Hamilton was connected with the ducal house of Hamilton, the Baronage of Belhaven,—one of whose members was “Single-speech Hamilton,”—as well as that of Preston and Fingalton, of which he was the lineal representative. Dr. Thomas Reid was one of Dr. William Hamilton’s neighbours during the early boyhood of Sir William; but we opine, from an allusion in one of Reid’s letters to David Sterne, that they did not live on terms of extraordinary intimacy. William was in his sixth year when Dr. Reid died; and not long after that event his father’s demise occurred. In consequence of this bereavement, he was, while yet very young, placed under the care of the Rev. John Sommers, D.D., minister of the parish of Mid-Calder, in the neighbourhood of his mother’s estate.

In those days of scanty incomes, when the teinds in Scottish parishes were difficult to be got hold of, it was not unusual for the clergymen of rural places to eke out their stipend by taking boys into the manse as boarders, and devoting a portion of time to the superintendence of their studies. In this retired spot, within a dozen miles from Edinburgh, where memories of his mother’s ancestry were rife; where the Almond flows, and the woods of Calder wave; where Spottiswood was born, and where Knox first dispensed the Reformation Sacrament, the fatherless boy conned his lessons studiously, yet found in the beautiful scenery of the neighbourhood, the balmy air of the country, and the free and frolicsome habits of rustic life, health and enjoyment. So rapid was the progress made under the care of Dr. Sommers, that he was thought qualified to attend the Latin and Greek classes in the university in which his ancestors had held professional offices. These classes were then taught, the former by Professor William Richardson, the latter by Professor Young. Richardson was the author of several poems, plays, criticisms on Shakespere, and other essays in literature, and editor of most of those splendid and accu-

rate classics which were issued from the press of the Messrs. Foulcs. He was a tasteful and elegant, rather than a profound or original, writer. His professional duties were performed with honesty, and attended with advantage. Young was a man of substantial attainments, less celebrated than his predecessor, Moor, and less dashing and flashy than his successor, Sandford; he was an excellent disciplinarian and trainer, a man of cultured mind, mature judgment, and literary taste. From these men he got a fair junior class drilling; but, on the supposition that he was too young to cope successfully and safely with the members of the senior classes, he was withdrawn, much to his own chagrin, from the collegiate life, and placed as a pupil in the school of Dr. Dean, at Bromley, in the neighbourhood of London, where he remained for two years, and then returned to the university, where, under the same professors, he pursued in the higher classes Humanity and Greek.

It was not, however, till he entered the logic class, conducted by the celebrated professor, George Jardine, that the whole powers of his mind were excited, and he began to feel the full interest and rapture of a congenial theme. Jardine was one of the ablest professors of logic that ever occupied the chair which Smith had filled, Hume and Burke had failed to get, and a Dr. Clow had managed to have and hold. Jardine did not teach logic, properly so called, but he knew how, with sound judgment, and a quiet but effective enthusiasm, to excite the reflective faculties of the young, and make them feel the pleasures of the exercise of thought. He opened his class by reading and commenting on Xenophon's "Memorabilia of Socrates;" then he explained and illustrated the Aristotelic logic; and afterwards proceeded to describe and analyze the powers of the understanding. This he followed by detailed exemplifications of induction, by practical exercises in definition, division, classification, generalization, and in the use of all those resources of art by which the faculty of reason is developed, improved, and properly fitted for the acquisition of knowledge and the investigation of truth. A short course of rhetoric, as an auxiliary to logic, closed his annual "Outlines of a Philosophical Education." Under genial culture such as this, Hamilton's mind budded, opened, expanded, and blossomed into thought. His keen intellect enabled him to follow the dim forms of truths into their far inner retreats in the mind; and his active alacrity of thought quickly uncouched them from their close-lying lairs, and brought them forth, the captives of his research. The acute patience, the full vigour, the industrious inquisitiveness of his, received suitable exercise in this class, where originality got a fair chance, not only of manifestation, but of praise. The tuition which Jardine gave was invaluable—it stimulated, exerted, gratified, enlarged, improved, and elevated the mind in all its capacities, active and passive.

The honourable academic distinctions, which the logic class offered to the diligent and deserving, Hamilton gained easily, for he carried off all the highest prizes in this department. How he

succeeded in the mathematical class we have not been able to learn; but we know that, as a gymnastic of the mind, he did not esteem either the geometric or the algebraic arts. It is probable that he passed fair, though not distinguishedly, through that portion of the curriculum. He does not employ the language of mathematics with the ease, frequency, and illustrative delight of an adept, and hence may be concluded not to have been so profoundly versed in its specialities, as to find them tripping to his pen-point in explanatory passages. In the moral philosophy class he was again among topics kindred to his genius, and he again successfully contested, won, and wore the palm of victory over his compeers. About this very time the recent death of Kant—which occurred on 12th February, 1804—gave rise to much talk and debate concerning the value of the labours of that illustrious thinker, and the new metaphysic creeds advanced by his successors, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, &c. This gave his interest in metaphysical pursuits greater intensity, and led him to study the German language, that he might learn in the original the secrets of thought which had been unveiled by these acute psychologists.

Dugald Stewart owed his knowledge of the Kantian philosophy to Latin and French translations; Thomas Brown depended very much upon the French outlines and abstracts; but Hamilton was a thorough German scholar, and drew his knowledge of the systems of philosophy prevalent among Teuton thinkers from their very fountain and source—the publications of the authors themselves. It was fortunate that at this time the occasioning impulse to the study of German and of German thought should have been given, as it materially widened the horizon of his speculations, and opened up regions of research, captivating, because new. Nor was the direct filiation of the metaphysic of Kant from the Scottish philosophy of Hume, and the similarity of its starting-point to that of Reid, trifling auxiliaries to the interest he felt. It was the Germanic son of a Scottish sire, and was not wholly alien in spirit to its Caledonian sister. This fact is capable of the most irrefragable proof. Reid told Hume, "I shall always avow myself your disciple in metaphysics;" and Kant says, "By Hume I was first startled out of my dogmatic slumber." Studying in the class-room where Reid taught, and trained by a logician whom Hume befriended, it was natural that the young thinker should be anxious to know to what results these tenets led which had startled Kant into reflectiveness, and extorted the discipleship of Reid.

So great was the reputation of Hamilton in all his classes, that he, in 1809, was unanimously chosen Snell Bursar, the richest token of approval the university has to bestow. Adam Smith had been sent to Oxford on the same foundation, and John Gibson Lockhart was, we think, Hamilton's immediate successor in this bursariate. This is, perhaps, the largest and most liberal endowment open for competition to the students of Scotland. It arises from the rents of the manor of Uffton, in Warwickshire, bequeathed,

in 1638, by John Snell, Esq., to the University of Glasgow, which has the sole nomination of the exhibitioners, for the education of Scottish students at Baliol College, Oxford. It is tenable for ten years, and the endowment supplies about £100 per annum to the recipients, who must, however, have spent three years in the university whence the bursary is gained. Here there were leisure and learning possible for ten years, and for some time thereafter he pursued assiduously, devotedly, a course of study, which resulted in his attaining first-class honours with unprecedented distinction. With what plodding diligence, what fagging and fatiguing indomitability, he laboured, is almost incredible, were the facts not substantiated upon the very highest and the most unimpeachable authority—that of the examiners themselves.

The Rev. Richard Jenkyns, D.D., Master of Baliol College, Oxford, thus expresses himself upon this point:—"I have seldom met with an individual who so happily as Sir William Hamilton combined a clear and vigorous intellect with an ardent and indefatigable zeal in literary pursuits; and certainly never knew one who more successfully directed his mental powers to profound researches into the systems of *modern* as well as of *ancient* philosophy. Of this he gave the strongest proof in his public examination for his degree, when he was prepared in a *much greater* degree number of abstruse and difficult books than is usually the case, and by his knowledge of them obtained the highest distinction the examiners could bestow." "The honours of the University of Oxford," we learn from the Rev. William Villers, of the same college, "are conferred according to the ability and learning of the candidates, as proved in the public examinations for their first degree." He also informs us that Sir William Hamilton's examination, "which continued for two days, and occupied in all twelve hours," was not only "unequalled for the number, but likewise for the difficulty of the authors." The distinguished Orientalist, the Rev. Alexander Nicol, Professor of Hebrew in Christ Church, who was one of the keepers of the Bodley Library, is even more explicit in his evidence, for he informs us that Hamilton "allowed himself to be examined in more than four times the number of philosophical and didactic books ever wont to be taken up for the highest honours, and those likewise authors far more abstruse than had previously been attempted in the schools; while, at the same time, he was examined in more than any ordinary complement of merely classical works;" and, indeed, the Rev. Mr. Villers states that "in fourteen of his books on the abstruser subjects of Greek philosophy he was not questioned, the greater part of these being declared by the masters to be too abstrusely metaphysical for examination."

We have sometimes wondered if it was in allusion to, and in remembrance of this last-mentioned fact, that in his article on Recent English Treatises on Logic, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1833, he wrote thus:—"Since the re-introduction,

however limited, of a real examination for the first degree of Arts, a powerful stimulus has been applied to other studies,—to logic none. Did a candidate make himself master of the organon [of Aristotle?]<sup>1</sup>—he would find as little favour from the dispensers of academical distinction as he had previously obtained assistance from his tutor. For the public examiners could not be expected either to put questions on what they did not understand, or to encourage the repetition of such overt manifestations of their own ignorance." This statement, though written twenty years after he had left the university, sounds like an autobiographical hint, and according as it does, with a well-authenticated fact in his own Oxford experience, we think it all the more probable that he meant to instance his own case, as an undeniable proof of his assertion regarding the low state into which the study of logic had then fallen in the university that has since been graced by the names of Copleston, Whately, Hinds, Huyshe, Hampden, G. C. Lewis, Thomson, Chretien, Moberley, Mansel, &c., instead of Aldrich, Bentham, and Kett. The example of Sir William Hamilton has not been one of the least efficacious causes of this singular change and happy improvement.

While employed in these apparently thankless studies, necessitating so much sedulous application and severe exercise of mind, and winning so little encouraging regard, Hamilton did not feel the duty irksome or unpleasant; on the contrary, he found in them *per se* "an over-payment of delight." He speaks gratefully of Baliol College as a place (we give his own words) "in which I spent the happiest of the happy years of youth, which is never recollected but with affection, and from which, as I gratefully acknowledge, I carried into life a taste for those studies which have constituted the most interesting of my subsequent pursuits."\* It is well to be re-assured, on such authority, that "studies" do indeed, as Lord Bacon has said, "serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability," in and by and for themselves alone.

Though on subjects of theology his erudition was extensive and minute, Sir William Hamilton chose the profession of law as more consonant to his personal position than the church. He, accordingly, returned to Edinburgh in 1812, was called to the Scottish bar in 1813, and immediately thereafter began to walk the Parliamentary House in Edinburgh, generally the initiatory practice of a young advocate. Without much employment in the perusal of briefs, he had leisure to follow his bookish inclinations, and to proceed in making those enormous acquisitions which so astonished and perplexed his compeers. Even De Quincey, who was no undistinguished glutton of books—who became acquainted with Hamilton in 1814—says that John Wilson (Christopher North) spoke of his fellow-advocate as "occasionally gazed at as a monster of erudition," and describes the popular impression about him then in these terms:—"Indeed, the extent of his reading was said to be portentous—in

\* Discussions on Philosophy, 1852, page 659.

fact, frightful; and, to some extent, even suspicious; so that certain ladies thought him 'no canny;' for, if arithmetic could demonstrate that all the days of his life ground down and pulverized into 'wee wee' globules of five or eight minutes each, and strung upon threads, would not furnish a rosary anything like corresponding, in its separate beads or counters, to the books he was known to have studied and familiarly used, then it became clearer that he must have had *extra* aid, and in some way or other must have read by proxy." This slightly burlesqued statement indicates, however, that Hamilton's multifarious reading was a known and patent topic of conversation in the literary society of Edinburgh—then very remarkable for the number of able men who filled the circles of its social life, *e.g.*, Scott, Lockhart, Brown, Stewart, Ritchie, Leslie, Playfair, Brewster, Wilson, Jeffrey, Cockburn, Pillans, Combe, Napier, Moir, &c. These men were able to detect and expose the results of "vague, tumultuary reading," which inflates with the persuasion, without conferring the reality of erudition. That Hamilton stood this test is proof, independently of the vast masses of marshalled learning which he reproduces in his works, that he possessed, as John Wilson afterwards said, "great talents and matchless acquirements." The same assiduous and studious life, for which he had been remarkable in Oxford, he continued to pursue in Edinburgh, not only from inclination, but from habit; for *abeunt studia in mores*—studies become habits. He continued to acquire friends and fame, but little profitable practice. About 1815 he was requested to become an office-bearer in the Mid-Calder church as *elder*, and shortly afterwards succeeded in being served heir to his cousin—Robert Hamilton, who died unmarried at St. Helena—and lineal heir male to Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart., a descendant of Sir John Fitz-Gilbert de Hamilton, of Rossavon and Fingalton, the second son of the founder of the house of Hamilton. On accomplishing this, he re-assumed the title which he had acquired the right to bear—though it had been long in abeyance *de facto*, though not *de jure*.

Shortly after his settlement in Edinburgh, Hamilton acquired the friendship of Dugald Stewart, and with Brown, the representatives at that time of the Scottish philosophy. This acquaintanceship was useful to both. Hamilton assisted the elder metaphysician in attaining such a knowledge of the philosophers of Germany as he had: and as the holder of the chair of morals, Stewart lent his aid to the younger thinker in his efforts to gain a professorship in the university. This opportunity for exerting the good offices of friendship occurred on the death of Dr. Thomas Brown, 2nd April, 1820, and on his own retirement from the professoriate. The most noteworthy Whig candidates were Sir William Hamilton, advocate, and John Young, LL.D. (1781-1829), Professor of Philosophy in Belfast College, whose "Lectures on Intellectual Philosophy" have since been published, under the editorship of William Cairns, his successor. The now celebrated John Wilson, also an advocate, and

then little more than imping his wings in *Blackwood's Magazine*, though known as the Newdigate poem prizeman of Magdalene College, Oxford, the author of "The Isle of Palms" (1812), "The City of the Plague" (1816); and noted for his impetuous temperament, his gymnastic powers, and his reckless profusion of money, energy, and thought—was the favourite Tory candidate. Ebony and his "set," Sir Walter Scott, &c., of course helped Wilson; and the Oxonians, Dr. M'Crie (the biographer of Knox), Dugald Stewart, &c., worked for Hamilton. The contest was exceedingly keen, but not bitter. Hamilton had written nothing, was retired, and averse to canvassing—justly regarding that system as an insult to the patrons and a degradation to the candidate. A majority of the city council, or magistrates of Edinburgh—who were then the electors—were Tories, staunch and true. They ignored the express and special culture and claims of Hamilton, the whimsical and eccentric disposition of Wilson, and made the latter the victor. It so happened that the appointment was one of the best for the man and the university which could have been made; but that did not result from the motives and grounds for voting which the councillors had, but from the genuine unspoilable nature of that noble intellect with which Christopher North was endowed, which made him able for anything—especially anything demanding prolific profusion of mind.

In 1821, the Faculty of Advocates offered him the chair of Universal History and Roman Antiquities, of which they were the patrons, and this position he accepted. The salary attached to the possession of the chair is small, and not being included in the compulsory curriculum, there are few fees exigible from its attendants—indeed, it is sometimes impossible to get up even a nominal class. Hamilton succeeded in collecting a class, and the lectures he delivered while incumbent of that professorship have been spoken of with enthusiasm for "their sagacity, learning, eloquence, and philosophical spirit." The chief topic discussed by him in these lectures was "the influence of the laws, literature, and philosophy of ancient nations upon modern civilization"—a subject of much importance, and one which, if treated in the full, impartial, and thoughtful style of Sir William Hamilton's other productions, must have been of great value and interest.

About this time (1813-1825) the theory of Dr. Gall, known as Phrenology, which had been publicly expounded in Edinburgh by his chief disciple, Spurzheim, was attracting much attention; and in 1819 the "Essays on Phrenology," by George Combe, the great popularizer of that subject in Britain, were published. The opinions contained in this work were further elaborated, generalized, and applied, in a subsequent work of great ability and research, in 1828, entitled "The Constitution of Man," and perfectly arranged and systematized in 1836, in Combe's most ambitious work, the "System of Phrenology." His brother Andrew applied the same theory to health and its preservation, in several excellent and useful compo-



sitions. In the excitement this occasioned, Hamilton took part, and entered into an elaborate and long-continued investigation—by an extensive and minute course of anatomical experiments, in which he dissected several hundred brains of men and animals—into the principles of that (real or so-called) science. In 1826 he read two papers, containing the results of these researches, before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, which involved him in a controversial correspondence both with Dr. Combe in the first place, and latterly with Dr. Spurzheim in 1828. The debate was never explicitly terminated.

On the election of Francis Jeffrey to the Deanship of the Faculty of Advocates, he regarded it as his duty to resign the editorship of the *Edinburgh Review*—in which, during the twenty-seven earliest years of its existence, he had written no fewer than 201 articles. Mr. MacVey Napier, Professor of Conveyancing in the University of Edinburgh, author of two clear and succinct essays on Lord Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh, and afterwards editor of the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—a personal friend of Hamilton's—was chosen to succeed the Scottish Aristarchus. On accepting the management, Napier at once set about collecting an able staff of collaborateurs, and, among others, requested Sir William Hamilton to lend him some assistance. The brilliant, specious, and eloquent lectures of Victor Cousin, delivered in 1828, on the "History of Philosophy," had received no notice from the reviews and magazines of Britain; and Napier, anxious to signalize his opening issues, suggested them as a fitting topic for Sir William Hamilton's consideration. This he was at first unwilling to undertake, because he highly admired Cousin, and yet felt compelled to dissent from the theory he advocated with so much energy, ability, and learning. Napier insisted; Hamilton consented; and in October, 1829, the paper, hurriedly written, appeared, with the title, the "Philosophy of the Unconditional." Sir William Hamilton acknowledges himself that its "reasonings were of course not understood, and naturally, for a season, declared incomprehensible." Cousin was himself among the first to perceive, to admit, and to proclaim its singular excellence as "an article written for a few minds only throughout Europe, whilst to the multitude its very force and merit will render it obscure;" and pushed his chivalry so far as to invite M. Peisse to translate it into French. A life-long literary friendship sprung up from this intellectual warfare, and Hamilton and Cousin, though opposed to each other in philosophical theories, maintained a chivalrously honourable admiration and respect for each other thenceforth.

The article which met such a magnanimous reception from the Plato of modern France is a lucid, comprehensive, critical, and almost encyclopædic paper, showing a perfect mastery of the details, historic and speculative, of the course of philosophy, and exemplifying a capacity for persistent introspection and exquisite analysis such as is rare and singular. Cousin's eclectic attempt to combine the philosophy of experience [Reidism] and the philosophy

of pure reason [Kantism] into one by the correlation and union of the unconditioned with the conditioned—one, many, and connection—infinity, finity, and a mutual nexus, or Ego—is first concisely and clearly summarized, then ably and distinctly controverted—the counter-assertion being, that “the unconditioned is incognizable and inconceivable; its notion being only negative of the conditioned, which last can alone be positively known or conceived.” In the course of the critique, acute analyses of the systems—so far as they relate to the topic—of Kant, Schelling, Hegel, Aristotle, &c., are given, and Cousin’s position in relation to these thinkers is estimated and adjudged upon. The concluding observations on Cousin’s speculative theology are singularly keen, chiselled, and discriminative; yet towards the close he re-animates the mind of the thinker, who laments this everlasting evanishment of a true, or rather a trustworthy metaphysic, by saying,—“Not to despair of philosophy is a last infirmity of noble minds.” The stronger the intellect, the stronger the confidence in its force; the more ardent the appetite for knowledge, the less are we prepared to canvass the uncertainty of the future;” and Socratically counselling “a learned ignorance” as man’s highest intellectual aim, he closes his striking and *thoughtful* paper—now acknowledged to be one of the most invaluable original contributions to speculative theology which our day has produced.

In the same year, 1829, as he made his first distinct step into the arena of philosophical literature, and at the age of forty-one married his cousin, Miss Marshall, and this may perhaps have been the reason that the paper was “hastily written.” During the succeeding seven years Hamilton continued to contribute to the *Edinburgh Review*, and enriched its pages with many valuable papers. Of these it would be unfair to cite any except those which he has acknowledged and withdrawn from their anonymity by re-publication; nor can we even mention all these, because they do not explicitly appertain to that character in which we are specially desirous of presenting Sir William Hamilton to the reader, viz., as a modern logician.

“The Philosophy of Perception” is the very basis and groundwork of Psychology. It is the very central pith of the Scottish metaphysic—which is, in reality, an outgrowth of consciousness—which is the faculty of knowing *that* and *what we know*. Hamilton’s paper bearing the above title, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1830, is a most exhaustive inquiry into the grounds of consciousness, and the means, methods, and results of perception. It has been excelled in acute research and historic accuracy only by the author’s own “Note B of Presentative and Representative Knowledge,” subjoined to his edition of Reid’s works—of the issue of which this paper was the *occasioning* cause.

These two contributions to the *psychology*, however, rather than to the *philosophy* of perception, are perhaps the most erudite and explicit discussions the subject has yet had. They are a concise

summary of the best speculations of the best thinkers—British and foreign—on this intricate topic. Their highest praise is the *fact*, that their doctrine has been more or less overtly or covertly introduced into every subsequent philosophy of the mind. The phraseology of the article might, in some respects, be objected to; the singular skill in introspective analysis cannot be denied. Perhaps a little *animus* against Brown is perceptible in the passer, though we ourselves are not prepared wholly to exonerate that subtle and daring extemporizer of philosophy from the charge brought against him by the man who failed to become his successor.

The various papers Hamilton furnished to the *Edinburgh Review* in 1831 on "The National Satire of Germany"—erudite, acute, and interesting; and on "The English Universities"—trenchant, pithy, and important; in 1820, "On the Revolutions of Medicine"—ingenious, learned, and curious; in 1833, "On German Schools"—honest, clear, unhesitating, and minutely accurate; in 1834, "On the Patronage of Universities"—not untinctured with personal feeling, but extremely historical, and exceedingly able; "On the Rights of Dissenters to admission to the English Universities"—forethoughtful, liberal, critical, and able; in 1835, in continuation of that same subject, and "On the Deaf and Dumb"—rich in fact, philosophy, and feeling,—do not come specially within the scope of our article, though worthy of mention and praise; nor do we think the critique on the translation of Tenneman's "Manual of the History of Philosophy" ought to detain us now—as its object has been attained, in the issue of a superior, though still a heavy, rendering of that able work. We may also advantageously defer—with the mere mention at present in chronological order—the noticeable paper on "Logic," 1833, and those on "Mathematics" and "Classical Learning," 1836. Other opportunities will arise for dealing with these materials.

We take as a halting-place for our present article the pause in the energies of Hamilton which preceded the attainment of that success which he merited, but had hitherto failed to gain. A life of intense labour, unencouraged, unrewarded, uncheered by scholastic appreciation or popular favour, had been undergone, and every effort seemed to leave him as hopeless as before. There is, however, "a silver lining to every cloud," and the gloom was getting overpast. The persistent industry of his life was not to go unrewarded; and when we open the scene again, we shall find that the coyest damsel of the Fates—Success—had begun to look upon his wooing not unpropitiously.

S. N.

## Religion.

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### IS THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY RECOGNIZED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AS A DISTINCT ORDER IN THE CHURCH ?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

It is obvious that in the discussion of this question everything turns upon the meaning attached to the word *order*. It is sometimes used in the sense of a religious fraternity; as, for example, "the Order of Benedictines," who affect a sanctity altogether spurious. So understood, its kindred term is caste; as, for example, the caste of Brahmins, denoting a breed or race of men, by birth and calling superior in sanctity to the rest of their fellow-men. As such, the word "order" cannot, in connexion with christian ministers, be too strongly repudiated by a clergy anxious to ennoble, instead of degrading mankind, and by a laity alive to the fact, that a clerical caste and liberty, civil and religious, can never coexist. In the words of Bishop Hoadly, "till a consummate stupidity be established and spread over the land, nothing tends so much to destroy all respect to the clergy, as the demand of more than can be due to them." We shall employ it as denoting a distinct class in a christian community, with well-defined office, claims, and dues in the church, and a status in society.

In 1 Cor. xii. 28, a distinction is made between the "some" and "the church;" and this distinction is declared to be of "God." In apostolic times, "all" were not apostles, or prophets, or teachers (ver. 29). In the nature of things it could not be otherwise; for "if the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing?" and, "If the whole body were hearing, where were the smelling?" Therefore "God has set some in the church." The gifts of God are unequally distributed among men, and becoming disciples of Christ does not alter this diversity of talents and influence. Spiritual graces are undoubtedly communicated, but with the same inequality of distribution; for "to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to another faith; . . . the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will" (ver. 8—11). After the ascension, Christ "gave some, (to be) apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry" (Ephes. iv. 8—12). These are "orders" in the church, if words have any distinct meaning. They are of divine appointment, as denoted by the expressions, Christ has "given"—God has "set them in the church."

The bishops, or elders, equally with apostles and evangelists, had a status, because of their office. "If any man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work" (1 Tim. iii. 1). This official position is honoured by a special mention: "To the saints that are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons" (Phil. i. 1). In writing to the Hebrews, the apostle sent a salutation to the rulers and the saints (Heb. xiii. 24), a discrimination which would not fail to be significant of a recognized status of the former among the latter. The prominence given to "some set in a church" gave a position to those thus singled out, had they none before. The apostle unquestionably recognized a difference between official and non-official persons. A flock implies a shepherd; a vineyard, a cultivator; and a soldier, enlistment and warfare, on behalf of those out of whose ranks he is chosen. The church is described as a flock and a vineyard, and the minister as the shepherd and the planter (1 Cor. ix. 7). In the defence of general interests, the minister engages in "warfare." And as the apostle honourably mentions the office-bearer, so he enjoins a similar recognition on the part of Christians, who are to "know" and to "esteem highly in love" those who are "over them in the Lord" (1 Thess. v. 12, 13).

To the distinction arising out of superior spiritual graces, a divine appointment, and an official position, to which an inspired apostle designedly gives prominence, is added that which grows out of spiritual direction and authority. The word "over you," in 1 Thess. v. 12, 13, is rendered by "ruleth" in 1 Tim. iii. 4, 5, 12. To denote this rule, the word *archein* is never used in the New Testament, but *proistasthai*. The former savours of a despotic sway, uncongenial in a community of freemen. The latter is selected because the rule of a minister is strictly constitutional; whose object is not personal power, but subjection to the wise and beneficent laws of Christ, whom he represents, and in whose name and behalf he presides. Discipline, for harmony's sake, cannot be dispensed with in a church. "He," says Milton, "that hath read with judgment of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civil societies, all the movements and turnings of human occasions, are moved to and fro as upon the arch of discipline." Anarchy results as much when all affect to rule, as when none submit. "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints" (1 Cor. xiv. 33). Hence the injunctions to submit to rule are of frequent occurrence in the epistles. The Thessalonians were required to "know"—that is, to recognize—their elders as "over them" (1 Thess. v. 12, 13). The Hebrews were to "remember" (Heb. xiii. 7) to "obey," and "submit themselves" (ver. 17) to those "who had the rule over them." In selecting a man for the office of elder, care was to be taken that he had the qualities of mind that would command deference and submission (1 Tim. iii. 5); for if he "knew not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?"

Now, discipline cannot be exercised without recognized authority. It is equally true, that a person or persons must be acknowledged as having the right to rule. Authority must, therefore, be vested in some, and not diffused among the whole, which would destroy all rule. ruling order grows out of necessity in a community of Christians. Although great diversity of opinion prevails as to the mode in which this rule is to be exercised, all denominations of Christians, that hold together for any length of time, acknowledge the necessity of a ruling class. Whether the origin of this right, as vested in a *particular person*, be popular election, as among Congregationalists, or episcopal appointment, as among Episcopalians; or a mixed body, composed of clerical and lay elders, as among Presbyterians; or a conference, as among Wesleyans,—are questions which divide Christians into sections; but all agree in the necessity of a ruling class in the church. No stronger proof that the New Testament recognizes such an order need be sought anywhere else than in the fact, that Plymouth Brethren, who do not admit of a ruling class, are perpetually broken up, and reformed to be scattered afresh; and that the Society of Friends, notwithstanding their harmless fanaticism in this relation, have ruling elders.

The minister in the primitive churches was required to "give himself wholly" (1 Tim. iv. 15) to reading, teaching, and exhorting. The words above quoted are, literally, "be in them," and are of the same effect as "continue in them," which the apostle employs in the next verse. It is simply impossible to be *in* and *continue* in spiritual occupations, if, as would necessarily follow, the greater part of one's time, and energies, and thoughts are devoted to secular pursuits. "It is not reason that" ministers "should leave the word of God to serve tables" (Acts vi. 2), although serving tables be for the benefit of the poor. "No man that warreth *entangleth* himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier" (2 Tim. ii. 4). "This one thing I do" is the soul of proficiency in any calling. We have many homely proverbs, which the reader can recall for himself, in illustration of the importance of this principle of exclusiveness; and the christian minister is plainly warned, that if his "profiting in all things" (1 Tim. iv. 15) connected with his calling is to "appear," he must be "in them," and "continue in them." "Saving himself and them that hear him" (1 Tim. iv. 16) is, by an inspired authority, declared to depend upon exemption from the cares and anxieties inseparable from secular pursuits.

We find in certain cases that Paul and Barnabas engaged in handicrafts for a livelihood, but care is taken to explain their exceptional character. Among the Ephesians, his motive is stated to have been the poverty of the church, which induced him to earn a livelihood, to avoid pressure upon their scanty means, and thus to set an example to their elders (Acts xx. 17; comp. ver. 35). Among the Thessalonians he pursued the same course (2 Thess. iii. 8), but took care to remind them of the inconvenience to which he

thus exposed himself, and to inform them that it was not because ministers should, as a rule, engage in earning their livelihood (ver. 9). This care to explain his reasons is a clear indication that the elders or pastors at Ephesus and Thessalonica did not support themselves by worldly occupation. The apostle did not censure them for their mode of living; and, by explaining the reasons of his own deviation from their practice, shows that his course, and not theirs, was in need of some justification. Now, if nothing else could be adduced in support of the subject of this paper, this simple fact of exemption from secular employment would convert ministers into a distinct order in the church. While Christians in general were bound to secular work for self-support (2 Thess. iii. 10), their elders were required to abstain from it for their own salvation and of those that heard them. The respective natures of their occupations divide men into distinct classes, and the profession of a minister has unavoidably the same effect among Christians.

The danger of the notion of caste being superadded to that of an order is nowhere so obvious as in connection with this exemption from secular pursuits. There is nothing debasing in trade and commerce, though there is much in their associated vices. The minister has no peculiar sanctity of character or office which in him makes work a degradation. Men of some "profession" fall into a silly contempt of the "tradesman." This feeling, if unchecked, produces additional evils in the church. If cherished by the pastor, and favoured by his flock, a priesthood, with its despised laity, is the inevitable result. To prevent this great evil, the example of Paul making tents should never be out of sight. "Our ministers," said Milton, "think scorn to use a trade, and count it the reproach of this age that tradesmen preach the gospel. It were to be wished they were all tradesmen; they would not then, so many of them, for want of another trade, make a trade of their preaching; and yet they clamour that tradesmen preach; and yet they preach, while they themselves are the worst of all tradesmen."

Out of this exclusive devotion to their spiritual duties arises the necessity of ministerial support at the cost of their flocks, which materially assists in constituting a distinct order in the church. For teaching and ruling the elders are to be "counted worthy of double honour" (1 Tim. v. 17). *Timē*, the word translated *honour*, is synonymous with our word *fee*, or *pay*, or *salary*, as the English reader will perceive by the illustration given by the apostle in the succeeding verse, "for the Scripture saith, thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." And, as declared by our Lord himself (Luke x. 7), "the labourer is worthy of his hire." This right to remuneration is grounded upon a sense of common justice. A man does not "go a warfare at his own charges." The husbandman, in planting a vineyard, acquires a right to "eat of its fruits." The peasant, in ploughing and threshing, earns a right to "partake" in the results (1 Cor. ix. 7). Those who, under the former dispensation, "ministered about holy things lived of the things

of the temple," and those "who waited at the altar were partakers with the altar." This principle of sustentation has not been swept away with the temple, the altar, and the priest; for "even so hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel," 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. Thus arises a claim to support, styled by the apostle a "power over" the church (ver. 12). Persons who, from their office and their work, acquire this right, must of necessity become an order in the church.

For reasons similar to those which induced the apostle at Ephesus and Thessalonica to earn a livelihood, we find him gratuitously preaching at Corinth (1 Cor. ix.) Circumstances made it expedient for him personally to forego his claims; but he takes care to show that it was not to establish a precedent. For he observes, "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing," that is, an exaction to be resented, "if we shall reap your carnal things?" (ver. 11). It appears incidentally, that while serving them freely he "robbed other churches," "taking wages of them," 2 Cor. xiv. 9. The terms employed denote the idea of a reproach upon the Corinthians that one ministering to them received wages from other communities. It is clear, also, that Cephas and others, with their families (1 Cor. ix. 5—12), were living at the cost of the Corinthian Church. Their position is not censured, but, on the contrary, the apostle puts in an equal claim: "If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather?" So well established was the idea that those "who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel," that the apostle Paul was thought inferior in dignity to Peter, in not receiving pecuniary support. He mildly taunts them for this absurd inference from his disinterested conduct:—"What is it wherein you were inferior to other churches, except it be that I myself was not burdensome to you? Forgive me this wrong," 2 Cor. xii. 13. Some went to the length of denying his apostleship on the ground of his not receiving public support, and he challenged them to show that he had not "the power," that is, *exousian*, a right, to "eat and drink" at the cost of the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. ix. 3, 4).

It has now been shown that pastors and teachers were divinely appointed; were distinguished in the church by special qualifications; had an "office" which gave them a status honoured by special mention in the apostolic epistles, and demanding the respect of their people; had a recognized authority to rule and direct in spiritual matters; and were, for efficiency's sake, exclusively devoted to their calling, which entitled them to live on the contributions of their flocks, on the principle of common justice and a divine ordinance. On these accumulated evidences we conclude that ministers necessarily formed a distinct order in the church, and it remains only to show that this order of things was not simply provisional, like the apostolate.

The different orders enumerated in Ephes. iv. 11, were given "for the perfecting of the saints" in the unity of the faith. Till



that end is attained, the means must continue. Among these orders we find apostles and prophets. Prophets were to cease, for "prophecy" was to "fail" (1 Cor. xiii. 8). To be an apostle it was necessary to have had personal communications from Christ (Acts i. 21, 22), to which St. Paul appeals as a proof of his apostleship (1 Cor. ix. 1); but pastors, or elders, were made overseers by the Holy Ghost (Acts xx. 28). In the nature of things, there could be no succession of apostles without a standing miracle. There is no such inherent obstacle to the succession of elders, and the end of their office made that succession necessary in perpetuity. In the list of the qualifications, again, nothing impossible under the existing dispensation of the Holy Spirit is mentioned (1 Tim. iii. 1—8 Tit. i. 5—10),—in itself a presumption that eldership was to last. Provision, again, was made to perpetuate that succession. Timothy was directed to "commit to faithful men" what he had received from the apostle, with a view to their committing the same to others (2 Tim. ii. 2). Though an elder was not, as such, an apostle, still an apostle was "also an elder" (1 Peter v. 1), and as such, Paul committed to Timothy (2 Tim. ii. 2) and to Titus (Tit. i. 5), who, though evangelists, were also elders, what they were again to commit by ordination to others, who, again, were to commit the office to others. As far as eldership is concerned, here is express provision made to secure the office to a post-apostolic age, giving elders to a fourth generation. This succession is actually traced in Hebrews xiii. In ver. 7 allusion is made to *deceased* elders (see Barnes on the passage), and in ver. 17 to elders then *living*, showing a third generation of pastors among the Hebrew Christians.

It can, again, be unquestionably argued that the promise of perpetual possession made by our Lord to the apostles in Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, was given to them as the first of a perpetual series of elders, and not in their capacity of apostles. For, as apostles, they had no succession; and, therefore, *perpetual* presence could not be bequeathed to them in a capacity which was simply *provisional*. Further, the promise is in connection with peculiarly ministerial, and not apostolic functions. Teaching and baptizing are alone named as parts of that commission to which the promise of presence in perpetuity is annexed. Now, baptizing was not an apostolic function. The greatest of the apostles assures us that Christ did not send him to baptize (1 Cor. i. 14—17), but to preach the Gospel. Like their Lord (John iv. 2), the apostles did not baptize as a rule, but left this to be done by their "disciples." Connect these considerations together, namely, that the apostles had no successors; that they were elders as well as apostles, and as elders had successors, as seen in Hebrews xiii., to a third generation; that they show that Timothy and Titus succeeded them as elders, and through them provided for a succession of elders to a fourth generation, extending to a remote post-apostolic age; that one end for which their office was instituted is obviously co-extensive

with the existence of the Christian Church; that a promise of presence in perpetuity was made to apostles necessarily in a capacity which was not provisional, and in connection with a commission to teach and baptize, neither of which was peculiar to the apostleship, and one of which was not strictly an apostolic, but was a ministerial, function; and you have evidence as demonstrative as possible in such a subject, that elders, or pastors, or bishops of a flock, were to exist "always, even unto the end of the world."

The subject of this paper is limited to the field of the New Testament, but a glance at early ecclesiastical history would afford corroborative evidence that eldership never ceased to exist in the Christian Church.

PRESBYTER.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

"Obedience to the Spirit of God, rather than to the seeming fair pretences of men, is the best and most dutiful order that a Christian can observe."—*Milton*.

It is an object of great importance to point out abuses in existing institutions; but, at the same time, he who desires to reform establishments around which the earliest, dearest, and highest associations are entwined, will assuredly draw down upon himself rebuke, reproach, and opprobrium: the superficial and unreflecting will attribute his opposition to abuses, either to antagonism to the institutions, or hostility to the officers and leading men.

At the onset, I may say that I do most heartily and reverently admire and love the gospel God has revealed to us in His Word; solemnly and steadfastly believe it able to remedy the evils under which humanity groans,—to support, elevate, and sanctify man here, and, by developing the higher though incipient faculties of his nature, fit him for a brighter world above.

Neither have I (if I know my own heart) a shadow of hostility against those gifted men who preside over our churches, and occupy our pulpits. I consider it an honour to be on terms of friendship with some of them, and I am ever ready to co-operate with them in any good work.

But while I thus love religion, and fraternize with its ministers, I firmly believe that the christian ministry, as a "distinct and sacred order," is not only unrecognized in Scripture, but it is, in many of its present phases, contrary to the precepts and commands therein contained.

The Protestant rule of faith, "to the law and the testimony," should be the rule of church polity and government. I say, *should be*; but it is not; there are many things adopted and kept up from "policy," "sake of the interest," "respectability," &c., that we search Scripture in vain to support.

Indeed, viewing the vast and colossal structures of sacerdotalism around us, and the importance attached by men of almost all classes to clerical influence, it may well be matter of wonder that the Scriptural basis on which the whole rests is so strikingly narrow. Indeed, very many of the notions upon this subject have more

affinity with the dark days of dominant priestcraft and slavish obedience, than either apostolic teaching or Protestant freedom.

The model of church government, as set forth in the New Testament, is exceedingly simple; the reception of the divine life is supposed to induce in *all* the desire as well as the ability to further the great ends of christian union, viz., growth in divine things in themselves, and aggression on those without. To promote unity of action and energy of purpose, two, and only two, permanent offices appear to have been instituted—"elders or bishops," and "deacons." I say, "permanent offices," because the apostles, who might appear to form a third, were so entirely special, both in their mission and qualifications, that they appear neither to have required nor to have had successors.

"Deacons" for temporalities, and "elders," or "overseers," as they are indifferently and indiscriminately called, to watch the spiritual health and weal of the members, and direct their efforts for spiritual aggression.

We find here a "sacred office," but no "sacred order;" that is, no body of men divorced from, or elevated above, the common callings, duties, and cares of life. Further, the work of preaching or proclaiming the gospel appears not to have belonged exclusively to the eldership at all, but to have been engaged in by all who had the requisite ability, under the control and oversight of the elders.

Let us now, for one moment, examine the New Testament portrait of an elder; we shall then be able to judge whether the "stated minister" is like the scriptural "elder."

First, the elders in the primitive church appear to have been only limited in numbers by the number of members the church contained with the requisite qualifications. One stated minister only, in most cases, undertakes all the duties and functions in the present day. Of essential qualifications, they appear to have very little in common. The "elder" was to be literally an elder, as indicated by "ruling his own house well," "having a wife," and "children in subjection;" "not a novice," or young convert. As "overseer," he was to be "vigilant," "patient," not hasty or covetous. The only essentials now-a-days are not named at all in the list, viz., literary training and preaching ability; for "apt to teach" appears to mean not so much preaching ability, as skill in imparting religious counsel, advice, and instruction.

The New Testament shows us the church choosing its elders among its own members. Now it sends to some scholastic institutions for a young man, whose previous habits and training have been such as to preclude the possibility of his possessing the qualifications of an "elder;" or, worse still, they, by appealing to the lower feeling of our nature, rob a poorer or weaker sister church of a pastor who has some of the scriptural qualifications of an elder. It has been said, with about equal point and profanity, "Corporations, having neither conscience to appeal to, bodies to kick, nor souls to be damned, are always more selfish than individuals;" and

really, the utter heartlessness and loose morality of some of these transactions would go far to show that modern churches are no exception to this rule.

But the most disastrous departure from primitive rule and practice appears to be the elevating this *one* in each church into a "sacred order," or class, with more or less of sacerdotalism or priestism about it, and teaching the church (with the exception of the Wesleyan use of local agency) to look to this one class for all the spiritual culture, help, and training they may require, distinguishing them, by title, dress, privilege, and immunity, from the rest of their brethren, producing a professional isolation, alike detrimental to minister and people.

Looking at it from this point, the mournful anomaly presented by the present aspect of Christianity, of a combination of effort for God, on an unparalleled gigantic scale, producing the smallest of results, is, to a great extent, accounted for. At any rate, our practice is sufficiently unscriptural to justify a calm and honest inquiry in this direction.

I will now point out a few of the disastrous results of this unscriptural course. First, those that accrue to the men themselves. The adoption of the ministry as a profession is unfavourable to eminent personal piety in the ministers themselves, their religious exercises being often engaged in rather to lead the devotions of others, than to give expression to their own religious feelings; has a tendency to draw them from a candid examination of the state of their inner life. Our best and holiest men have prayed and mourned over this evil.

Again, it positively unfits them for the efficient discharge of many of the duties of their office. By their exclusion from the ordinary duties, callings, anxieties, and temptations of life, they have not the opportunities of becoming acquainted with the intricacies and tortuous sophisms of the intellect, the sorrows, yearnings, or trials of the heart, or the thousand petty vexations of human life.

Further, it places the minister in an unfair and equivocal position with those that are without; there are so many features of the "trade spirit" about his appointment, the method for obtaining his pecuniary support, &c., that when he says, "We seek not yours but you," he is scarcely believed. I do not say, because I do not believe, that with ministers generally the amount of money they obtain is with them the main consideration. But this I do say, it is sufficiently equivocal in appearance to give colour to this shallow excuse, by which many unregenerate men ward off the appeals for obedience to God.

And lastly, it impairs his efficiency, by preventing that complete sympathy between him and those he addresses. He is often supposed to say what he says, not so much because it is true, or he is in earnest, as that it is the proper thing for a person in his office to say. He takes a certain course, in the opinion of many, not because it is christian, but because it is official. No wonder that the utmost

earnestness and devotion frequently fail under such disadvantageous circumstances.

We now turn to examine a few of the disastrous influences of this course upon the churches themselves.

1. It converts the church into a mere material organization, depending more upon "wealth influence" or "literary eminence" for its success than upon the aid of the Holy Spirit. Volumes have been, and still might be, written upon the enervating effects of such influences.

2. It splits up the church of Christ in one locality into what are called "interests," and tends to keep such interests in a state of mutual rivalry and antagonism. Sectarianism will not suffice to account for this feeling, for it is more intense between churches of the same faith than those of a different denomination. It says, "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas." Is this not carnal? It operates entirely to prevent healthful and peaceful colonization, or forming new churches. Discord and a social earthquake are the usual and almost only causes of new settlements being made, and the "split" is only church germ.

3. It fosters a morbid taste for scholastic training and literary ability detrimental to the simplicity of the gospel. God forbid that I should disparage the development of the mental powers with which He has endowed us; but when christian experience, heightened piety, and maturity of character, are deemed secondary to literary efficiency and ready utterance, I mourn over the perversion of christian taste.

4. The most disastrous effect of all is, that it induces sloth, self-indulgence, and spiritual lethargy—even with the most scriptural ideas of the personal responsibility of the members of Christ's church to work in their Master's cause and spread His kingdom. Any plan by which that responsibility can be evaded, or the service compounded for or performed by proxy, is sure to be gladly supported by many while our human nature remains as it is. The concentration in one individual of nearly all the offices and functions of the church; the aptitude obtained by habitual discharge of these duties; and the vague semi-priestly ideas of the office held by many, all tend to countenance the pernicious sophism, that to support a minister, and facilitate his operations in the Redeemer's cause, is all that is required from private members. Are sinners to be converted? That's the minister's duty. Are inquirers to be instructed? The minister must do this. Is the chapel full? It is the minister who draws the people. If, on the contrary, it be empty, and the church scattered, of course it is his fault. Is the cause greatly distressed? The infallible nostrum is "a first-rate minister."

What avails it that the preacher, with all possible earnestness, insists upon individual devotion and responsibility? The members settle themselves down in their luxurious pews, and compromise the claims by an extra contribution.

I am glad to be able to state that these disastrous influences are

not so rife as they were ten years ago. The development and systemizing of sabbath tuition, tract, Bible, and other agencies, "poor men's" and "ragged" churches, and a host of other enterprises requiring "lay" agency, are all steps in the right direction.

I might point out a number of other minor evils resulting from or countenanced by this heresy—"pew rents," "professional singing," costly buildings and appointments for worship, unwieldy and unsocial churches, &c.; but lack of space forbids. I have written sufficient to induce sincere truth-seekers to examine the question; and if such should only be induced to prayerfully and honestly search the Word of God, so that, free from prejudice and custom, they may follow its unerring directions, I shall be amply repaid for my labour in this cause.

Perhaps at a future time (with more leisure) I may be allowed to indicate what I consider the best course for remedying these evils. Meanwhile, I trust I shall receive an impartial hearing from the *British Controversialists*.

AN ELDER.

## Politics.

### IS THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN ITS EXISTENCE AND OPERATIONS, BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

THE English Constitution is not founded on any one of the three simple forms of government which political writers have enumerated, namely:—

I. Despotism, where the legislature is in a single person.

II. An aristocracy, where the legislature is composed of a select assembly, the members of which either fill up, by election, the vacancies in their own body, or succeed to their places in it by inheritance, or in respect of some personal right.

III. A republic, or democracy, where the whole people, either collectively or by representation, constitute the governing power.

The British Constitution, we say, is a combination and intermixture of all these simple forms of government (which cannot be said to exist anywhere in a pure and elementary state); and in whatever proportion each form enters into the political constitution, in the same proportion may both the advantages and evils connected with any one of the several simple forms be expected. Our mixed government is formed, then, of a monarchy, residing in a king or queen; an aristocracy, constituting a House of Lords; and the people, as represented by the House of Commons. By this scheme we endeavour to unite the advantages of the simple forms of government, and to exclude the inconveniences. We would disclaim, at the outset of this controversy, that puerile admiration

of present establishments, which perceives no fault, and can endure no change. It is essential to a good government that it takes care to provide for its own permanency; therefore, all provisions to this end are expedient; and, by recognizing the right of the nobility to a voice in the management of the affairs of the country, we believe we are conducting, not only to the preservation of the Constitution, but to the great end of civil government, namely, the happiness and welfare of its subjects. The monarchy minus the noblesse cannot long exist. They are a *sine qua non*. The Constitution of the United Kingdom has provided for its own preservation by two contrivances, a balance of power, and a balance of interest. By a *balance of power* we mean, that there is no power possessed by one part of the legislature, the abuse of which is not checked by some antagonistic power residing in another part. Thus the Queen's negative is used to check the power of the two Houses of Parliament to frame laws which she may think subversive of regal government, and so save the necessary rights of her station. On the other hand, this power cannot be arbitrarily used, because of the right which Parliament possesses of refusing supplies of money to carry on the administration of the Sovereign. By the *balance of interest* we mean this: that the respective interests of the three estates of the realm are so disposed and adjusted, that whichever of them shall attempt any encroachment, the other two will unite in resisting it. If the Queen should try to extend her authority, by contracting the power and privileges of the Commons, the House of Peers would see their own dignity endangered by every advance which the Crown made to independency upon the resolutions of Parliament. On the other hand, if the representatives of the people should entrench upon the established prerogative of the Crown, the House of Lords would view with alarm any fresh attempt of popular power, and would rally round the monarch as their natural ally. Lastly, should the nobility themselves attempt to revive the domination exercised under the feudal Constitution by their ancestors, the Queen and people would alike be reminded how the one had been insulted, and the other enslaved, in that tyrannical age.

If our opponents succeed in convincing the reader that the House of Lords, in its existence and operations, is opposed to the welfare of the people of this country, then it will naturally follow that they consider no such bulwark as an aristocracy necessary for the safety of the monarchy against the progress of popular frenzy. Now, the stability of regal government is greatly aided by an order of men naturally allied to its interests; and if those who would abolish the House of Peers are really favourable to a limited monarchy, as now existing in our midst, they need use but superficial observation in the affairs of other countries, to be convinced that it is absolutely necessary to place an order of nobility to counteract the prejudices and passions of the lower part of the community, who, in times of scarcity and bad trade, are more than ever apt to con-

sider their rulers answerable for these visitations. Not that we suppose the nobility to be more unprejudiced than others, but their prejudices will be different from, and will most probably counteract, those of others.

One of the main reasons we would urge, as showing the advantages derived from our English Constitution over all others, is that it cannot be considered as a scheme of government formally planned and contrived by our ancestors in some era of our national history, but as one grown out of occasion and emergency, therefore the more likely to be adapted to our wants, and, having a solid basis, to stand the test of time. Though we admit a patrician order into our Constitution, the personal privileges and immunities of the nobility have been wisely circumscribed. Among the advantages to be derived from the existence of an upper house, composed of the aristocracy of the land, is the wisdom which may be expected from experience and education. A permanent council naturally possesses experience, and the members who succeed to their places in it by inheritance will, most probably, be educated with a view to the stations which they are destined by their birth to occupy ; and the fact that so many of the peers have had seats in the House of Commons for many years, warrants us in saying that they carry to the Upper Chamber a large amount of business aptitude, to be devoted to the service of the State. It is highly desirable that, in a second chamber of legislation, the members thereof should derive their seats from a different constituency to that which elects the other House of Parliament. This is the case in the United States' Republic, where the members of the senate are not elected by the direct vote of the citizens, but by the legislative bodies of each state. This is a necessity felt by the founders of all constitutions which give the people any voice in the legislature ; and it is such a salutary custom, that even in the constitution of our town councils it is found requisite to appoint a body of men independent, to a great extent, of the popular will, and who may be expected to oppose resolutions which are founded on the folly and violence of the lower class of electors.

If the existence of the House of Lords be essential at the present time, when a variety of services and qualifications gives the right of voting in the election of members to the House of Commons—thus representing not so much mere numbers as different classes of society—how much more needful will this part of the legislature become in future years, when the suffrage shall have been so extended as to embrace a vast number of the lower and uneducated orders of the community ? The members returned by these classes could not reasonably be expected long to suffer their favourite projects to be crushed by the veto of the Crown ; and the consequences of having withdrawn what may be called the key-stone of the Constitution, the House of Peers, would be that we should quickly see our monarchy abolished, and the government of this country become a republic. Every one who regards the Consti-



tution must be struck by the system of checks pervading it, rendering every single part dependent upon some other, and restraining all from the abusive exercise of the powers entrusted to them. In concluding this portion of our subject, we would ask the reflective reformer to make a sober comparison of the Constitution under which we live and the actual chance of obtaining a better; remembering that political innovations almost always produce many effects beside those that are intended, and that perfection is not the destiny of nations in this world any more than of individuals.

The use and design of the House of Lords is not confined to the preceding advantages, but it has many collateral ones, which we shall proceed to mention. It enables the Sovereign, by her right of bestowing the peerage, to reward the servants of the public in a manner most satisfactory to them, and involving a small expense to the nation. Many instances of this will occur to the reader—men like Brougham, Macaulay, and Clyde, who have amply earned the honour. A seat in the House of Peers is the goal of many a deserving citizen's ambition; and there is great utility in keeping some prize before the eye as a reward for great services rendered to the state or to the literature of the country. Another class of men find admittance to the House of Lords who are excluded from the House of Commons—the ecclesiastics; and so long as we have a national church, we see no anomaly in the introduction of the prelacy into parliament. Seeing that they represent a set of men considerable by their number and property, as well as by their station, we cannot agree to the designation applied to the bench of bishops, as “peers of adulterous birth.”

With reference to the direct operations of the Upper House in framing or passing measures of public utility, we maintain that many of the most salutary laws have been proposed by members of that house. On many occasions laws proposed to be enacted for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, such as the Ten Hours' Bill, have been received with far more favour by the Peers than by the members of the House of Commons, who are often affected by considerations of self-interest rather than humanity.

One of the great wrongs committed by the House of Lords in recent times, it may be said, was its refusal to agree to the repeal of the paper duty, after it had been taken off by the House of Commons; but in doing so it is admitted that they did not exceed their legal power of rejecting money bills. The result shows that they exhibited a foresight for which the country should be grateful—for it is now apparent to all but directly interested parties, that, in the face of a large deficit in the revenue this year, it was an unsuitable time for removing the excise duty on paper,—both the additional tax of a penny in the pound of income, and the continuation of the paper duty, forming not more than a sufficient provision for the public wants.

It may be said that this part of the Constitution is cut off by its very composition from sympathy with reform and progress, and is in its very nature conservative, and instances may be cited where the Lords have rejected measures of a liberal tendency. But in answer to this we say, that the will of the people, when it is determined, permanent, and general, almost always at length prevails.

The House of Lords, being the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom, contains the best and most experienced lawyers ; and in all questions arising, requiring high legal authority, they are present to assist the deliberations of the house. To debar such a powerful and educated body as the aristocracy of this island from participation in the making of the laws and the raising of taxation, we hold to be unjust. Aristocratic societies, combined with a due development of democratic energy, are those which in every age have made the most durable impression on human affairs, and led to the greatest and the most splendid of human achievements. Let us not, then, by an invasion of our political constitution, hastily jeopardize the liberty we enjoy, moulded, as it is, from the blending of the aristocratic, democratic, and monarchical powers.

R. R.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

HAVING attained the summit of another hill of time, and surveying the landscape before us, we feel there is still work for us to do in the warfare between truth and error. We, therefore, gird on our armour to do battle in the cause of truth and justice, feeling fully confident that the same glorious victories are reserved for us in the future which have marked our course and that of our comrades in the past. We trust the laws of true chivalry will ever govern us in the conflict, so that while error is treated with unmerciful severity, consistent and conscientious opinion may be duly respected, that all our intercourse with our opponents may be marked by candour and respect both in word and deed. Thus shall our literary arena become a pleasant rendezvous for all inquiring minds, and controversy be relieved of the foul stigma which the prejudice and passion of man has unjustly attached to it, without any cause or reason existing in the nature of controversy itself, as an excuse for his folly.

We purpose to treat this subject on the present occasion as a question of political philosophy, and subsequently as a question in the constitutional history of Great Britain. This twofold aspect of the same question is necessary, because we have not to consider an Utopian condition of civil life, but a state of actual fact and historic life.

The end of all good government is the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Such is, in substance, the doctrine of that great philosophic politician, Jeremy Bentham, and which all truly wise men accept as a fundamental maxim of civil society. It is also necessary, to constitute good government, that every individua

should have a voice or share in the power of making those laws by which his conduct is to be governed, and his property protected, in common with his fellows as an integral portion of the commonwealth. Thus, in fact, the people are the source of all political power in every well-regulated state. That this is true we have only to consider that society exists, not for the one or the few, but the many. Were any other cause to be assigned for the existence of society, and acted upon in any particular case, the bands of society would be loosed, and dissolution result in the aboriginal solitude of savage life and crude barbarism.

From these two points, the greatest happiness of the greatest number—the moral aspect of the question; and the sovereignty of the people—the political aspect of the question,—our argument is made to converge to a common centre, the right and justice of assuming that the House of Lords, in its existence and operations, is not beneficial to the people of this country.

Our Constitution is a mixed monarchy, in the technical phraseology of science; that is, it admits three classes to participate in the government of the nation,—the King, the Lords, and the people or Commons. The King, as the executive, shares in the legislative function; the Lords have judicial functions and legislative powers; the Commons have legislative powers only. As to the right of the Crown to share the legislative function in the state, and to possess executive power, although a matter open to much question, it is not our duty now to inquire; nor is it to our present purpose to complain that the Commons do not share judicial power with the Lords, nor executive power with the Crown. These questions might doubtless engage our attention with much profit; but present exigencies make it necessary to defer them to some future opportunity; our particular duty is with the House of Lords only; and our inquiries must be necessarily directed to its origin, its present composition, its powers and privileges; and from these deduce its resulting good or evil to the community; or, in the terms of our thesis, show that it is either beneficial or not to the country.

Considered philosophically or technically, its origin is in the prerogative of the Crown. Neither Commons nor Peers can create peers; the Crown alone possesses that power; it is not a legislative nor a popular act; it is simply and purely a regal prerogative. Such being the case, is it not *a priori*, as an institution, adverse to the well-being of the country? The Crown, although an hereditary institution vested in a particular family, has not only science and theory for assuming its origin from the people, but our Constitution, since the revolution of 1688, is based upon this fact. But the Crown, having the power to create peers *ad infinitum*, possesses the means to defeat all the powers possessed by the people in the legislature, excepting that of refusing to vote supplies for the public expenditure; still, this power, although resting with the Commons, is of little effect unless supported by an appeal to arms and violence against the Crown by the whole body of the people, an extremity

the most daring demagogue would scarcely ever wish to see realized, however loudly he might declaim in its favour.

Hence, we have a strong argument against the existence and operations of the House of Lords, in the possibility of the Crown and the Lords uniting to nullify the legislative existence of the Commons; or, in other words, the Crown and the Peers possess the means of dispensing with the co-operation of the people in the making and execution of the laws, and in the general government of the country. It is of no valid force to argue that this power is never exercised, and that the people can divest the Sovereign of his powers, and through this medium destroy the House of Lords, by forcibly taking possession of the governing power themselves; because the former is an absurdity, as where there is a power possessed, there also resides the liberty to exercise the power, or there is no power; power is no longer power than it is capable of exercise; the latter is an alternative fraught with such serious concomitants to the nation as to deter all but the reckless adventurer from becoming its advocate. We are pleased to find a remarkable coincidence with these views of the possible contingencies legitimately attaching themselves to the existing constitutional origin of the House of Lords, in the writings of that venerable political philosopher Lord Brougham, than whom, perhaps, no man living is a greater authority on this subject; he says, at page 307, vol. iii., of his work on Political Philosophy, "This prerogative has upon several occasions been exercised to influence the proceedings in Parliament. Lord Oxford carried a question of importance in the Lords by a sudden creation of twelve peers, in the reign of Queen Anne. Mr. Pitt greatly extended the influence of the Crown in the House of Commons, and diminished the importance of that body, by transferring many of his adherents among the landed gentlemen to the Upper House. In recent times, the Government of which I formed a part, backed by a large majority of the Commons and the people out of doors, carried the Reform Bill through the Lords by the power which his late Majesty had conferred upon us of an unlimited creation of peers at any stage of the measure. It was fortunate for the Constitution that the patriotism of the peers prevented us from having recourse to a measure so full of peril. I have always regarded it as the greatest escape which I ever made in the whole course of my public life. But were I called upon to name any measure on which the whole of a powerful party were most unanimously bent, nay, which attracted the warmest support of nearly the whole people, I should point at once to the measure of a large creation of peers, in 1831 and 1832. Nothing could possibly be more thoughtless than the view they took of this important question. They never reflected for a moment upon the chance of their soon after differing with Lord Grey and myself,—a thing which, however, speedily happened;—never considered what must be the inevitable consequence of a difference between ourselves and the Commons; never took the trouble to ask what must happen if the Peers, thus

become our partisans, should be found at variance with both King, Commons, and people; never stopped to foresee that, in order to defeat our oligarchy, a new and still larger creation must be required; and never opened their eyes to the inevitable ruin of the Constitution by the necessity thus imposed of adding eighty or a hundred to the Lords each time that the ministry was changed. I have seldom met with one person, of all the loud clamourers for a large creation of peers, who did not admit that he was wrong, when these things were calmly and plainly stated to him, these consequences were set before his eyes. But I have often asked myself the question, whether or not, if no secession had taken place, and the peers had persisted in really opposing the most important provisions of the bill, we should have had recourse to the perilous creation. Well nigh twelve years have now rolled over my head since the crisis of 1832. I speak very calmly on this, as on every political question whatever, and I cannot, with any confidence, answer it in the affirmative. When I went to Windsor with Lord Grey, I had a list of eighty creations, framed upon the principles of making the least possible permanent addition to our House and to the aristocracy, by calling up peers' eldest sons; by choosing men without any families; by taking Scotch and Irish peers. I had a strong feeling of the necessity of the case, in the very peculiar circumstances we were placed in; but such was my deep sense of the dreadful consequences of the act, that I much question whether I should not have preferred running the risk of confusion that attended the loss of the Bill as it then stood; and I have a strong impression on my mind that my illustrious friend would have more than met me half-way in the determination to have run that risk (and, of course, to face the clamours of the people, which would have cost us little), rather than expose the Constitution to so eminent a hazard of subversion."

Hence, our view of the dangerous consequences possible to result from the nature of the House of Lords as to its origin, which rests entirely in the will or caprice of the Crown, is confirmed by the case given as illustration by Lord Brougham, and it shows that, although seldom acted upon, it is acted upon at times; and even when the immediate result is favourable to the people, the continued result is oftentimes most dangerous, and must tend ultimately to destroy the equilibrium of the Constitution.

It must not, however, be concluded, from our previous remarks, that we are adverse to an Upper House; by no means. We believe there should be a second house for legislative purposes, but owing its origin and its existence to the people, in such manner as to secure the wisest and the wealthiest persons of the nation for its constituent elements. We are republicans, but practically so, and firmly believe that the true republic for Englishmen is King, Lords, and Commons, relieved of the abuses and anomalies which now fetter their action, and destroy their efficiency for good. The rabid republicanism of that spurious cast which slips from the

slimy tongues of firebrand demagogues, is diametrically opposed to our principles,—is, in fact, its contrary.

The operations of the House of Peers are, from its peculiar constitution and origin, of a class character; exhibit a continued and permanent antagonism to the people. The fact that it is composed of 407 lay and 30 clerical members, all holding their title by the King's gift,—and being the largest possessors of land and wealth in the country, they are necessarily far removed from a knowledge of the wants, exigencies, dangers, and difficulties of the commercial and labouring portions of the state,—this unfits them, justly, to legislate for those classes, unless there existed some well understood and ready means of controlling their legislation by the millions of the labouring population, without producing a convulsion calculated to shake the foundations of society, and spread ruin and misery among the homes and hearths of our happy yet toiling fatherland. No such controlling power lays with the people; no *plebiscitum* remains with them; consequently no check exists to the class legislation of the House of Peers. It must, therefore, in its operations, equally as in its existence or origin, be *not* beneficial to this country.

This question must be resumed in our next; we therefore reserve our remarks on the House of Lords as a fact in the constitutional history of Great Britain, commending, meanwhile, the whole subject to the careful and serious consideration of our readers, that they may arrive at such maturity of judgment as shall fit and prepare them for any crisis in our constitutional history, which the obstinate antagonism of the Upper House to the people's rights may force upon the nation. *Au revoir!* L'OUVRIER.

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## Social Economy.

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### UGHT THE EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN AGRICULTURAL, MANUFACTURING, AND COMMERCIAL PURSUITS TO BE ENCOURAGED?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

DEGRADATION is everywhere co-existent with a state of barbarism, while according to the progress of a nation in civilization, as it advances in refinement, just in that proportion is the position of woman improved, and the estimation in which she is held increased. The cause of her degradation and assumed inferiority is her physical weakness. The motto of barbarism is "*Might is right*;" that of civilization, "*Right is might*." Barbarism is the rule of the strongest, civilization that of the wisest. Hence is it, that as mind displaces physical force in the government of a people, and physical weakness ceases to be a badge of shame and inferiority, so

does woman cease to be the slave, and rises towards her true and rightful position as the companion of man. But as civilization has not yet reached perfection, so, even in our own country, which we take to afford the highest example of modern civilization, this position has not yet been altogether conceded. It is true that in England men do not, like the barbarous Australians, live in idleness, and compel women to undergo the toil which is necessary for the supply of their daily wants, nor as in Asia are they kept as slaves for mere purposes of sensuality (although the practice of wife-selling in the common market has even yet hardly died out in this enlightened country), yet, at the same time, despite the beneficial legislation of the past few years, the position and action of women is restricted and limited by law, and by the still greater power of custom, to an extent which is not only unjust to themselves, but which is positively injurious to the other sex. Inquiry, however, is the first step to the correction of any evil; we therefore hail the discussion of the subject at the head of this paper as a happy omen that the public mind is awaking from its apathy, and earnestly desirous of arriving at the truth regarding it. We shall examine briefly the *practice* and *expediency* of encouraging the employment of females in industrial pursuits.

We assert the absolute right of women to a free and unrestricted exercise of their energies in any and whatsoever department of labour they choose. An able writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, whose general sympathies and opinions and conclusions are at variance with our own, admits this. "The right to freedom of labour," he says, "is unanswerable; no less than the claim to protection from any unjust interference, whether based upon prejudice or manly arrogance." Another distinguished writer, John Stuart, will tell us that "it is an acknowledged dictate of justice to make no degrading distinctions without necessity. In all things the presumption ought to be on the side of equality. A reason must be given why everything should be permitted to one person, and interdicted to another." Adopting this principle, and asserting upon it the right of women to an equality with men as regards the laws of labour, we ask what reasons there are for limiting or restricting it? Many are assigned; one of the most important, which indeed involves a denial of the equality we have asserted, being that "woman's sphere" is home, and not in the publicity attending all the ordinary callings and occupations of men. Women, it is said, are unfitted, by peculiarities of mental organization, for commercial or professional pursuits. The question here started is too large a one for us to enter fully into now, but we venture to say, that whatever unfitness there may be in woman for these things is the result of education and training, and not of any natural inaptitude. "A great deal has been said," says Sydney Smith, "of the original difference of capacity between men and women; as if women were more quick and men more judicious, as if women were more remarkable for delicacy of association, and man for stronger powers

of attention. All this, we confess, appears to us very fanciful. That there is a difference in the understanding of the men and women we meet with every day, everybody, we suppose, must perceive; but there is none, surely, which may not be accounted for by the difference of circumstances in which they have been placed, without reference to any conjectural difference of original conformation of mind. As long as boys and girls run about in the dirt, and trundle hoops together, they are both precisely alike. If you catch up one half of these creatures, and train them to a particular set of actions and opinions, and the other half to a perfectly opposite set, of course their understandings will differ, as one or the other sort of occupations has called this or that talent into action. There is surely no need to go into any deeper or more abstruse reasoning in order to explain so very simple a phenomenon." Wherever women have had the opportunities, they have shown themselves quite equal to pursuits as far removed as possible from domestic life, some which have been supposed to belong naturally to men. In the arts of government, and even the art of war, many women have excelled, sufficient to prove the capacity of the sex wherever fair play is awarded them.

But the great obstacle to the admittance of the justice of woman's claims is—custom. "It always has been, and is now," with the majority of mankind seems to be necessarily followed by, "and ever shall or ought to be so." It is not whether a thing is founded on justice, but whether it has existed long enough to attain the dignity of an institution, which decides its right to continuance. Thus, the owners of pocket boroughs at the time of the Reform Bill, considered that their vested rights were attacked by that measure, as did also the landowners by the abolition of the Corn Laws; both endeavouring to establish their rights, not by their inherent justice, but by length of possession. So the male sex have so long been accustomed to look upon the other sex as inferior to themselves;—in all times they have, by custom and by legal enactments, generally been made the slaves, and always placed on an inequality with man, that he now looks upon them as his natural inferiors, and considers the universal practice of the world a sufficient answer to all their claims to equality with himself. It is unnecessary for us to advance arguments to destroy this position. When an institution or a theory founds its claims to support or continuance upon custom, it has already substantially admitted its injustice.

But supposing the justice of woman's claims to equality with man as regards freedom of labour, we have to consider how far it is expedient that they should avail themselves of it.

Here we are reminded that we have no longer to discuss an "hypothetical problem," but that the march of events, which strikes to the ground so many elaborately constructed theories, has to a great extent solved the important question we are discussing. "Three-fourths of the unmarried women of Great Britain, two-thirds of the widowed, and about one-seventh of the married, are 1861.



returned, by our census, as earning their bread by independent labour; and besides these there is the large multitude that, as wives, as daughters, and as sisters, share in the ordinary industrial avocations of their relatives, attending the counter or the dairy, plying the needle or the pen." It is evident that no amount of discussion or of condemnation can reduce the extent to which female employment has been carried already; and we question if, excepting amongst those classes who are placed by fortune above the necessity of working for their daily bread, it can be increased. No good can be effected by any discouragement of a movement which has developed itself despite every obstacle thrown in its way, and without absolutely any encouragement whatever from any quarter. The thing exists: what we have to consider is, what evils there may attend it, how far these evils are the result of the movement itself, or of the unjust restrictions placed upon it, and how it may be directed to the most beneficial results?

It must be remembered, that with the majority of women some industrial occupation is inevitable for the supply of the daily necessities of life. Not only so; it is their only preservative from even a worse evil. It cannot be disputed there is no more fruitful source of prostitution than poverty. As a preventative of this, the most crying evil of our age, one of the most effective will be the removal of the unjust restriction upon female labour; the throwing open of the more honourable branches of industry, which have been hitherto closed against her, and thus, by making employment at once more honourable and more remunerative, reducing the temptations to which she is exposed. But it will be said, that factory life is itself greatly productive of this evil. To some extent this may be true; but it will be found to be not a necessary accompaniment of even that form of labour, but to result from the indiscriminate mixing of both sexes in those establishments, an evil which legislation, or the force of public opinion, if brought to bear upon it, might remove. But further, it is objected that the competition in all kinds of employment is already so great, that to throw them open to women as well as men would produce great depression, and be an unmixed evil. This may or may not be the case: it is not in our power to determine what would be the result of such a course; but this we know, that the restriction of the action of women is opposed to every natural right. "So long as competition is the general law of human life, it is a tyranny to shut out one-half of the competitors. All who have attained the age of self-government have an equal claim to be permitted to sell whatever kind of useful labour they are capable of, for the price which it will bring."

Industrial employment of some kind is inevitable for the great majority of single women, and for many of the married women; the wisest course, therefore, is to recognize this fact, and endeavour to bring to bear upon it all the ameliorating and guiding influences which are possible. Let not their energies be confined to only the lowest and least remunerative pursuits; let them have a fair

opportunity of competing with men in the higher ones. Let efforts be made to destroy the noxious influences connected with the employment of great numbers of both sexes together. Let the more responsible positions in each trade be thrown open to them, so that the prospect of promotion may become a stimulant to energy and self-culture; and we venture to say that experience will prove the encouragement of female labour in every department of industry to be a wise and judicious course. X. Y. Z.

NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

EVERY true friend of the people must necessarily feel deeply interested in the happy solution of this question, fraught as it is with so many and such important influences upon the homes, the habits, the education, and the commercial welfare of the greater portion of English society. None can plead indifference to a question which affects all, from the lowliest peasant and poorest artisan, to the most wealthy landowner and merchant prince of which our land can boast. It is not only a question universal in its interest, but it is free from the vices of excitement caused by party politics and trade feuds. Such being the fact, we the more cheerfully become competitors in the search for truth, and believe we shall be discharging a duty of the noblest character, in advocating the social rights and privileges of the fair sex, by maintaining that females ought not to be encouraged to seek employment in agriculture, manufactures, or commerce. In pursuing our argument, we hope to attain the true spirit of candour ourselves, and to exhibit towards our opponents that respect for their expressed opinions which we demand for our own—the honest admission of truth, and the hearty condemnation of error. It will be our object to show the social position of woman in English life, the nature of her domestic relations, the evils of trade employment for females, and from these topics deduce the proof of our social problem.

The earliest recollection we have in life is of the kindness, love, care, and watchfulness of a mother. She was our guardian angel in the feebleness of infancy, our loving guide during the noisy buoyancy of childhood and the recklessness of youth, our monitor in life's maturity, and the link by which we are now bound to the hope of re-union in that bright world of joy beyond the grave. O thou sainted ones in glory, if it is permitted to you, as spirits of the departed, to watch over thy loved ones here below, aid us with more than ordinary powers to vindicate the cause of our sisters in toil and strife here on earth! During infancy and childhood, the English female is the object of special cares and affection from father, mother, and brother; her wishes are anticipated, her joys are heightened, her sorrows are shared, and her tears are wiped away, by the tenderest sympathies in social life. As she rises into youth and beauty, she becomes the father's joy, the mother's hope, the brother's pride. She is the delight of the domestic hearth, and when her blooming beauty approaches its zenith, she is the

admired of all admirers, diffusing life, animation, and healthy delight all around. Like the morning zephyr, she breathes upon the world of actual life, with genial smiles lighting up loves and affections, prompting to noble acts and deeds, in true emulation to merit her favour, and avoid her frown. In mature life, as mother, she is all careful and solicitous for the comfort and welfare of others near and dear to her ; in true tenderness, unremitting watchfulness, and untiring patience, as an angel of light and consolation, she illumines the dark dwelling of man. Mother ! oh, magical, mysterious microcosm ! a world of meaning in a single word ; it thrills our whole soul, absorbs our whole nature, in its contemplation ; it is the embodiment of virtue, the personification of love, the realization of patience, fortitude, faith, and hope. Woman is, doubtless, the poetry of humanity, and is designed by nature to adorn and beautify the prose of manhood.

Let us contemplate woman in her domestic relations. We will consider her as the head of the household, the queen of the family circle, and with especial reference to the toiling ones of this earth, the wife of the working man, for it is to such that our question is exclusively directed. The industrious worker has taken to himself a wife ; he has provided for her a home ; their wishes and their wants are few, but their hearts are large ; they are happy. Providence has blessed them with health, and they have a small family ; the husband is industrious, the wife is frugal, and their home is happy ; his earnings are scanty, but her economy makes them rich ; their wants are limited by their means ; they owe no one anything but love. Time moves on ; their little ones are rising into life ; the parental care is to see them healthy, virtuous, and possessed of as much real knowledge as shall fit them to do their part well in that position in life wherein God has placed them. The father's anxiety is to keep them all from want, but the mother's care is to teach them habits of cleanliness, industry, and virtue. Better this far than all the word-knowledge of which the great wide world can boast ; this may be taught theoretically, intellectually, but that by example, daily, hourly, wrought into the very nature ; this is forced on to the nature, that is inwrought into the heart of hearts, and becomes the very principle of life. How many erring ones, seduced into paths of sinfulness, have felt the restraining influence of a mother's loving, virtuous, and holy example ! What is the magnetic power of that thought which flits through the mind of the wanderer ? " Oh ! could my mother but know, her heart would be broken." Full many a time have the wayward wanderings of sinful youth been turned into the paths of rectitude and wisdom by the remembrance of a mother's love and purity. This may be scoffed at by the cold and heartless, but the thoughtful and wise will ponder over the ideas thus crudely suggested, and verify their truthfulness from the pages of this world's history.

Trade employments for females are fraught with many evils of a serious nature ; and while we would not indulge in a sickly senti-

mentalism, we would be far from advocating a rigid adherence to the money-grubbing, grasping avariciousness, and cold-hearted profit-seeking, so prevalent in the present day.

It is necessary in trade to take the females employed at an early age to learn the duties required of them; they are required to labour to the utmost of their endurance, in most cases, so that their bodily and mental powers, fatigued by their labours, are either indisposed or unfitted for further labour, or engagements of a domestic nature. Relaxation is a necessity; domestic duties are neglected; and gradually woman is made to assume a false position. She labours as a man to please society, and as a mother, is called by nature to occupy a position from which commercial civilization has estranged her, and for the duties of which she is altogether unfitted.

The aggregation of great numbers of females together, and the frequent admixture of them with the opposite sex, offers temptation, and exposes to perils, which the strongest mind must contemplate with alarm.

The necessity for relaxation, the freedom from home duties, the constant intercourse with strangers of the opposite sex, and the exposure to their flatteries, induces in them a love of public pleasures and enjoyments, vanity of person and dress, disregard of the social virtues of home, indifference to the requirements of virtue and morality, so that they become easy victims of vice and criminality.

The employment of females in trade produces a scarcity of domestic labourers, by taking woman from the sphere for which she was created, and placing her in that position which incapacitates her for domestic duty.

These are, to a certain extent, moral evils; but there is a commercial evil consequent upon the employment of females in trade which is, if possible, of paramount importance. As a question of political economy, the employment of females in trade must be looked upon as an unmitigated evil. Whatever adds to the number seeking employment in the labour market must reduce the remuneration for individual labour. The whole sum of remuneration for labour is a relatively fixed sum, and the greater the number of the labourers, other things being equal, the less the amount each individual receives as the wages of labour. Consequently, the employment of females in trade operates against the employment of men. The amount of wages paid to females is, in reality, so much deducted from the wages which otherwise would be paid to men, and the men so displaced must either find employment in other trades, or remain in idleness, while the community is not benefited in the least by the change; but contrariwise, for society is injured by the withdrawal of female labour from the domestic sphere; therefore, in that direction, the same sum is paid for a less amount of labour, and, in the other direction, men are living, or perhaps starving, unoccupied. Hence we conclude, from the social position of the

English female, from her domestic relations, and from the evils which supervene from her employment in trade, that females ought not to be employed in agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits; and that it is the duty of all, old and young, high and low, rich and poor, male and female, to discourage as much as possible the tendency to increase this great evil, which the morbid sentimentalism of these days has personified in a society for the express purpose of finding trades for female labourers.

“ Oh! what makes *woman* lovely?    Virtue, faith,  
And gentleness in suffering; an endurance  
Through scorn or trial.    These call beauty forth,  
Give it the stamp celestial, and admit it  
To sisterhood with angels.”

“ *Women!*    Help, heaven!    Men their creation mar  
In profiting by them.”

L'OUVRIER.

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INFLUENCE OF WOMEN IN THE PRESENT TIME.—The utter subjection of women to the arbitrary will of man is characteristic of countries steeped in ignorance, barbarism, and tyranny. The elevation of woman to the intellectual dignity of man, is characteristic of countries blessed with knowledge, civilization, and liberty. Let the despotic nations of the East regard the tender sex as slaves only to their uncontrolled dominion; but let the free nations of Europe prove their superiority in justice, refinement, and religion, by sharing with that sex all the mental pleasures of which they are as capable as ourselves. If incompetent legislators make bad laws, women are as deeply injured by their operations as men; if competent legislators secure good laws, women are as much benefited by the blessings they produce as men. Independently of which, if even men alone were subject to the evil or the good, how could women be indifferent to the happiness of their husbands, fathers, brothers, or sons, of whom such men must consist? From the lips of woman every infant hears the first accents of affection, and receives the first lessons of duty, in tenderness and love. For the approbation of woman, the grown-up youth will undertake the boldest enterprise, and brave every difficulty of study, danger, and even death itself. To the happiness of woman, the man of maturer years will devote the best energies of his body and mind. And, from the soothing and affectionate regards of woman, the man who is become venerable by years, derives his chief consolation in life's decline. Who, then, shall say, that the one half of the human race, and they confessedly the most virtuous and the most amiable, may not be entrusted with an intelligence and an influence equal to our own? To them, when sorrow afflicts us, we consign half our sufferings, and they cheerfully relieve us by lightening our burden. To them, when joy delights, we give the half of our pleasures, and they as readily consent to share them.—*Buckingham.*

## The Essayist.

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### THE LATE REV. GEORGE CROLY, LL.D.

At a time when Byron, Scott, Wordsworth, Campbell, Moore, Shelley, and Coleridge, were touching the lyre of Britain into melodious song, and stirring the hearts of the nation by their strains, it was some merit to be heard among the choir, and to be thought entitled to a seat beside these demi-gods of Fame. Such a position was achieved, almost by a first effort, by one who has but lately been consigned to the keepership of "that churl—Death." Scarcely had the clash of that fearful June carnage—Waterloo, been hushed; scarcely had the echoes of the jubilations of that wonderful year—which opened with the thunder-clap of war, and closed with the hum of general peace—ceased their resoundings, than there stole upon the delighted sense "the mellow breathings" of a new lute—tuneful and sweet, bold, rapid, and many-toned; and a new name glittered on the roll of Britain's "men of mark"—That name was CROLY. Forty-five years have now elapsed since then, and the singer is dead—and for him "the mourners go about the streets." Circumstances have of late considerably obscured the literary reputation of Dr. Croly, and it may not, therefore, be unserviceable to place before our readers, in a brief form, a notice of the life, works, and genius of this recently deceased and popular veteran in the book-world.

George Croly was born, of humble parentage (his father was a medical practitioner), in the city of Dublin, in 1785. His early life was not free from the embarrassments of poverty. He was educated in Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated A.M., not without distinction. He is reported to have pursued his studies during his collegiate course with a wild sort of intermittent earnestness and extraordinary power and aptitude, and to have succeeded in carrying away with him not only some university honours, but also a large amount of real classical, mathematical, and general learning. He was ordained by the Bishop of Meath (O'Byrne), and appointed to a small curacy in that diocese. Necessarily cast on his own resources while young, in the enthusiastic carelessness and self-reliance of conscious power, he threw himself into the arena of literary competition in London about the beginning of the present century. In the minor labours of the press—then rising into energy, and throbbing with the potency of great thoughts exerted on great subjects—he made his junior efforts in composition, and strewed upon the broadsheets of the newspaper the strong endeavours of a young man anxious to succeed. He was present at the entrance of the Allies into Paris in 1814, and amid the stir and

whirl of that time of change he formed the plan of, and accumulated the materials for that poem, by which he first acquired renown in the literary world—"Paris in 1815." It was distinguished by bold figures, singular fluency of language, strong anti-Napoleonic feeling, and displayed signs of intense power of picturesque description and vivid narrative. It met with much applause from various critics, and won for him both note and notice. Some of his verses are vivid and Byronic—*e.g.*, these lines—disjunct as they are—from a description of the Retreat from Moscow :—

"How glorious shone the invader's pomp—afar!  
Like pampered lions from the spoil they came;  
The land before them silence and despair;  
The land behind them massacre and flame;  
Blood will have tenfold blood. What are they now?—*a name!*

They reached the Borodino. Still  
Upon the loaded soil the carnage lay,  
The human harvest now stark, stiff, and chill,  
Friend, foe, stretched thick together, clay to clay:  
In vain the startled legions burst away,  
The land was all one naked sepulchre.

Heaven's clear arch  
At once is covered with a livid veil;  
In mixed and fighting heaps the deep clouds reel;  
Upon the dense horizon hangs the sun,  
In sanguine light—an orb of burning steel—  
The snows wheel down thro' twilight, thick and dun:  
Now tremble, men of blood, the judgment has begun.

In the awful gusts, the desert hoar  
Is tempest, a sea without a shore  
Lifting its feathery waves. The legions fly;  
Volley on volley down the hailstones pour;  
Blind, famished, frozen, mad, the murderers die,  
And dying, hear the storm but wilder thunder by.

That devoted train  
Must war—from day to day—with storm and gloom  
(Man following, like the wolves, to rend the slain);  
Must lie—from night to night—as in a tomb;  
Must fly, toil, bleed for home—yet never see that home."

Here, too, is a passage, descriptive of worship in Notre Dame, with a fine *homeward* turn of thought in it. Thomas Aird himself, "a bright, particular star" in the poetic horizon of the early part of the century, we know, admires it :—

"The organ peals;—at once, as some vast wave,  
Bend to the earth the mighty multitude;

Silent as those pale emblems of the grave  
 In monumental marble round them strewed.  
 Low at the altar, forms in cope and hood,  
 Superb with gold-wrought cross and diamond twine,  
 Life, in their upturned visages, subdued,  
 Toss their untiring censers round the shrine,  
 Where, on her throne of clouds, the Virgin sits divine.

But only kindred faith can fitly tell  
 Of the high ritual at that altar done,  
 When clashed the arms, and rose the choral swell,  
 Then sank as if beneath the grave 'twere gone;  
 'Till broke the spell the mitred Abbot's tone,  
 Deep, touching, solemn, as he stood in prayer,—  
 A dazzling form upon its topmost stone,—  
 And raised, with hallowed look, the Host in air,  
 And blessed, with heavenward hand, the thousands kneeling there.

Pompous! But love I not such pomp of prayer;  
 Ill bends the heart 'mid mortal luxury;  
 Rather let me the meek devotion share,  
 Where, in their silent glens and thickets high,  
 England! thy lone and lowly chapels lie.  
 The spotless table, by the eastern wall,  
 The marble, rudely traced with names gone by,  
 The pale-eyed pastor's simple, fervent call,—  
 These deeper wake the heart, where heart is all in all."

The detestation of the Napoleonic empire shown in this poem brought him within the range of the sympathies of Dr. (afterwards Sir) John Stoddart—brother-in-law of Hazlitt—then (1812-1817) editor of the *Times*. On his secession from "the Thunderer,"—caused by his inveterate anti-Bonapartism—Stoddart started the "New Times," and on this paper he employed Croly as dramatic critic—in pursuance of which duty he acquired that knowledge of scenic effect, and the theatrical cast of thought which induced him, in after years, to sigh for reputation—even at the footlights.

"The New Times" was not long-lived, though it incorporated "The Day" with it, and even changed itself into "The Morning Journal." About this time, however, "Blackwood's Magazine" was established, and Croly—along with some other London literary men, *e.g.*, Mudford, Galt, Deacon, Maginn, &c., was early placed upon its list of contributors—a place which he sustained both well and long.

In 1819 Croly married Miss M. E. Begbie.

In 1820, two poems of Croly's appeared, viz., "The Angel of the World," and "Sebastian," a Spanish tale. The former is an exquisitely fanciful paraphrase of that fiction of the Koran which tells of the fall of Haruth and Maruth from the glory and blessedness of heaven by the overpowering temptations of woman's loveliness and the fascinations of "the blood of the grape." The gorgeousness and grace of its oriental imagery, and the mellifluous sweetness of its



Spenserian versification, gave it a worth which its deficiency in human interest scarcely merited. The theme and execution far outstrip Moore's "Loves of the Angels." "Sebastian" is a far more disappointing production. It is hasty and unequal as a whole, though in parts there are passages which modern poetry would have difficulty to match, *e.g.*, the description of the Moorish palace of the Alhambra.

"Catiline: a Tragedy," was the product of the year 1822. It does not become the tragic robe and the cothurnus well. Though the subject possesses a unity of action and a deep passionate interest; though it affords scope for impressive declamation, striking situations, vivid and varied incident, we do not think the subject well chosen. It was a hazardous dramatic attempt to scale the height which Ben Jonson, Crebillon, and Voltaire, had essayed to do and failed. As a play, it was marred, too, by the author's acceptance of Cicero's rather than Sallust's conception of the great Roman conspirator. The poetry this play contains is, as occasion requires, energetic, life-like, and vigorous, or sweet, delicate, and graceful—but it is the poetry of imagination and intellect, not of fervid passion; it is rhetorical and speechificatory—and so is not *dramatic*. There are in it, however, splendid bursts of eloquence, such as in a plotful, well-constructed, and sufficiently active and bustling drama ought, one would think, to "bring down the house;" for instance, the following description of the effectiveness of Catiline's oratory, when "shaking all the tribes with mighty speech" in the Campus Martius, while opposing Cicero in his candidature for the consulship:—

" His words seemed oracles  
That pierced their bosoms; and each man would turn,  
And gaze in wonder on his neighbour's face,  
That with the like dull wonder answered him:  
Then some would weep, some shout; some, deeper touched,  
Keep down the cry by motion of their hands,  
In fear but to have lost a syllable."

Catiline in fight is bravely painted:—

" Where all was blood and steel,  
Plunging through steeds unridered, gory men  
Mad with their wounds, through lances thick as hail,  
As if he took the ranks for idle waves!  
Now seen, the battle's wonder; now below  
Mowing his desperate way, till with wild shrieks  
The throng rolled back, and Catiline sprung out,  
Red from the greaves to the helm."

This apostrophe to his sword by Catiline, though inappropriate in the play, is strong and trenchant:—

" This emblem of all miseries and crimes—  
The robber's tool that breaks the rich man's lock—

The murderer's master-key to sleeping hearts—  
 The orphan-maker—widower of brides—  
 The tyrant's strength—the cruel pirate's law—  
 The traitor's passport to his sovereign's throne—  
 The mighty desolator—that contains,  
 In its brief bar of steel, more woe to the earth  
 Than lightning, earthquake, yellow pestilence,  
 Or the wild fury of the all-avallowing sea."

This, also, is a "cheerless image of a statesman's life:"—

"To bear upon his brow the general care—  
 To make his daily food of anxious thoughts—  
 To rob the midnight of its wholesome sleep—  
 And all—but to be made the loftier mark  
 For every shaft that envy, sullen hate,  
 Or thwarted guilt can lay upon the string,  
 And have his thanks for all—Ingratitude!"

To this tragedy were added some fine pieces, collected from newspapers and magazines in which they had been previously published.

"Extremes meet;" and in a comedy whose title—"Pride must have a Fall"—might almost suggest a *double entendre*, he next tempted the boards, with, we believe, equal unsuccess. A more happy effort of his muse dates in the same year, viz., "Gems from the Antique." Richard Dagley, a gentleman of taste and talent, drew and etched copies of several ancient medallions, intaglios, cameos, &c., and to these Croly gave interpretative elucidation or suggestiveness in a series of fervid and beautiful, spirited and classical verses. This is a feat singularly well accomplished. The etchings are, as it were, "filled in" with soul, and beam out a meaning which his verse imparts to them. These poems are regarded as, all in all, the most perfect products of Croly's prolific pen. Worthy of special remark are his lines under a joint profile of Pericles and Aspasia; those on Leonidas, Diana, Sappho, and on Pindar. From the first we quote these two stanzas:—

"Yet not by fether, nor by spear,  
 His sovereignty was lost or won;  
 Feared—but alone as freemen fear;  
 Loved—but as freemen love alone;  
 He waved his sceptre o'er his kind,  
 By Nature's first great title—*mind*."

And throned immortal by his side,  
 A woman sits, with eye sublime—  
 Aspasia, all his spirit's bride;  
 But if their solemn love were crime,  
 Pity the Beauty and the Sage  
 Their crime was in their darkened age."

From the last we extract the opening and closing lines:—

"In the grave this head was laid—  
 All its atoms in the sun  
 For a thousand years have played,  
 Through a thousand shapes have gone.

"PINDAR! shall her glory die?  
 Shall, like thine, no godlike strain  
 Teach Greece to be great again?  
 Hear us from thy starry throne;  
 Hear! *by those of Marathon!*"

This use of the famous Demosthenic oath is a fine touch of classic genius. These elegant "Gems" may often lap the reader in Elysian delights, and fill at once the eye and the soul with a pleasant seeing.

In 1826, "The Monthly Magazine," which had been established in 1786, changed hands, and the new proprietary placed it under the editorial charge of Dr. Croly, who aspired to make it "The Blackwood of the South." Though conducted with great ability, it fell in circulation below the paying point, and was, in 1829, parted with by the proprietors at a loss. In this magazine appeared Croly's "Tales of the Great St. Bernard," &c.; and in 1830 a collected edition of his poetical works, in two volumes, was presented to the public.

Perhaps to hint his right to preferment, or to give publicity to his profession, Dr. Croly issued, in 1827, an important contribution to theological literature, entitled, "The Apocalypse of St. John, a new Interpretation," &c., which has been spoken of with praise in the churches. Other works on Divinity are mentioned as his, viz.: "The Three Cycles of Revelation," a "Treatise on Divine Providence," &c. In 1830, we think, he got a presentation to a living in the parish of Bondleigh, on the skirt of the Exmoor hills, in Devonshire; but so wild and uninviting was the semi-exile which it offered, that he never undertook the duties of his sacred office. He hurried back to London and the intellectual life it permitted. In the midst of the contentions agitation for the Reform Bill, he was not idle; yet when, in 1834, the living of St. Stephen's and St. Benet's, Walbrook, became vacant, at the urgent recommendation of Lord Brougham, Lord Lyndhurst presented Dr. Croly with the benefice. In the beautiful church of St. Stephen's, Croly soon attained the distinction of being one of London's first pulpit orators, and in the parish he made himself not only greatly but widely respected and revered. His repute as a literary man was then almost at its height, and of late he had almost assiduously devoted himself to parish and pulpit business, and so had, amid the more stentorian pulpitists of the day, fallen back into the ranks of working and noiseless *dutyists*. It was different in those days. There were clear yet somewhat exaggerated tones of thought displayed in his sermons, mingled with an imaginative vividness of illustration, singular acuteness and power, and strange expository

directness, that made him highly popular and sought after. These, too, were the days of the memory of his great efforts. He had thrilled the circulating libraries with that wild weird work—"Salathiel: a Romance," 1827. It is a story founded on the fabulous legend of the Wandering Jew, possessed of singular interest, graphic in characterization, forcible in style and thought, excited in plot, and strung up to the highest pitch of rhetorical exaggeration. Then, in 1839, he became the editor of a weekly Conservative newspaper—the *Britannia*, which now, we believe, survives under the designation of the *John Bull*. In the *Standard* and the *Herald* his political lucubrations subsequently appeared. He had editorial charge, too, of *The Universal Review*. In 1843-45, "Marston, or Memoirs of a Statesman," appeared in *Blackwood*. This is a full-toned, vigorous, excellently-composed fiction—one which was and is highly valued as an exposition and an exposure of political life. The writing is bold, nervous, and ringing. A "Life of Burke," (first published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1833-4), with whose fertile rhetorical mind his own had much affinity, is also the product of his pen. It is a biography full of painstaking merit, and one which displays keen insight into the character of that yet somewhat enigmatic public man.

A "Character of Curran;" "Essays on William Pitt"—opposing the views of Macaulay; on Napoleon I.—a vividly pictorial and fervidly eloquent production; and a "Personal History of King George the Fourth," &c., also bear his name—but on these we cannot enlarge.

In 1846, he published a satirical poem, entitled "The Modern Orlando," a work whose point was proven to be unblunted with the lapse of years by its re-issue in 1855. In 1847, Dr. Croly was appointed Lecturer in the Foundling Hospital.

This voluminous writer, to whom songs and sermons, novels and newspapers, politics and poetry, theatricals and theology, biography and business, history and homilies, came with equal acceptance, and from whom they received almost a similar vigorous fluency of treatment, was very much mixed up in a parish squabble of a protracted and disagreeable nature, which for a long time formed the theme of much of the weekly merriment of *Punch*—which is now all but forgotten. In 1854, a marble bust of himself by Behnes was presented by his congregation and friends to Dr. Croly, in the Mansion-house, on the completion of twenty years' service at the altar of St. Stephen's.

On the afternoon of Saturday, 24th November, while out walking, Dr. Croly was seized with a sudden illness. Perhaps he felt then like his own Catiline,—

"I feel a nameless pressure on my brow,  
As if the heavens were thick with sudden gloom;  
A shapeless consciousness of some dark blow  
Hanging above my head. They say such thoughts  
Partake of prophecy!"

If so, they were, in his instance, too truly prophetic; his illness arose from disease of the heart; he staggered, fell, and was taken to an hospital, but before reaching it, he was dead. The term of his life was ended, and the voice of one more teacher was dumb in the gates. Only his works and his example now live with us as stimulants and guides. His eldest son was killed in the Sutlej campaign, on Christmas-day, 1845; and his wife died on 25th Jan., 1851. Four sons and a daughter survive.

He has been, by his own express desire, and by permission of Sir G. C. Lewis, buried in the chancel of the church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook—where his bust is also to be placed. Under the roof which Wren built, he rests and sleeps; where his voice is no longer heard, his life and reputation will be a continual sermon; his memory will not readily altogether die, and his works may have a higher meed when the spirit that gave them birth has passed away than while he lived.

As one of those whose voice dates from the era of the literature of a former age, and whose presence linked our times with those in which the muse of Britain struck loftier notes than now (how few are left to us—Aird, Landor, and Milman only!) it is right that an appropriate word should be rendered to his life and writings. We have feebly, and we feel ineffectively, attempted to do this. The spirit that was, three-quarters of a century ago, "let loose from the Immortal Hand," has been recalled; let us rejoice that so much of its "bright essence" has been expressed for us. *He need not now ask,—*

"Golden sun,  
Shall I be like thee yet? The clouds have passed,  
And like some mighty victor he returns  
To his red city in the west, that now  
Spreads all her gates, and lights her torches up,  
In triumph for her glorious conqueror."

Q. S.

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## ON THE STUDY OF CHEMISTRY.

As soon as we begin to think and to reason, the various objects that surround us on all sides naturally attract and engage our attention. We cannot fail to be struck with their number, diversity, and beauty, and consequently feel a desire to be better acquainted with their properties and uses. If we reflect, also, that we ourselves are dependent on these objects, not merely for our pleasures and comforts, but for our very existence, the desire becomes irresistible; and hence that eager thirst for knowledge that animates and distinguishes all generous minds. Guided by these facts, we have chosen the science of "Chemistry" as the subject of this essay, and we purpose offering a few remarks illustrative of its importance, and the advantages to be derived from a knowledge of it.

Chemistry is the name given to the science which investigates the

composition of bodies, the changes which result from their union with, or separation from, each other; and the causes which regulate these changes; or, as Walker defines it, "The art or process, by which the different substances found in different bodies are separated from each other by means of fire." The word Chemistry is supposed to be derived from an Arabic word, signifying concealment. This name may have been given to the science from the secrecy which we know was observed by the alchemists of old, in all their proceedings. We must not suppose, however, that from the origination or derivation of the word Chemistry, any correct notion of the science may be obtained; for the operations of the chemists are now no longer conducted in secret, nor is Chemistry a science which the avaricious study for the sake of gain, as was the case with the alchemists. The illustrious men, Newton, Boyle, Cavendish, Black, and others, exposed the impostures of the alchemists, and converted the study of Chemistry, from being an instrument of gratifying man's selfish pleasures, to be one of the most glorious of studies. No study can give us more exalted views of the wisdom and goodness of the great Creator than this, which shows everywhere the most astonishing effects produced by the most simple though adequate means, and displays to our view the great care which has everywhere been taken to secure the happiness of every living creature.

"The whole and every part proclaims  
His infinite good will;  
It shines in stars, and flows in streams,  
And bursts from every hill."

Without further entering into the history of Chemistry, we would bring forward a few simple facts, illustrative of its importance, and the consideration which, as a science, it deserves from us. In the *first* place, let us look upon it as a science exemplified in the arts and manufactures of Great Britain, and we shall find that there is scarcely one, of any importance, that does not depend upon Chemistry for its establishment, its improvement, or for its successful and beneficial practice. For instance, in our most staple manufacture, iron, it will be found that, from the smelting of the ore till the conversion of it into steel, every operation is the result of chemical affinities. It requires no small share of chemical knowledge to be able to discern and appreciate the value of the different ores, and to erect such furnaces for their reduction as may be contrived in the best manner for facilitating their fusion. The subsequent processes to convert the metal into malleable iron are entirely chemical, and are performed to the best advantage by those who have acquired a knowledge of the chemical changes which take place in such operations. The making of that useful and invaluable article, cast steel, which formerly was kept a profound secret, is no longer so, but is known as a simple process, consisting chiefly of imparting to the metal a portion of carbon.

"Hail, adamant steel! magnetic lord!  
King of the prow, the ploughshare, and the sword!  
True to the pole, by thee the pilot guides  
His steady helm amid the struggling tides;  
Braves, with broad sail, the immeasurable sea;  
Cleaves the dark air, and asks no star but thee."

Of all metals, iron is the most invaluable one, as it possesses so many properties, exists in so many different states, and is capable of being applied to such a variety of purposes.

Another of the numerous and beneficial services that Chemistry has rendered mankind, is the lighting of our shops and streets by gas obtained by the destructive distillation of carbonaceous substances. The process of making gas from such bodies is very simple; yet in each particular stage coal (for instance) undergoes ere it becomes gas fit for use, Chemistry plays a most important part; in fact, in no art or manufacture has this science been so fully and successfully developed as in the one now referred to.

Again: Chemistry exercises another important part in the art of making glass,—that article so indispensable to comfort, and which, in its present advanced state of manufacture, enables us to attain such *definite and correct knowledge of other sciences*. Some idea of the progress in the manufacture of glass, from the period when it was supposed to have been discovered, to the present time, may perhaps be gained by the following paragraph from a celebrated author:—

"Who, when he saw the first sand or ashes, by a casual intenseness of heat, melted into a metalline form, rugged with excrescences and clouded with impurities, would have imagined that in that shapeless lump lay concealed so many conveniences of life as would in time constitute a great part of the happiness of the world? Yet was mankind taught by some fortuitous liquefaction to procure a body, at once in a high degree solid and transparent, which might admit the light of the sun and exclude the violence of the wind; which might extend the sight of the philosopher to new ranges of existence, and charm him at one time with the unbounded extent of the material creation, and at another with the endless subordination of animal life; and, what is yet of more importance, might supply the decays of nature, and succour old age with subsidiary sight." Thus was the first artificer in glass employed, though without his knowledge, in facilitating the enjoyments of life and enlarging the avenues of science, and conferring the highest and most lasting pleasure. In the various operations of dyeing and calico printing are exhibited some of the most refined and ingenious applications of Chemistry, though many processes in these arts were practised for ages. As far back as the time of Moses the dyeing of leather and linen was practised to an eminent degree, before any correct ideas were entertained as to the chemical nature of the substances used; yet dyeing is, strictly speaking, a chemical art, and cannot be

properly understood without some definite acquaintance with the chemical properties of the acting bodies. In fact, the glass-blower, potter, dyer, smith, and all workers either in mineral or vegetable matter, are indebted in a great measure to the science of chemistry, and are really practical chemists;—not that we mean to assert that they possess a knowledge of chemistry; for, on the contrary, the majority of them are entirely ignorant of its nature and use, and imagine its proper place is solely in preparing drugs and medicines. This idea is a very erroneous one, for it is not at all indispensable to a druggist to possess a knowledge of chemistry—there are many well-to-do druggists who know little or nothing about it, and the designation of “chemist and druggist” is oftener than not a false title, the owners being no more than druggists. But some one may say all this does not go far to show the importance of chemistry (which is the object of this paper), for if the glass-blower, smith, dyer, druggist, and others can work very well without a knowledge of it, would it not be a loss, a waste of time, for them or for us to study so abstruse a science? No, it would not; for you must not forget that before things can be made, the way to make them must first be found, and I distinctly assert that many of those wonderful improvements that chemistry has made in these arts would have taken hundreds of years to discover, had it been by guessing, or the work of chance. Take, for example, pottery, porcelain, and other hardware manufactures, improvements in which have been solely the work of chemistry. Those who have read the life of “Palissy the Potter” can well understand the trouble and disadvantages of conducting an investigation on any but scientific principles. We have another example of the importance and use of the science of chemistry in the art of photography, which is now so highly valued amongst us. Again, in the cases of the Rugely and Richmond poisonings, the circumstances of which will be remembered by most readers, chemistry lent its invaluable aid: in fact, had it not been for the searching processes and the infallible tests performed by its agency, and applied by those eminent men who conducted the analyzation, the ends of justice would not have been met, the criminals would have escaped, and they or others might have been tempted to apply similar means to the furtherance of their plans without any fear of detection. Further, there is scarcely an article which we use, either for luxury, comfort, or necessity, in whose preparation chemistry has not played a most important part. For instance, the use of charcoal in the refining of sugar and its evaporation in vacuum pans is altogether a chemical operation; yet how beneficial is the application of this small scientific principle! If we turn our attention to the bread we eat, which is perhaps the most important article of diet, how many chemical changes take place in its preparation?—the formation of alcohol and carbonic acid gas, their expulsion by heat, which causes the bread to rise, and the different substitutes for yeast. Perhaps of all persons profited and most indebted to the science of chemistry is the farmer, as it shows



him, among other things, when his land does not possess a sufficient amount of mineral matter. It goes still further, and shows him the very substances it is deficient in, and consequently what it is necessary to add, and thus every farmer can at once apply the manure best suited to his land.

Numerous other examples of the importance of chemistry as an art might be stated, but we must briefly view it in its higher position as a science, enabling us to trace the effect as nearly as possible to its cause, and continuing this till we approach the Great First Cause. As a science, it explains the phenomena of nature—the causes of rain, hail, snow, dew, lightning, thunder, and when we are to expect them. Again, in our bodies the science of chemistry shows that we are “fearfully and wonderfully made.” The process of the conversion of food into brain is purely chemical. It shows the mutual dependence of the parts on one another; the causes of ill health, and consequently how to keep the body in good order; and if man is so careless as to neglect to do this, the science of chemistry does still more—it points to the way of escape from the evils he or she has brought upon themselves, and furnishes man with means for preventing, in a great measure, the recurrence of such evils.

Surely the study of that which is so useful as an art, and which, as a science, has such a tendency to elevate man as a reasonable being, is worthy of the most serious attention of every individual. Even without entering into the minute details of chemistry, men might obtain sufficient knowledge of the science as would not only create an interest in the common occurrences of life, but would enlarge the sphere of their ideas, and render the contemplation of nature a source of delightful instruction.

“To me be Nature’s volume broad displayed,  
And to peruse its all-instructing page  
My sole delight.”

But such is not generally the case, inasmuch as this branch of knowledge, even in this present age of progress and enlightenment, is possessed, comparatively speaking, by very few. The science of chemistry ought to form an essential branch of education to be carried on in our educational establishments; but then the majority of teachers in public or private schools are entirely ignorant of it. We have, however, in our large towns, at least one or two places of education where the science of chemistry is taught in all its theoretical and practical principles. Even with this advantage within the reach of many, few avail themselves of it, and the reason they do not, is perhaps because they imagine that a knowledge of chemistry is not required in every-day life. Be this as it may, we can say from experience, being ourselves connected with one of the most extensive manufactories or sugar refineries in the United Kingdom, that we have derived no inconsiderable feeling of gratification in being able to understand a few of the many appliances resorted to

therein, and this resulting merely from a little knowledge of chemistry.

We trust by the foregoing remarks to have removed a few objections to the study of this science, having pointed out a few of its applications, its general use, and the necessity of its becoming an essential branch of education. It only remains for me to mention a few works which may be advantageously consulted by those readers who aim at the acquirement of substantial useful knowledge. From the very extensive list of works upon this subject I can confidently recommend the following:—Fownes' "Chemistry;" Gregory's "Manual" (2 vols.); Liebig's "Letters on Chemistry;" Faraday's "Chemical Manipulations;" Johnson's "Chemistry of Common Life;" Turner's "Chemistry," edited by Gregory, and Brandt's "Chemistry."

GEORGE.

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## The Reviewer.

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*Syllabus of a Proposed System of Logic.* By AUGUSTUS DE MORGAN.  
London: Walton & Maberly.

THE controversy between the *numericalists* and the *conceptionalists* in Logic promises soon to have a large and illustrious literature to itself. De Morgan and Boole are the greatest of modern mathematical logicians, and Sir William Hamilton and Mansel are the most sturdy and able of their opponents. The two views might probably be harmonized by a great thinker, well trained and cultured in the sciences of quantity. There can be no doubt of the ultimate unity of all truth; but the ordinary human mind has scarcely a receptive capacity sufficient to take in the whole of any one given system of truth. There is a painful one-sidedness in man—a one-sidedness which this serial strives to reduce to a *minimum*, by showing that differing parties have generally good grounds—as at least they appear to themselves—for the several beliefs they entertain. This one-sidedness is greatly increased by our common methods of culture, which lay it down as a law that inclination is to be consulted in regard to what and how we study. This is the way to make a successful, not a perfect man—and success is the god of man's idolatry.

When special aptitudes receive special culture, and the eye is constantly turned *away* from one phase of the truth, and as continuously turned *towards* the other, there cannot but be a growing incapacity of, as well as dislike to, admitting that in that which we have not studied, or do not think, or think about, there is anything really meritorious; and so we go on, with self-blinded eyes, to pursue each his own course. Habit completes the evil that inclination began, and culture strengthened, and at last we become sceptical of every view but our own. This is a dishonest style of culture, and ought to be repudiated. What we dislike most is

that, in general, which we have most need to learn. The poet despises the careful savingness of the man of business; the merchant contemns the ideal beatitude of the versifier—neither is right, for they have only seen and felt half truths each. Most controversies originate in this same failing, and sustain their living power by the steadfastness with which we shut our eyes against the views opposed to those we hold. This is not the place to enter into a review of the stirring battle of the Logics, which we have indicated as having been, and as still being, carried on—for we do not here judge of or decide upon controverted points; but upon merit, whether *pro* or *con*.—worth is to be the object of our search.

Professor De Morgan is a man of large mind and wide culture, and his contributions to the literature (if we may so call it) of Mathematics are extensive and valuable. That singular clearness of thought and aptness to hit upon the *punctum saliens* of an idea, which he has acquired by long and close and keen mathematical concentration of faculties, do not in him operate in only one direction—though they always maintain the associative tendency to do so. He sees mathematics in everything, it is true; but he also sees more than mathematics. This a feeble-minded man could not do. The heavens would be to him an equation, chemistry would be a series of proportionals, and history a chronological problem—quantity and number would be the all in all. De Morgan is a man superior to these foibles, or rather feebleness of the mind. He is profound and subtle as a thinker, and clear, concise, and explicit as a teacher. This small tractate of 72 pages, at one shilling, contains an excellent, intelligible, brief, and useful synopsis of *mathematized logic*. It touches upon many points of deep concernment to logical science, and it does so with a singular expertness of style and quick dissective incisiveness—to read it is no small training in practical logic. It is so arranged and expressed, that students even of conceptional logic may easily follow its form, and readily acquire a knowledge of the significant phraseology in which it is couched. The forms of propositions and of syllogisms, and their various capabilities, are clearly noted; the distinctions between species and genera are acutely marked; and the whole work is distinct and mind-bracing. Being only a *syllabus*, it is not exhaustive in its treatment of the many topics it discusses. It is a porch to the author's formal Logic, and it places within reach of the public the results of several scattered productions of the learned, published in the "Cambridge Transactions" and elsewhere. Through the kindly courtesy of the author, we have been favoured with copies of most of these; but we must say we relish the explicit and unified treatment the subject has received in this small pamphlet better than the cursive and discursive discussions which the dismembered papers contained. Readers of logical treatises would do well to add this to their stock—and would do better if they would fix many of its truths by daily familiarity in their minds. Whatever side of the controversy he may take, he will find this author a man worthy of studious attention, respect, and love.

*Essays contributed to the Quarterly Review.* By the Rev. J. J. BLUNT, B.D. London: Murray. 1860. 12s.

THESE essays are fourteen in number, have no connection of subjects, and are not arranged in systematic order. Though some of them were written upwards of thirty years ago, their re-publication is very opportune at the present moment, since they refer to subjects of increasing interest and importance. The first essay is on "The Church in India," and is mainly occupied with an account of the labours of that eminent divine and faithful christian minister, Bishop Heber. "The Reformation in Italy," the subject of another essay, is also discussed at length, and in an able and suggestive style, and will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in the great cause of truth and justice. The other essays, with the exception of those on "Village Preaching," "Village Schools," and "Church Rates," are biographical, and embrace variety of character sufficient to satisfy the general reader. We may instance especially those on "Milton," "Paley," and "Bishop Butler," as being remarkable for the depth of their criticism.

We wish we could add our favourable testimony to the essay on "Robert Hall," in which Mr. Blunt says, "that, though quite unconscious of party feelings, and certainly having opened Hall's works with many prepossessions in favour of the writer, we cannot altogether submit to charges so intemperate, and lick the hand upheld to lay low what of earthly institutions we most estimate." The whole essay is an elaborate but bad-tempered attack upon a great and good man. The other essays, on "Dr. Parr," "Cranmer," and "Adam Clarke," will well repay a thoughtful perusal.

*Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.* By the Right Hon. Sir J. STEPHEN, K.C.B. Fourth Edition. Complete in One Volume; with a Biographical Notice of the Author, by his Son. 8vo. Pp. 680. Price 14s. London: Longmans and Co.

THOSE who know anything of Sir James Stephen, or his works, will, we are convinced, hasten to enshrine his memory in this edition of his essays, now published in so accessible a form. Ten of the twelve essays are biographical, one critical, and one speculative. When we remember the multifarious character of their author's engagements during a long and important public career, we cannot but express our surprise that these "essays, written during the intervals of business," should contain so much condensed thought, and be alike remarkable for their scholarly finish and profound learning.

The biographical essays all relate to persons whose lives are interesting in a theological or ecclesiastical point of view. Five of them relate to Roman Catholics, and five to Protestants. Of those which relate to Roman Catholics, two are concerned with individuals, namely, Hildebrand and St. Francis of Assis, whilst three describe groups of characters connected by the objects or the habits of their lives.

The mind of Sir J. Stephen was of greater depth, and, taken as a whole, of richer combination than that of Lord Macaulay.

In the volume before us there are passages which, as examples of condensed power, and of clearness and vigour in expression, could not be surpassed. Sir James was a large-hearted Christian, full of sympathy for nobleness wherever it was to be met with: and this disposition frequently led him to pass somewhat lightly over evils that he should have branded; and some of our readers will think neither the Roman system nor Roman saints are entitled to anything like the leniency he has shown them.

We cordially commend this volume to the intelligent student, satisfied that it will abundantly repay a careful reading.

*Songs of the Covenant Times.* By an AYRSHIRE MINISTER.  
Edinburgh: Nimmo. London: Simpkin & Co.

SONG and legend have embalmed in the memories of men the doings, sayings, and sufferings of the Puritans of Scotland—the Covenanters. The nobleness of faith is always a pleasing theme of thought. Faith is not only the essence of religion; it is also a large ingredient in poetry. Imagination is only the earth-bounded vision of faith—and poetry is the expression of imagination. There are two schools of poetry which are ever at variance, though they are strictly and closely allied—they may be respectively defined as *the realization of the ideal*—e.g., dramatic, epic, descriptive, and some sorts of narrative poems; and as *the idealization of the real*—e.g., most narrative, many descriptive, all lyric, and didactic poems. Chaucer, Shakespere, Dante, Milton, Coleridge, Scott, &c., are examples of the one sort; Tasso, Goethe, Crabbe, Wordsworth, Tennyson, &c., may be regarded as instances of the other.

As poetry is, in reality, thought so permeated by emotion as to acquire a seeming vitality and objective being—it is evident that any circumstance, feeling, or event, which deeply and strongly excites the emotions and the thoughts, must be likely to result in poetry—if the emotioned thought is expressed. The power which “bodies forth” such ideas is imagination—the seeming eye of the mind. There is an unquestionable grandeur in heroism; but when heroism is sublimated into self-sacrifice, and that devotion is shown in submission to death for a belief, because faith so markedly reveals the unseen to the soul that earthly objects fade upon the vision in comparison—the sublimity of the act is unquestionable. Heroes, saints, and martyrs, have been in all ages held as being among the earth’s worthies. When, however, the three are fused into one, the essential nobility of the act is intensified. Among the Puritans of England, the Lutherans of Germany, the Waldenses of Italy, the Albigenses of France, and the Covenanters of Scotland, heroism has often taken this its noblest form, and “for the faith that was in them,” when not suffered to “render a reason,” they have offered *themselves*.

The memory of the Covenanters is dear in Scotland—and in all

churches seeking a pure faith leading to a life of purity. When Sir Walter Scott maligned their memory, M'Crie replied, and overmastered the king of fiction. Poet after poet has risen up to pronounce blessing and eternal praise upon the lovers of a free bible and free thought, and no theme has been more frequently chosen for story and song than the heroes and heroines of the Covenant.

The Jacobite poetry of Scotland is feeling and stirring,—linking the love of the people for their king to music; but the Covenant poetry of Scotland is the product of deeper love and more earnest emotion than any earthly king or kaiser could evoke. A radiance from heaven gilds the lines, and a music echoed from angel-harps often mingles with the tones that strike the listening ear. It is a dangerous venture to attempt to compose "Songs of the Covenant Times"—for success is rare, and failure is imminent.

The author of these "Songs" has wisely limited himself in his "choice of the subjects he has versified" to an effort "to commemorate the cases which happened in the locality where his own lot is cast." He has thus secured the co-operation of all his associative faculties, with all his powers of remembrance, and all his capacities for observation. The subjects of frequent meditation, of constant suggestion, of impressive influence on his feelings and thoughts, have thus gradually matured and ripened out of the seedlings of history or tradition into the flowerets of song—some of them consummate in beauty, and bearing a benison in their bosoms.

Written at first from mere delight in treading the path of history, or unwinding the clue of tradition to the melody of his own soul, and indulging the emotions that came welling up out of the fountains of his own heart, the author has succeeded in touching the sympathies of others into kindredness with his own, and he has published his own delight for the delight of others. We are sure that every feeling heart will thank him, and every lover of religious heroism will frankly confess that he has done well in flooding the souls of others with the light which Poesy has kindled in his breast while traversing the storied fields of Scotland, and the sacred scenes where the blue banner of the Covenant men has waved for "God and Fatherland."

The perplexity of perplexities is to show proof in our brief notice of the assertions here made. Shall we choose the fine, condensed, dramatic, and expressive narrative of a Scottish cottar's family during "The Black Saturday, 4th August, 1641," with its exquisite lines—some of which Hogg or Burns might have envied; or the simple and pathetic ballad of "John Brown, of Preesthill;" or the many-rhythmed and powerful tale of "The Martyrs of Wigton Land;" or the delicately modulated blank verse of "Pedin, the Hill Preacher"? Choice is difficult where all is good—yea, excellent; and lengthy extracts can alone do justice to narrative poetry. Let us say these are no common poems; and, as testimony of our saying what we feel and think, let our initials place the responsibility on the proper person.

S. N.

"*Self-made Men.*" By the Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON. London: Snow. Price 5s.

NOTWITHSTANDING the numerous works which are constantly issuing from the press, of a similar character to the one before us, we think there is no danger of the subject being overdone; and therefore we hesitate not to introduce this new book on *Self-made Men* to our readers. The author opens with a vigorously written introductory address; then points out some of the characteristics of *Self-made Men*; gives outlines of the lives of John Bunyan, Edward Baines, Hugh Miller, and John Kitto, as illustrious examples of their order; and concludes with some sensible remarks on how such men are made, with the duty of all seeking to become like them. There is nothing special in the book, either as it regards character or merits; but its perusal must do good, and exercise a very beneficial stimulative influence upon the young.

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## Poetic Section.

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### BRITISH POETRY.—THE DRAMA.

No new thing ever at first, be it never so true, obtains foothold in the world as an unmixed good. The mist gathers on the mountain top, where earth and heaven kiss each other; the drops make channels for themselves; away down the steep they mingle, and the music of the dropping is lost in the noise of the cataract, turbulent and strong, full of power, but full of impurities; far along the plain is the crystal river, deep, quiet, beautiful.

The mist-like thought gathers, and broods high over man's yet highest attainment, resolves itself into trembling effort, sends its prophetic whisper hymning through the world, grows strong, and in its strength forgets its purity, like all else that touches earth; as time speeds, becomes matured, deepened, expanded, and at last is acknowledged to be a good. Such will be with the drama; such, indeed, *is*, but unacknowledged. Obscured in its first utterances, apparently meaningless in its intent, it feebly strove, modestly attempted, then gradually, but swiftly, developed into fulness of utterance, and became, ere long, the giant of literature.

We, looking back upon the early life of the drama,—that part of it which, being breathed into by genius, cannot die,—wonder that Fashion, the fond foster-mother of every new thing, did not over-lie to the death the infant it so madly clasped; for fashion it is that leads literature, whereas literature should hold the reins of fashion. Witness our own time. The fashion of the age is *not* profundity, consequently light literature comes laying its wand at the feet of the great patron. But I forget that *now* and *then* are not fair parallels, since now to be wise is to be vain, to write vanities and speak brilliant nothings. Then to be vain in outward show was the symbol of wisdom; the wit had to wear the cap and bells before

fashion would give ear to his words. All is vanity. How to serve up an idea, palatably sweetened, perfumed, and puffed, is too much the aim of moralist, poet, and, we must add, preacher. How, then, can we honestly wonder that an equal obliquity of mental vision affected the seers of the olden time?

Our early drama, following in the wake of fashion, allowed its intellect to lapse into affectation mental, because affectation sensual was courtly and approved. English bluntness became an excuse for unmanly indelicacy of expression; frankness was called on to patronize bombast; the virtues, one and all, were made masks to cover corrupt manners and unbridled passions. I do not rail at those times, remember, those fathers of ours, those fashions. We have more knowledge, and less proportional purity.

To say the best of our early drama is that, with very few exceptions, it was gross, immoral, and altogether impure, and that such degradation was the result of demand, and not of spontaneous or even willing action. Genius is rarely misleading, if not first misled.

It is painfully evident, in reading Marlowe, Decker, Marston, Heywood, and others of that period, that their plots were made light and lascivious, to catch the public ear. Their realities of thought, their heart utterances, being, at the same time, pure and very beautiful; and ever the mask grinned and smirked, whilst the heart pulsed with true love and many sorrows, with wit and virtuous discernings. Let fashion, mis-named taste, bear for this, judgment of eternal shame. Truth panted and yearned to clasp the world's soul to her heart; but folly, pandering idleness, and insane fashion, put tinsel over the true gold, and buried the deep-springing waters of nature's truest passion beneath an earth-load of impurity and false seeming. This may not be illustrated here, but may be seen by any student of our early literature.

The drama withal has had a noble work to perform, and has in part succeeded.

The work was to train the few to take master-thoughts, and teach them, in pleasant manner, to the many. The success is, that there are many teachers of much that is grand, and beautiful, and holy; but the drawback, the blank side of the picture is, that many there are who seek no inspiration from hero minds, and who darken the world with the ravings of their own unutterable littleness.

Dramatic teaching, as involved in theatrical representation, is at present under the ban of the majority of wise men. Let us reason together. Good thoughts should be told. Allowed. May be told publicly, to large masses, that all men may profit. May be told pleasantly, and even humorously. May be accompanied with gesture to impress, and vehemence to enforce. All allowed.—But, passion is excited, and passion, when most a virtue, is nearest to vice—and men trade in each other, and low amusement, such as deteriorates the quality of manliness, is provided by the cunning, who know what bait can take most gold, careless if there must be



poison mixed with it. Just so. Therefore, why do men of stature, men of mind, men of religious intent, neglect to improve a power so mighty, if its present health is weakened? If anything is worth keeping alive, it is worth strengthening. If anything is uncared for, will it not weaken—aye, become soon pestilential? I hold that our theatres are a by-word among men because of the neglect they have suffered. SPECULATION has caught hold of the noblest outgrowth of our nation's heart, and is degrading into a reproach one of the most searching, powerful, and intellectual of modern realities.

The world has much to answer for, and so have those who, soaring above the world, forget that, in true discipleship, they should strive to "lift all men" up with them.

The machinery, or plot, of the old drama was often exceedingly curious. Witches were decided favourites as mediums of demonology—murder, revenge, and blasphemy were put into the mouths of these convenient receptacles. Fairies were greater favourites still—merry pranks, and all good-natured, humorous frolics, had fairies put in charge over them. Ghosts were carefully introduced, revealing murderers' hiding-places, and pointing out mysteriously to hidden treasures. And men and women (here is the relieving feature) were pictured mainly as men and women—speaking as they thought—not passing good, nor over bad.

Here, for instance, is a comedy by Heywood and Broome, called "The Late Lancashire Witches." Mr. Generous, by taking off a bridle from a seeming horse in his stable, discovers it to be his wife, who has transformed herself by magical practices, and is a witch. On making this discovery, he cries out,—

"Keep aloof:

And do not come too near me. O my trust!  
Have I, since first I understood myself,  
Been of my soul so chary, still to study  
What best was for its health; to renounce all  
The works of that black fiend with my best force;  
And hath that serpent twined me so about,  
That I must lie so often and so long  
With a devil in my bosom?"

At this time witches were believed in by not poets only, but by most learned divines.

Magicians were also believed in, and made the dramatic medium of much true philosophy, mixed up with a great deal of astrology and superstition.

Of true poetry specimens abound in plays whose titles would never betray the hiding-place—a bad name often covering a good sentiment. In "The Hog has Lost his Pearl," by Robert Tailor, is this:—

"Friendship ought never be discuss'd in words  
Till all her deeds be finished."

Joseph Cooke writes,—

“How ruthless men are to adversity!  
My acquaintance will scarce know me—when we meet,  
They cannot stay to talk, they must be gone,  
And shake me by the hand as if I burnt them.”

Thomas Decker, who often approaches the prince of dramatists in beauty of expression, has—

“Patience! why, ’tis the soul of peace:  
Of all the virtues ’tis nearest kin to heaven;  
It makes men look like gods. The best of men  
That e’er wore earth about him was a Sufferer—  
A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit;  
The first true gentleman that ever breathed.”

The happy man is :—

“He whose right hand carves his own epitaph.”

An aged father, about to sacrifice his daughter to save her honour, speaking to his son, says :—

“O my son,  
I am her father; every tear I shed  
Is three-score-ten years old.”

The daughter says :—

“Welcome, O poison!  
Thou rare apothecary, that canst keep  
My chastity preserved within this box  
Of tempting dust—this painted earthen pot,  
That stands upon the stall of the white soul,  
To set the shop out like a flatterer,  
To draw the customers of sin.”

George Chapman utters the true longing of a noble heart, when he says :—

“Give me a spirit that on life’s rough sea  
Loves to have his sails filled with a lusty wind  
Even till his sail-yards tremble, his mast crack,  
And his rapt ship run on her side so low,  
That she drinks water, and her keel ploughs air.  
There is no danger to a man, that knows  
What life and death is: there’s not any law  
Exceeds his knowledge; neither is it lawful  
That he should stoop to any other law:  
He goes before them, and commands them all,  
That to himself is a law rational.”

“He should be born grey-headed, that will bear  
The weight of empire.”

“The weight of blood,  
Even in the basest subject, doth exact  
Deep consultation in the highest King.”

Thomas Heywood has a legend in his "Royal King and Loyal Subject," which in every respect might be applied to illustrate very modern doings, to wit, Italian liberty and her liberator:—

#### A PERSIAN HISTORY.

"I read, of late, how the great Sophy, once  
Flying a noble falcon at the herne,  
In comes, by chance, an eagle, sousing by,  
Which, when the hawk espies, leaves her first game,  
And boldly ventures on the king of birds.  
Long tugg'd they in the air, till, at the length,  
The falcon (better breathed) seized on the eagle  
And struck it dead. The barons praised the bird,  
And, for her courage, she was peerless held.  
The Emperor, after some deliberate thought,  
Made her no less. He caused a crown of gold  
To be new framed, and fitted to her head,  
In honor of her courage. Then the bird,  
With great applause, was to the market-place  
In triumph borne; where, when her utmost worth  
Had been proclaimed, the common executioner,  
First, by the King's command, took off her crown,  
And after, with a sword, struck off her head,  
As one no better than a noble traitor  
Unto the king of birds."

Cyril Tourneur, in the "Revenger's Tragedy," has:—

"O you heavens,  
Take this infectious spot out of my soul!  
I'll rinse it in seven waters of mine eyes;—  
Make my tears salt enough to taste of grace.  
To weep is to our sex naturally given,—  
But to weep truly is a gift of heaven."

"A drab of state,—a cloth-o'-silver slut,  
To have her train borne up, and her soul trail in the dirt!"

John Webster, in the tragedy of the "Duchess of Malfy," writes:—

"Virtue was never made  
To seem the thing it is not."

"I look now  
Like to your picture in the gallery:—  
A deal of life in show, but none in practice."

"Glories, like glow-worms, afar off shine bright,  
But, look'd too near, have neither heat nor light."

"Upon a time, Reputation, Love, and Death,  
Would travel o'er the world; and 'twas concluded  
That they should part, and take their several ways.  
Death told them they should find him in great battles,

Or cities plagued with plagues. Love gives them counsel  
To inquire for him 'mongst unambitious shepherds,  
Where dowries were not talked of; and sometimes  
'Mongst quiet kindred, *that had nothing left*  
*But their dead parents.* 'Stay!' quoth Reputation,—  
'Do not forsake me; for it is my nature,  
If once I part from any man I meet,  
I am never found again."

From Ben Jonson much might be extracted to show the vein of silver running through the dark rock. Let this suffice :—

"Contain your flux of laughter, sir. You know this HOPE  
Is such a bait as eovers any hook."

Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger—the favourites of modern times,—are very full of such poetry as makes the reader think of Shakespere. Their plays are so well-known, that to give extracts would be superfluous.

Of all these early dramatists, Charles Lamb writes :—"One characteristic of the excellent old poets is their being able to bestow grace upon subjects which naturally do not seem susceptible of any." This is palpably true; and yet it would be hard to recommend, unreservedly, these clever old poets, since the weeds are so many, and the flowers so few. In our next Essay, treating of the poetry of Shakespere, *reserve* need not hold our pen, as it necessarily has done in this.

F. G.

The ornamental accomplishments, so far as there is room for them without breaking in upon others, deserve not to be neglected, for they have their uses too. They furnish engagement for the time; filling up the spaces which would be otherwise worse employed; they find matter for the judgment to work upon, exercise the faculties, and keep them steady to one regular pursuit; they procure credit to the possessor, make men sociable by being able to give mutual entertainment, and thereby introduce opportunities of doing one another more important services, by bringing them into better confidence and knowledge of their reciprocal wants. Though they terminate only in pleasure, yet the amusements of life, when to be had without an after-reckoning, are an object well worth the striving for.—*Search's Light of Nature.*

Elegance of tastes procures to a man so much enjoyment at home, or easily within reach, that, in order to be occupied, he is, in youth, under no temptation to precipitate into hunting, gaming, drinking; nor, in old age, to avarice. A just relish of what is beautiful, proper, elegant, and ornamental, in writing or painting, in architecture or gardening, is a fine preparation for discerning what is beautiful, just, elegant, or magnanimous in character or behaviour. But after all that is said in praise of taste, we must place it in a subordinate rank to good sense, and a power and habit of just reasoning.—*Lord Kaimes.*

## The Inquirer.

### QUESTIONS TO WHICH ANSWERS ARE SOLICITED.

127. Can you tell me the age of Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia?—**QUÆRENS.**

128. It has been often said that there are a great affinities between the Doric of Scotland—or Burns' language, if I may use the only set of words I know of likely to suggest my meaning—and the German tongue. Could anybody point out to me any means of proving this to be a fact?—**DISCIPULUS.**

129. I have somewhere read that, shortly after the publication of Sir Walter Scott's "Essay on Fielding," the novelist, it was plagiarized by a French critic. Is this true? If so, who was he? Which is the best biography of Fielding?—**G. T.**

130. Will one of your readers be good enough to inform me when and how the custom of "hanging out the broom" at the mast-head of ships to be sold, originated?—**G. E. O.**

131. I will be obliged by any information as to where I may get good portraits, for framing, of Shakspeare, Milton, and Sir W. Scott.—**SCHILLER.**

132. What were the colour, form, and material of the ancient Roman mourning costume? also the same particulars respecting the costumes of priests and priestesses?—**ANTIQUARIAN.**

133. I should feel obliged if any of your correspondents could give me particulars, or inform me where I can obtain them, of the Art-Exhibition, which I believe is to take place in Paris next summer, i. e., the latest date on which pictures may be sent in, and to whom the rules as to size, frames, &c. If the gentleman kindly answering these inquiries, or any other of your correspondents, be conversant with the French language, I shall be happy to correspond with him for mutual im-

provement. Your insertion of this in your next number will be esteemed a favour.—**APELLES.**

134. How can square miles geographical be converted into square miles English?—**IGNORAMUS.**

### ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

112. *The Origin of the National Anthem.*—In answer to your correspondent regarding this subject, permit me, having studied this subject somewhat, to offer the following facts and remarks.

In the year 1715, Henry Carey, the author of "Sally in our Alley," wrote a song for the Jacobite party, to which he belonged, beginning "God save great James our king," which he afterwards altered to suit the Hanoverian dynasty, and sang it in public on the occasion of Admiral Vernon's victory at Portobello, in 1740, announcing it as his own composition.

Such is the origin of "God save the king," as authenticated by the most trustworthy evidence, for which latter I must refer your correspondent to Mr. Chappell's admirable work on Ancient English Music, where he will find a long and erudite review of this interesting subject.

The account of the origin of our national anthem, quoted by "J. R. Page," will thus be seen to be incorrect; for in the verse of the hymn which Madame de Cregny has given us, there are three lines too many to be sung to the air of "God save the king;" and although Handel was a great admirer of the beauty of our national air, yet he never, directly or indirectly, attempted to claim its composition, or adaptation from the French; on the contrary, his musical amanuensis and bosom friend, John Christopher Smith, commonly called "Handel Smith," is the very man who avers that it was the composition of

Henry Carey, so that we are compelled to disbelieve the statement of Madame de Cregny, that "God save the king" was composed by Lully, and brought to England by Handel.

I do not offer the foregoing remarks in any controversial spirit, but simply in order that your correspondents, seeking information, may not be misled.—**PONTIFEX.**

126. *The inventor of the kilt* was an Englishman, Thomas Rawlinson, an iron-smelter, about 1728. The *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1785, and the "Culloden Papers," afford proof that this so-called national costume is not an old Scottish dress, but a new fashion and an importation.—**JEAMES.**

127. *Victor Emmanuel II.* was born in March, 1820. He is the son of Charles Albert, his immediate predecessor on the throne, whose resignation, after the battle of Novara, gave Victor the crown he wears. Though the son of one Austrian princess, and the husband of another, he is a determined foe to Austrian absolutism; and though a pupil of the Jesuits, he has been the uncompromising opponent of the Pope's claim of temporal supremacy. He is a determined constitutionalist; and, as he is only forty years of age, Italy has much to hope from him. A united Italy would be a great good to Europe.—**RESPONDENS.**

128. There have been published, set to music, "Ten Scottish Songs" (Zehn Scottische Lieder), rendered into German by W. B. McDonald, Esq., of Rammerscales, N.B., and published in Leipzig and London, which go very far to prove the close affinity between the Scottish and German dialects. The following verses may show, viz.:—

*Her name it is Mary,*  
Ihr name ist Marie,  
*She's frae Castlecary;*  
Sie ist von Schlosscary;

*Aft has she sat, when a' bairns, on my knee.*

Offtmals, als Kind, sass sie mor auf dem Knie.

*Fair as your face is,*

*Wie schön dein Gesicht auch,  
Wer't fifty times fairer,  
War's fünfsigmal schöner,  
Young bragger, she ne'er would give  
kisses to thee.*

*Du Prahlcr, sie gütze küsse dir nie.—*

**CELT.**

129. It is true. Gustave Planche is the man. It is contained in his "Portraits Littéraires." The best biography in English is by Frederick Lawrence, Esq., of the Middle Temple. It is published by Hall, Virtue, and Co., London. Fielding's works have been translated into Polish, Russian, German, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish, and Italian.—**S. N.**

130. *Hanging out the broom* at the mast-head of ships to be sold originated in that period of our history, when the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, with his fleet, appeared on our coasts in hostility against England. The broom was hoisted, as indicative of his intention to sweep the ships of England from the sea. To repel this insolence, the English admiral hoisted a horsewhip, equally indicative of his intention to chastise the Dutch admiral. The pennant, which the horsewhip symbolized, has ever since been the distinguishing mark of English ships of war.—**SIGMA.**

108. *The Hulsean Lectures.*—Fearing that your correspondent's inquiry on this subject has escaped attention, although I am not able to give all the information he seeks, I append the following respecting the institution of the lectures, contained in "clauses from the will of the Rev. John Hulse, late of Ebworth, in the county of Chester, clerk, deceased, dated the 21st July, 1777, expressed in the words of the testator, as he, in order to prevent mistakes, thought proper to draw and write the same himself, and directed that such clauses should every year be printed, to the intent that the several persons whom it might concern and be of service to, might know that there were such special donations or endowments left for the encouragement of piety and learning, in an age so unfortunately addicted to infidelity and lux-

ury; and that others might be invited to the like charitable, and, as he himself hoped, seasonable and useful benefactions. He directs that certain rents and profits (now amounting to about £100 yearly) be paid to such learned and ingenious person in the University of Cambridge, under the degree of Master of Arts, as shall compose, for that year, the best dissertation, in the English language, on the Evidences in general, or on the Prophecies or Miracles in particular, or any other particular argument, whether the same be direct or collateral proofs of the Christian religion, in order to evince its truth and excellence; the subject of which dissertation shall be given out by the Vice Chancery and the Masters of Trinity and St. John's, his trustees, or by some of them, on New Year's day annually; and that such dissertation as shall by them, or any two of them, on Christmas day annually be

best approved, be also printed, and the expense defrayed out of the author's income under his will, and the remainder given to him on St. John the Evangelist's day following: and he who shall be so rewarded shall not be admitted at any future time as a candidate again in the same way, to the intent that others may be invited and encouraged to write on so sacred and sublime a subject. He also desires, that immediately following the last of the clauses relating to the prize dissertation this invocation may be added:—May the Divine blessing for ever go along with all my benefactions; and may the greatest and the best of all beings, by His all-wise providence and gracious influence, make the same effectual to His own glory, and the good of my fellow-creatures!" —X.

134. *An English square mile is three-fourths of a geographical one.*—T. T. L.

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## The Topic.

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### SHOULD MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO HAVE THE POWER AND PRIVILEGE OF RESIGNING THEIR OFFICE?

#### AFFIRMATIVE.

THOSE who serve unwillingly never serve well; and those who have lost their own interest in politics, or feel their own incompetency, cannot advantageously further the interests of a constituency. That such persons might be able to resign, would be highly advantageous.—GAETA.

A rash ambition may take a man into the House of Commons, and no means should be taken to imprison such a man there.—FLASH.

No act of a man should be so environed that, on repentance, or on self-perceived inability, the responsibility should be still binding upon him, and the duty be required of him.—M. P.

Constituencies often sigh for the resignation of their members, but as frequently require to practise resignation themselves; for it is out of the power of the member to humour them, unless the Government in power know that, by allowing his acceptance of the Chiltern Hundreds, they are likely to advantage themselves, by introducing a new supporter after his leaving the House. Now, if members had this power and privilege, they could resign when their constituencies wished them, or when they felt unable to perform their duties, according to their conscience or their interest.—F.

To represent is the duty of an M.P. If he is unable, unwilling, or unworthy,

he ought to have the power of resigning.—**TRUTH.**

It is advisable, at all times, to leave men free agents as to their duties and their responsibilities. If we do not, the sense of irksomeness is apt to be felt; and under the feeling of dislike, no duty is ever adequately done, nor is any responsibility properly estimated. We cannot expect members of Parliament to be free from human infirmities. There are often votes they are afraid to encounter; subjects they would like to avoid; emergencies they are unwilling to confront. If they could resign, in the presence of these, they would gladly do so, and the opportunity ought to be afforded to them.—**Q. D.**

The need for honest action in this matter is shown by the frequent recourse had to the common fiction of the keepership of the Chiltern Hundreds. I am opposed to the incorporation into the British Constitution of received fictions,—properly speaking, *lies*. There ought not to be, amongst honest men, any need for convenient fictions, or hypocritical inventions. If it is necessary that men should have the opportunity of resigning, let them have it at once, and honestly. Do not let the safety-valve of the Constitution be an organized lie, but rather an honest truth.—**D. D.**

I say, most decidedly, they ought; for not to have such a power would be most arbitrary and unfair; besides, we should never get proper attention to our wants, inasmuch as no man would work in a public position against his will. A person, who is a paid servant, has the "power and privilege of resigning" whenever he pleases; therefore it would be unreasonable to desire those who labour for mere honour sake to be bound, if they themselves prefer to be loosed, and set free from their engagement.—**R. D. R.**

Power and privilege are two words which we, as Englishmen, practically are fond of possessing. Why Members of Parliament should be excluded, we cannot tell, but would state a few  
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reasons why they should be included; as we would not withhold that from others which we ourselves desire. Taking an honourable office, conferred upon them by their fellow-countrymen, unpaid though it be, they, in return, devote the whole of their energies and abilities to promote the best interests of those whom they represent. They pronounce the views and opinions of their constituencies in the House of Commons. Should those views alter, and not meet with approval from those by whom they were elected, we should, if they had not the power to resign, have members expressing views entirely opposite to those supported by the constituents they ought to represent, thus preventing them from following an honourable course, and resigning that trust which, for the reasons above stated, they could not honestly discharge. We see that no benefit would flow from these permanent members, but on the contrary, innumerable evils would ensue.—**S.**

#### NEGATIVE.

The highest office in the power of electors to bestow ought not to be regarded as a trifle which may be accepted and rejected at pleasure. Honour involves responsibility; confidence demands a return of confidence; a trust reposed implies a trust fulfilled. Therefore, M.P.s. ought not to have either the power or the privilege (unchecked) of resigning their office.—**P. D.**

Electioneering contests are carried on with so much acrimony and expense, that any mode of making them more numerous is objectionable.—**S. L.**

If the power of resigning when they liked were given to Members of Parliament, the virtue of resignation would require to be given to constituencies; for successive, if not successful, contests would be very much multiplied; as many inconsiderate parties might be inclined to try a "prentice-hand" at legislation, who would not do so if they knew, as they now do, that they must stick to their post till a dis-



solution, when the need for resignation on their part will end, and the part of their constituents begin.—JEAMES.

Experimental legislators are quite plenty enough, without making way for more of them. If the power of resigning were given, a constituency might be subjected to a regular run of elections, as each thin-skinned experimentalist lost patience, temper, or hope.—QUID.

Representation would be a complete misnomer if, whenever a man chose, he could free himself from the responsibility he had deliberately undertaken. "Walking the course," as it is jockeyly, rather than jokily called, is already common enough, but then it would be worse.—CHARLES.

The fact that whoever aspires to legislative honours must prepare himself to maintain and retain his place and repute until Parliament is dissolved, makes the would-be M.P. think seriously before offering his services to a constituency. Were it otherwise, any momentarily felt itching for senatorial dignity might be easily gratified, and seats might be so frequently exchanged, as to render a fixed government an impossibility. The only way to permanize the House of Commons is to keep its members to the work they

have undertaken, and to allow no shirking.—G. C. W.

There would be great likelihood of a system of buying out, or buying off being introduced, if resignation were dependent on the will or interest of the member. Constituencies would suffer at the most interesting junctures and crises in politics, and members would lose not only in repute, but in self-respect. The absolute tenure of office is the best.—LAMBE.

A Member of Parliament is elected by a constituency to represent and be their mouth-piece in the senate chamber. He voluntarily takes upon himself the duties which that office brings with it. To be able to resign gives him power to play, as it were, with those who elected him, because a sudden whim or fancy may prompt him to do so. It would not, therefore, be fair to give him a power which his constituency do not possess. According to the present rule, any Member may, by accepting the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds (a nominal affair) vacate his seat at any moment. His constituency has not the power to call upon him to resign;—while he, having accepted a trust from them, ought to be compelled to retain it and discharge it to the best of his ability.—F. B. S.

## The Societies' Section.

### REPORTS OF MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT SOCIETIES.

*Glasgow—Lecture by the Rev. Dr. Caird on Poetry and Fiction.*—On the evening of December 3rd, the first of the second course of lectures in the Corporation Galleries was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Caird. The elegant centre gallery was quite crowded with a fashionable audience. The chair was occupied by the Lord Provost, who, in introducing the lecturer, said—On this, the opening of the second session of the Corporation Hall lectures, it must, I am satisfied, be to us all, and more especi-

ally to the acting committee, a source of great gratification that this evening we are met under such favourable auspices as are presented by this large and brilliant assemblage, and which, but for the limited accommodation of this hall, would have increased to a very considerable extent. The acting committee, encouraged by the natural success which attended last winter's lectures, has been stimulated to further exertions in regard to the coming session, not only as respects the number of the

lectures, but also in varying them in character, so as to suit diversity of taste; and whilst we all ought to acknowledge the great obligations we were under to the learned gentlemen belonging to the University for the valuable and instructive information received from them last winter, and while we are taking a more extensive range of subject, I feel this will in no way be the least objectionable to them. And although the subject which is to be discussed this evening, by our reverend and esteemed friend, Dr. Caird, is of a lighter and less academical character than anatomy, astronomy, chemistry, or geology, yet I believe that on that account it will not, in such hands, be the less acceptable.

Dr. Caird, who was received with much applause, after some preliminary observations, said the topic to which he would ask their attention was "The Uses of Poetry and Fiction." What was the use of poetry and fiction? Was the reading of works of imagination to be regarded as a study or amusement, the luxury of the idle, or the serious occupation of the thoughtful? Were we to banish or to welcome such works—to be jealous of their introduction, and consider the time devoted to them as so much stolen from the more important business of life, or to yield ourselves unreservedly to their fascination? Distinguishing books, like the various classes of society, were books of science, philosophy, theology, to be regarded as the respectable class with whom we were all eager to own our familiarity; and poetry, novels, romances to be ranked at best among the doubtful sort of people with whom we are half ashamed to acknowledge in public that we were on terms of intimate acquaintance? Put such questions to different parties, and you would get different answers. One set would taboo poetry and fiction altogether. There was the so-called pious order, who would expunge them on religious grounds; yet surely it were well for such persons to reflect that religion had to do with all

that was beautiful and graceful, as well as all that was true and holy in thought and life. Novels and poems which, in point of fact, formed a large portion of the reading of the public, must play a most momentous part in the formation of character. He reminded them that the Head of the Church spoke in parables, and that to extinguish poetry they must not only cast out much that was in the Bible, but obliterate from the face of God's Word the inherent poetry which a sublimer than human art had impressed on mountain, and grotto, and stream, and sea. Another class, on business grounds, were disposed either to despise, or at best to vouchsafe a very grudging recognition to works of imagination. Two modern writers were at once poets and men of business—one of them all his life, the other for a considerable part of it—he meant Burns and Wordsworth. Were Burns and Wordsworth to be regarded as practical men, engaged in serious, important, useful affairs, when collecting stamps and testing the proportions of malt and alcohol in beer and whiskey, and as mere unpractical dreamers and idlers in writing verses? The answer to that would depend upon their notions of two things—first, of what was real and practical as distinguished from what was unreal and visionary. And secondly, of what was useful, as distinguished from what was useless or trifling. As to the former, he thought it might be made out that writers of poetry and works of imagination had often, after all, more to do with realities than any other class of men—the most practical and business men—and that it might be averred that fiction was often truer than fact, and that fictitious works might convey to the mind a larger amount of truth than books on political economy, or such like works. This the rev. lecturer illustrated in his usual happy manner. He compared, for instance, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which was all fiction, with Bradshaw's *Railway Time-table*, which was all fact. He compared also Wordsworth's

"Excursion," and several other works in which not one incident ever occurred, with the minutes of seditious of the Glasgow Town Council or of the Presbytery of the bounds, which were all good, solid, substantial facts. He asked which two sorts of books was the truest, and which contained the most solid food for the soul and heart of man? They should also understand what was the useful as opposed to the useless and nugatory. This question must be answered by asking another—What was utility? He maintained that this, to a man, was not the mere securing of the material comforts of this life. Thought, purity, love, beauty, harmony of soul—these things in virtue of which a man lying on a sick bed, in a lonely hour, could say, "They may go, but my mind to me a kingdom is"—were to be regarded as more precious, and everything that contributed to them was to be regarded as more excellent than all the moral and substantial enjoyment enjoyed by man through life. The eloquent lecturer proceeded to indicate some of the uses of poetry and fiction. The most obvious and important of those uses might be said to be those three—first, stimulation, the wholesome excitement of thought and feeling which we derive from this sort of literature; secondly, the wider range of human experience and knowledge of life which such books open up to us; and, finally, the nobler ideal of life than we found in the common world around us, which they set before us. One chief cause, at least, of the fascination of poetry and fiction was the excitement or stimulation of thought and feeling to which they gave rise. Poetry might be described as the intellectual wine of life. The poet was distinguished from other men in nothing so much as in more exquisite sensitiveness, and it was in his power to awaken that same susceptibility in other natures by sympathy. There was no man who was not capable of responding to the poet's delight, for every man had poetry in him. In the coldest, driest heart, there was some secret

spring of poetic thought and feeling ready to gush out, if only some prophet of song were attracted to come before him, and to strike the rock. The reverend gentleman then pointed out how fiction subserved the same end as poetry. Fiction, as well as poetry, created an almost instinctive craving for stimulation and excitement. He maintained, and illustrated his argument at considerable length, that novels or fictitious narratives were much more interesting than real life—first, because they condense life; and, secondly, because they analyse life. In conclusion, he pointed out that works of imagination had their dangers as well as their advantages. Works of fiction elevated our tastes, and enlarged the range of our experience of life. But, then, the danger in reference to them was, that the line that separated their use from their abuse was a very delicate one, and one which, but with great precaution, was extremely apt to be transgressed. The reverend doctor concluded an extremely interesting and able lecture by cautioning novel readers against excess of indulgence in that kind of literature.

A cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer, moved by Mr. Sheriff Bell, and a vote of thanks to the Lord Provost, terminated the proceedings.

*Manchester — Chalmers' Presbyterian Church Young Men's Association.*—The third anniversary soiree was held in the schoolroom behind the church, on the evening of Monday, Oct. 29. The president, Mr. James K. Slater, occupied the chair; and upwards of 180 ladies and gentlemen were present. Tea being over, the chairman in his address briefly and pointedly urged the claims of such Associations as this upon the attention and support of those labouring for the spread of education and religion, more especially ministers and members of congregations to which they belong. The annual report was then read by the Secretary for the past year, Mr. Wm. Alker, and was adopted as satisfactory upon the

motion of Mr. Joseph Wood, seconded by Mr. Samuel Johnston. The Rev. Andrew Inglis, of Warrington (till lately the pastor of this church), having some time ago offered a prize for the best essay written by a member of this Association, then proceeded with the decision of the adjudicators, and finally awarded the prize to Mr. Henry Waghorn, for his essay entitled, "The Source of England's Power." He (the Rev. A. Inglis) also intimated his willingness to give a prize next year for the second best essay, provided a first one be offered, and not less than ten essays sent in. Shortly afterwards it was announced that Mr. Scott and Mr. Brown, two members of the congregation, would, conjointly, give a first prize. Dessert was then placed upon the tables, and after a few words from Mr. Brown, Mr. Waghorn was requested to read an extract from his essay, which he did. The deputies from the various Presbyterian and United Presbyterian Societies in the neighbourhood being present, expressed their sympathy and goodwill towards this Association. The choir of the church, under their efficient precentor, Mr. Lewis, favoured the meeting with an excellent programme. The usual votes of thanks having been accorded, and the benediction pronounced, the meeting was brought to a close.

*London.*—*The Claylands Discussion Society*, Kennington, the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, President, celebrated its sixth anniversary last month, by a *soirée* in the lecture-room attached to Claylands Chapel. The congregation, as usual, showed its concurrence with the objects of the society by a very numerous attendance. The programme of the evening included an address from the chairman, Thomas Walker, Esq., on the "Christian Attitude towards Liberty of Thought," and papers by C. P. Mason, Esq., B.A., on "Self-education," and by the Rev. the President, on the "Future, according to the Prophets." The chairman, in the course of a closely reasoned address, defended and eulo-

gised the interest taken by a christian congregation in topics of literature, politics, and art. Mr. Mason's paper discussed the relative advantages of mathematical and metaphysical exercises, and the respective claim of languages and history on the student, cautioning his hearers, by the way, against ostensibly impartial historians, and recommending the perusal of opposite partisan writers of acknowledged ability. The concluding paper, by Mr. Brown, was an eloquent and emphatic protest against certain applications of Scripture prophecy, which he said were now current, with undoubted commercial success. He declared himself grieved and shocked at the daring manner in which popular expositors of Daniel and St. John selected certain nations as immediately about to suffer the awful catastrophes prefigured in Scripture, and contended that the divine judgments must be looked for not first amongst the betrayed, priest-ridden, and unconscious masses, but amongst those to whom the poor and ignorant had been confided, and believed the true Antichrist revealed himself in the selfish arrogation of christian privilege, which was to be met with at home, as well as the evil counterfeit of the divine kingdom which had reared itself abroad. Resolutions were afterwards submitted to the meeting, and a vote of thanks to the chairman. The speakers being J. Spencer Baynes, Esq., LL.B., H. R. Ellington, and John Doulton, Esqs.

*London.*—*Mudie's Library.*—On Monday evening, Dec. 17th, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Mudie received a large number of literary and artistic friends on the occasion of the opening of the new hall of his famous library in New Oxford-street. The company may be said to have included the representatives of all classes of literature, science, and art. Among those present were Sir Leopold M'Clintock, Mr. R. M. Milnes, M.P., Mr. Isaac Butt, Q.C., Judge Haliburton; Messrs. Cook (of Albemarle-street), Charles Knight, H. G. Bohn, George Routledge, Williams, J. Forster,

T. Hughes, J. C. Motley, G. H. Lowe, Anthony Trollope, S. Lucas, Augustus Sala, Shirley Brooks, Hepworth Dixon, G. Cruikshank, Professor Masson, the venerable Mr. Tooke, Dr. Charles Mackay, John Chapman, J. G. Wilkinson; the Revs. Dr. Cumming, T. Binaey, Dr. Halley, B. Brown, W. Foster, James Martineau; Misses Emily Faithful, Isa Craig, Geraldine Jewsbury; Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Martin, Mr. and Mrs. Dallas, Mr. and Mrs. Howitt, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Smiles, Mr. and Mrs. Espinasse, &c., &c. The walls were decorated with a variety of pictures, the property of Mr. Mudie. There were also placed in the niches small statues of Oliver Cromwell, by Leifchild; Foley's beautiful statue of Oliver Goldsmith; Woolner's "Tennyson," and "Tancred and Clorinda," a charming subject, by Schwanthaler. In the centre of the hall were exhibited on a circular dais a large number of splendid photographs of classical remains, of buildings, landscapes, &c., and among the not least interesting objects were a number of charming statuettes, &c., in terra cotta, by Bezzi, chiefly copied from the antique, but many of them original. The hall is a very beautiful structure. The architect is Mr. William Trehearne. Its size is 65 feet by 45 feet. The height is 45 feet from the ground line, and the order of the architecture the Ionic.

*London.*—*The Post Office Library and Literary Association*, founded not long ago for the recreation and instruction of the "men of letters" at St. Martin's-le-Grand—in other words, the *employés* of the General Post Office—is just giving a new sign of youthful vigour. The committee announce that, with the sanction and approval of the Postmaster-General, they have made arrangements for the delivery of a course of lectures to the members of the association and their friends, between the commencement of January and the end of May next. Mr. Anthony Trollope; Mr. Hughes (the author of "Tom Brown's Schooldays," &c.); Mr. G. H.

Lowe (author of the "Biographical History of Philosophy," "Sea-side Studies," &c.); Mr. George Grossmith; Mr. T. A. Trollope (author of "The Girlhood of Catherine de Medici," "A Decade of Italian Women," &c., &c.); Mr. West; and Mr. Scudamore, have consented to take part in the course. The first lecture will be delivered in the Returned Letter Room of the General Post Office, on Friday, the 4th of January, at 8 p.m., when Mr. Anthony Trollope, the celebrated novelist, will inaugurate the course by a lecture on an excellently-chosen subject, "The Civil Service as a Profession." The committee have made arrangements for the issue of tickets for the course, on very moderate terms, and they anticipate being able to issue a small number of tickets for single lectures.

*The Manchester Public Free Libraries.*—The eighth annual report of the committee of these institutions to the City Council has been printed. From its pages we gather the following facts, which may prove suggestive to some of our readers who are connected with smaller libraries. The stock of books in all the departments on the 5th of September was 53,745; the additions made during the preceding twelve months amounting to 2,505 volumes. The aggregate issues during the same period were—in the reference department of the chief library, 123,084; and in the lending department, 74,423. The issues at the branch libraries were 126,322, raising the aggregate to 323,829, and giving a daily average of 1,250, or an increase of 208 volumes per day, as compared with 1858-9. During the year, the committee adopted the recommendation of the librarian to provide for the use of borrowers, from the various lending departments, a supply of the best monthly periodicals, of a general literary character, to be dealt with as lent books. About eighty numbers monthly of various popular periodicals are now provided for the lending departments. The volumes accumulating from these periodical

publications are most acceptable additions to the shelves of the lending libraries. The borrowers highly appreciate this provision. The issues in the reference department of the chief library are thus classified:—Theology, 3,825; Philosophy, 1,174; History, 18,585; Politics and Commerce, 34,801; Sci-

ences and Arts, 10,585; Literature and Polygraphy, 54,114. The lending department:—Theology, 734; Philosophy, 622; History, 12,967; Politics and Commerce, 549; Sciences and Arts, 3,557; Literature and Polygraphy, 55,994.

### LITERARY NOTES.

It is said that Mr. Froude is the new editor of *Fraser's Magazine*.

Edward Everett, the American orator, and author of the "Life of Washington," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," has undertaken a biography of Franklin.

White and Riddle's edition of Friend's Latin-English Dictionary, is advancing in press, for issue this month.

The private library of Leigh Hunt has been, it is reported, sold to Messrs. Ticknor and Field, the American publishers.

Messrs. Brown and Taggard, of Boston, have issued a new edition of Carlyle's "Essays," elegantly got up, and copiously indexed.

Guizot has just issued the first volume of the translation of Shakspeare, to which his work, "Shakspeare and His Times," is the prolegomena.

The Le Bas Prize Essay subject in Cambridge is, "The History of Greek Learning in England prior to Charles I.'s Reign."

La Grange's "Diary," containing many hitherto unknown particulars regarding Molière, is to be re-published in Paris.

Five hundred and three newspapers are now published in Paris.

Mrs. Macneon's memoirs and essays have just been re-published.

"The Men of Homer," by M. S. Delorme, is almost ready.

Hawthorne is engaged on a new romance.

"Loved and Lost," a child's book, by L. A. Meredith, Australia, is to be issued (illustrated by Messrs. Day).

Mr. John Satchiffe has a work on

self-education in the press. It is to be a guide-book on the subject.

May's (clerk assistant to the House of Commons) "Constitutional History of England, from George III.," is to be issued this month by Longmans.

"Port Royal" is the title of a work by Charles Beard, B.A., which ought to be of great interest. It is to be issued at an early date.

"Shakspeare's Contemporaries, and other Works," Lilly, Greene, and Marlowe, is the title of a new book by Franz Bodenstedt, the German commentator.

Kuno Fischer, the biographer and critic of Bacon, has issued the fourth volume of his "History of Modern Philosophy,"—*On Kant and his System*.

Freiligrath, the German poet, has contributed a Biography of Coleridge to Tauchnitz's edition of the poems of the Sage of Highgate.

"Home Ballads," by J. G. Whittier, the Barton of New England, are just announced.

The *London Review* has incorporated the *Leader*.

"Recreations of a Country Parson," Series II., will be issued shortly.

A "History of England," by J. A. St. John, vol. i., to be comprised in six volumes, is in the press, for Smith, Elder and Co.

"The Glasse of Time, in the First and Second Age, Divinely Handled by Thomas Peyton, of Grays' Inn, 1620," when Milton was twelve years' old, is said, in an article in the *North American Review*, to have a great resemblance in structure and expression to the "Paradise Lost."

John Stuart Mill's "Essay on Liberty" has been translated into French by M. Dupont White.

"Baron Munchausen" has been translated into the Russian tongue, and is published by Trubner.

The Hon. Mrs. Norton—herself a Sheridan,—is preparing "Lives of the Sheridans."

Mr. Robert Browning, the poet, is shortly to make his *début* as a painter.

Mr. Woolmer has completed a bust of Professor Sedgwick. He has in hand one of Rev. F. D. Maurice, and holds a commission for one of George Stephenson, for the Oxford New Museum.

A bust of Bessel, the German astronomer, by Herr Siemering, is to be erected beside that of Kant, &c., at Königsburg University.

The letters of Madame de Maintenon, Foundress of St. Cyr, Scarron's wife, and Louis XIV.'s mistress, are to be published in Paris in a genuine edition. Sevigné's have been re-issued and re-edited.

Bowdler's "Family Shakespere" (which has of late been issued by different publishers), is likely soon to be superseded by Chambers' "Illustrated Household Shakespere," with the peculiarity that "in the few instances in which the verse would be rendered defective by excision, a word better adapted for family reading is substituted." It is to be jointly edited by W. Chambers and R. Carruthers.

"The Adventures of Philip" are to be, from month to month, related by Thackeray in the *Cornhill*; and "Ravenshoe" is the title of a story to be told by Henry Kingsley, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, during the year.

The "Encyclopædia Britannica" is now completed.

Meredith's "Evan Harrington" is no longer to appear *once a week*, but is to be collected, settled, and bound, in a new issue.

Bennett, the song writer, is to present the public with a "Worn Wedding-ring."

Motley, the historian of "The Dutch

Republic," continues the theme in "The History of the United Netherlands."

Dante, the poet and the nationalist, is to have a colossal statue erected to his memory, in the Piazza della Signoria, Florence. It is proposed to inaugurate, on the sixth centenary of his birth, 1865, a quinquennial Dante festival. A national five volumed 8vo. edition of his complete works is to be issued by subscription, price £3.

Mr. Woodward will continue the issue of the "Stuart Papers."

Alexis de Tocqueville's unpublished "works and correspondence" are in the press.

M. Desmarests is at an early date to superintend a new monthly review—"La Critique Française."

A biography of Anne of Brittany, consort of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., 1477—1514, is to be published in April, from the pen of M. Leroux de Liney.

A "Biography of Lord Macatlay," by Edwin P. Whipple, the American reviewer, editor of the *Boston Transcript*, is to precede Sheldon's "Riverside" edition of the historian's "Essays."

A revised and augmented edition of Laurence's "Life of Fielding" is in preparation.

George Finlay, whose studies in Hellenistic history have already won him reputation, is now engaged on a "History of the Greek Revolution."

The second volume of Dr. Vaughan's elaborate work, "Revolutions in English History," is in the press, and will be published, like its predecessor, by Messrs. J. W. Parker and Son. The new volume is to be entitled "Revolutions in Religion," and will present the great phases of English history under the Tudors.

A new and original work, by the Rev. George Rawlinson, the translator of Herodotus, and Bampton Lecturer for 1859, is in preparation by the Messrs. Longman. It will be entitled "Christianity and Heathenism," and will consist of nine sermons recently preached before the University of Oxford.

## Modern Logicians.

### NO. I.—SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

THE chair of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh was formally and specifically instituted in 1708, though Logic had been taught as a part of the *curriculum* from the period of its foundation (1582). Four professors occupied that chair during an entire century. Dr. James Finlayson, who resigned office in 1808, was succeeded by Dr. David Ritchie, the immediate predecessor of Sir William Hamilton. Dr. Ritchie was certainly not a man of rich, ripe, original mind. He pursued very much the same course as one of his predecessors, Mr. John Bruce; and was much less intellectual in his system than Professor Stevenson, who had held the same office during the forty-four years, 1730—1775, and was the first person who employed Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding" as an academical text-book. Dr. Ritchie divided his annual course of prelections into four parts, viz., 1st. Intellectual Philosophy, a *conspectus* of the faculties by which knowledge is acquired; with remarks on their powers, their defects, and the means to be employed in their improvement: 2nd. The Theory and Laws of Evidence: 3rd. Reasoning, Syllogistic and Inductive: and 4th. Method; and a few lectures on Universal Grammar completed his round of (so-called) Logical and Metaphysical disquisition. It was in reference to this system that Sir William Hamilton, in 1833, said, "In Scotland the chairs of Logic have, for generations, taught anything rather than the science which they nominally profess."

In March, 1836, Dr. Ritchie resigned the chair he had held for twenty-eight years, and it fell to the Town Council of Edinburgh to select a successor. Sir William Hamilton announced himself as a candidate; but again, as before, declined to employ that form of personal solicitation, the genteel beggary of canvassing. Other candidates also entered the field. A few of their names may now be mentioned. Rev. Mr. Muster, a clergyman in the Scottish church at Rotterdam, author of a religious essay "On Mutual Recognition in the Next World;" Hamilton's former antagonist in phrenologic frays, Mr. George Combe, famous for his "Constitution of Man," and many other works of merit and utility; Mr. William Spalding, then a young advocate, author of some able Shakespere criticism, but since worthily known as a writer on, and a professor of, Logic; Mr. Isaac Taylor, of Ongar, then known as the author of the "Natural History of Enthusiasm," "Spiritual Despotism," &c., but since more extensively recognized as a man of mark on account of his "Physical Theory of Another Life," "Loyola," "Wesley," "Ancient Christianity," &c. Hamilton—  
1861.



whose repute had spread over Europe, and throughout America, who had been greeted in 1835 by Brandis, the translator of Aristotle and the historian of Philosophy, as the "distinguished master of the peripatetic philosophy;" who had been spoken of by Cousin as a "critic whose erudition equals his sagacity;" as the "one man in Great Britain qualified to be the representative of Scotland in the great council of European philosophy"—did not appear so likely to be successful as one would have thought. Only—or at least chiefly—by the exertions of his friends, Brougham, Horner, Pillans, Jeffrey, Napier, Wilson, Rev. Archibald Alison, author of the "Essay on Taste," &c., was he spared a second defeat. So lightly does sectarian zeal allow conscience to weigh in matters of this kind, that a sort of zest was added to the hope of excluding him, because of the indisputably high position he held. Spalding, we believe, withdrew; Musten found a panegyrist; Combe, by promising to keep logical and phrenological science at a decent distance, found three supporters; and the fight was warmly waged for Isaac Taylor against William Hamilton. The latter was elected by the narrow majority of four; the votes standing thus—Taylor, 14; Hamilton, 18. Despite the evocation of the standing and favourite assassin of reputation in Edinburgh—the *odium theologicum*—right triumphed, and merit gained its true place. Sir William Hamilton took the test-oaths, and the chair.

He was then forty-eight years of age. In this, his glorious prime, "his bodily frame was like a breathing intellect, and his soul could travel, as on eagles' wings, over the tops of all the mountains of knowledge. He seemed to have entered, as it were by Divine right, into the possession of all knowledge. He came to it, like a fair inheritance, as a king comes to his throne. All the regions of literature were spread out before his view; all the avenues of science stood open at his command. A simpler and a grander nature never arose out of darkness into human life; a truer and a manlier character God never made. How plain, and yet how polished, was his life in all its ways; how refined, yet how robust and broad, his intelligence in all its workings! . . . To his last moments he preserved a temper indomitable under the disablement with which, for many years, he had so heroically striven; but in these days, when his body was unbroken, and his mind untamed by disease, how widely and how freely his energies expatiated over all the gardens of speculation; how he hailed with welcome every fresh suggestion, giving back ten times more than he received. . . . He was a giant in every field of intellectual action."\*

"Sir William Hamilton was elected to the chair of Logic and Metaphysics in July, 1836. In the interval between his appointment and the commencement of the college session (November of the same year), the author was assiduously occupied in making preparations for discharging the duties of his office. The principal part of these

\* Prof. J. F. Ferrier's "Scottish Philosophy; a Statement," p. 15.

duties consisted, according to the practice of the University, in the delivery of a course of lectures on the subjects assigned to the chair. On his appointment to the professorship, Sir William Hamilton experienced considerable difficulty in deciding on the character of the course of lectures on Philosophy, which, while doing justice to the subject, would at the same time meet the wants of his auditors, who were ordinarily composed of comparatively young students, in the second year of their university curriculum. . . . But those very qualities which placed him in the front rank of speculative thinkers, joined to his love of precision and system, and his lofty ideal of philosophical composition, served but to make him the more keenly alive to the requirements of his subject, and to the difficulties that lay in the way of combining elementary instruction in philosophy with the adequate discussion of its topics. Hence, although even at this period his methodized stores of learning were ample and pertinent, the opening of the college session found him still reading and reflecting, and unsatisfied with even the small portion of matter which he had been able to commit to writing. His first course of lectures (Metaphysical) thus fell to be written during the currency of the session (1836-7). The author was in the habit of delivering three lectures each week; and each lecture was written on the day, or, more properly, on the evening and night, preceding its delivery. The course of Metaphysics, as it is now given to the world, is the result of this nightly toil, unremittingly sustained for a period of five months.\* We have quoted this authoritative statement for its brevity, plainness, and force. It is right, however, that we should subjoin the remark Hamilton makes regarding the lectures of Dr. Thomas Brown and Dr. John Young, of Belfast: "The lectures of both professors were posthumously published; and are, therefore, not to be dealt with as works deliberately submitted to general criticism by their authors."†

The lectures—now published under most able and admirable editorship<sup>2</sup>—contained an elaborate, condensed, systematic exposition of the more popular and communicable portions of metaphysical science. The introductory prelections on the utility, (a) subjective (b) objective, the nature, causes, method, and divisions of philosophy, are admirably composed, and quite fitted to attract and fascinate the youthful auditory who, with fresh minds and opening intellects, came into the class-room of the distinguished thinker in search of light upon the dark, mysterious, and uncertain questions which their consciousness was only as yet beginning to be pained by. The terse, clear, forcible, exactly-chosen and well-arranged words, in which the ideas were expressed, first attracted, and then arrested attention; curiosity awoke, thought became excited, the flush of a new pleasure sped along the soul, and the philosophic spirit, tendency, wish, were energized and exhilaratedly set in operation.

\* Hamilton's "Lectures on Metaphysics," vol. i., Preface, p. ix.

† Hamilton's "Reid," p. 868.

The dark hazel eye, which had traversed the whole round of speculation, and won, by the magic of its own industry, the secrets of an all but universal erudition, shed its lambency, like a light, into your very being; the full, clear, resonant voice swole upon the ear with the progress of the nervously composed and admirably measured sentences—each one of which bore itself like a wave in the tide of thought. Each lecture was a voyage of the mind. The play of feature, as he read, added astonishingly to the effect of each forth-reach of the mind. He sits behind a table on which a light reading-stand is placed; his fine bust, surmounted by a noble, square, well-developed and proportioned head, strike the spectator as commanding and powerful. His brows are curved and full, but dinted; his nose is Greek in the precision of its form, but Romanesque in the firmness of its contour; his mouth is chiselled with decisive lines, but tokens of sarcastic energy sometimes show themselves. His is an impressive not an imposing *personnel*. In thought and appearance alike he is the possessor of a masterful individuality that demands and gains attention—almost homage. The manner of the man and the mode of his procedure being known, the interest deadens to these externalities, and concentrates on the matter of the lecture. As his statuesque and sculptured thought reveals its significance to the mind, discipleship almost insensibly took possession of the hearer. The hitherto secret activities and unknown powers of intellection became realities—whose facts, phenomena, processes, results, laws, &c., formed a newly discovered Cosmos even more interesting than that of which the material heaven and earth are component parts. The idea given of the science and its teacher is such as stimulates the mind, and determines all its vigour to the pursuit of the studies recommended to its investigative research. Calculating on the effect thus produced, the Lectures, while they do not lose their freshness and brilliancy, become more staid, serious, formal, and intensified. He proclaims that “The whole of science is the answer to these three questions:—1st. What are the facts or phenomena to be observed? 2nd. What are the laws which regulate these facts, or under which these phenomena appear? 3rd. What are the real results, not immediately manifested, which these facts or phenomena warrant us in drawing?” and the following is a tabular view of the distribution of topics which he proposes to consider, viz.:—

Mind or Consciousness affords	{	FACTS.—Phænomenology, Empirical Psychology,	{	Cognitions. Feelings. Conative Powers (Will and Desire).
		LAWS.—Nomology, Rational Psychology,	{	Cognitions—Logic. Feelings—Æsthetic.
		RESULTS.—Ontology, Inferential Psychology,	{	Conative Powers, {Moral Philosophy. Political Philosophy. Being of God. Immortality of the Soul, &c.

But he limits his Lectures afterwards to "two courses—the one on Phenomenology, Psychology, or Mental Philosophy in general; the other, on Nomology, Logic, or the Laws of the Cognitive Faculties in particular;" thus leaving his system defective in an explicitly reasoned forth philosophy of the Conative activities, and the ground of morals and politics, in an explanation of the basis of Art, and in a well-founded Natural Theology, Ontology, &c.

Nine lectures are devoted, after an acute explication of philosophical terms, to an analysis of consciousness. These are, perhaps, the most valuable chapters on Psychology which the present century has produced—so keen is the insight into the operations of the mind it betokens; so carefully, painstakingly exact, are the terms employed in the detail of facts; so stern and uncompromising is the induction; so rigidly consecutive and so expert is the reasoning; so striking and so interesting is the examination, that thought halts awhile to bethink itself how it ever became possible to transform the dry and arid scholasticism of bygone days into a valley of vision, so prolific in promise, so fertile in delight. Masses of learned men, battalioned together in maintenance of a peculiar theory, deploy before the intellectual eye; but the trenchant weapon of the consummate analyst is pointed to the flaw in the mailed armour of his opponents, and he cuts bone-deep into the seemingly secure harness. Systems that had braved the logician's assaults for a thousand years perished at a single stroke, and yet the destroying critic was able to preserve his auditor's faith in Metaphysics, though the wrecks of ages lay in ruin round him. The intellectual forces, that had moved the world and moulded history, were touched by an inexorable logic, and they became palsied and powerless; but out of their ruins arose the evidence of the new certainties and the higher faiths upon which the future was to be reconstructed.

Consciousness having been elaborately proven to "be the general faculty out of which the special faculties of knowledge are evolved," the following distribution of faculties is then advanced and discussed as a catalogue of the only "attributes of mind not to be confounded,—not to be analyzed into each other," viz. :—

(Special) Cognitive Faculties.	I. Presentative,	{ External = Perception, Internal = Self-Consciousness,
	II. Conservative	= Memory.
	III. Reproductive,	{ Without Will = Suggestion. With Will = Reminiscence.
	IV. Representative	= Imagination.
	V. Elaborative	= Comparison, Faculty of Relations.
	VI. Regulative	= Reason—Common Sense.

Extraordinary learning, wonderful reproductive power, great acuteness, and much analytic skill are displayed in the consideration of these various topics; and a vast amount of valid criticism, important information, and captivating speculation, is to be found in

the lectures devoted to their evolution; while the sinewy and flexible style continues to be attractive, instructive, and exemplary.

It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the mode of composing these Lectures piecemeal, and from day to day, without a fixed plan efficaciously before the mind, and with the dire necessity of appearing each day with the matter for an hour's delivery always operative in thought, did not permit of a more correct distribution of matter, and a greater equivalence of part to part; and that the author's after-health gave little opportunity for reconstruction. The whole original plan of the Lectures was never finished, and of the few latter ones it may be said that they are merely hurried to a close, to suit the author's exigencies in the session. The six concluding Lectures on "The Feelings" are cramped and unsatisfactory; full as they are of glimpses of far-radiating truths, they do not finish in the sustained, dignified, elaborate, and formal manner which the opening discourses lead one to anticipate. Nor are the relegated matters all wound off in this course. The development of the distinctively Hamiltonian philosophical principle of the conditioned, in its application to the exposition of substance and phenomenon,—one of the "most momentous, and hitherto most puzzling problems of mind,"—has not been entered upon; and the vital and testing question of "Liberty or Necessity," though referred to the department treating of the conative powers, finds no place at all in the course. The Lectures have now been published, and the notes of the editor show that, under the exigencies of his position, it has often been advisable for him,—as for Dr. Thomas Brown,—to omit "(excusable, perhaps, in the circumstances) to advertise his pupil when he is not original." A very large proportion of these Lectures consists of matter translated from the chief writers of Germany; and while expressing our high admiration of their general texture, we cannot avoid wishing that they had been freer from this said blemish of "appropriation," which he attributed to Brown.

"The Lectures on Logic, like those on Metaphysics, were chiefly composed during the session in which they were first delivered (1837-8)"; and "the circumstances and manner of their composition" were similar. "In this, as in the preceding series, the author has largely availed himself of the labours of previous writers, many of whom are but little known in this country. To the works of the German Logicians of the present century, particularly those of Krug and Esser," they are "under special obligations," as the editor's preface admits.

These Lectures open with a definition of Logic. As he had been unable "to facilitate the labour (of the class) to his pupils and himself, by exhibiting, in a Manual or Text-book, the order of his doctrine and a summary of its contents," he introduced a very wise expedient,— "one prevalent on the Continent,"—as far as possible to supply the want, viz., to comprise the general statements in propositions or paragraphs, which he dictated slowly, that they might be fully taken down in writing. This excellent and advisable

course adds much to the value of these Lectures, by securing concise statement, and inviting critical examination. These paragraphs, in fact, form almost a complete brief *résumé* of his logical tenets encased in a running commentary; the text concentrating and illuminating the context, and the context expounding, expanding, and illustrating the text, in fine co-operative harmony.

As there was more actual work to be *done*, the Lectures in this course are fewer and shorter. Exercises required to be prescribed, and formulas needed to be written out in diagrammatic shapeliness; while dictation-writing was a slow and interrupting process.

Logic having been defined as "the science of the laws of thought as thought," the definition, the utility, and the divisions of the science, were successively discoursed on. The following is a "conspectus" of the subjects then submitted to the class, and taken into consideration in the subsequent lectures, viz.:—

General or Abstract Logic is divided into two parts,—pure and modified.

I. PURE LOGIC. We may think; and we may think *well*. Logic must consider the conditions of the *possibility* of thinking; it must, however, display not only the laws of possible, but the laws of perfect thinking. It, therefore, falls into two parts, the one of which investigates the formal conditions of mere thinking; the other the conditions of thinking *well*. "i. In regard to the former:—the conditions of mere thinking are given in certain elementary requisites; and that part of Logic, which analyzes and considers these, may be called its *Stoicheiology*, or doctrine of elements. These elements are either (a) laws or (b) products. ii. In regard to the latter, as perfect thinking is an end, and as the elementary means being supposed, the conditions of an end are the ways or methods by which it may be accomplished; that part of Logic which analyzes and considers the methods of perfect thinking may be called its *methodology* or doctrine of method." Thus, *pure logic* is divisible into two parts. 1st. Into *Stoicheiology*, or the doctrine of elements. And 2nd. *Methodology*, or the doctrine of method. Logical *Stoicheiology* is divided into two parts. The *first* treats of the fundamental laws of thinking, the universal conditions of the thinkable,—noetic—nomology. The *second* treats of the laws of thinking as governing the special functions, faculties or products of thought, as conception, or simple apprehension, judgment, and reasoning,—dianoetic—dynamic. This part will, therefore, fall into three divisions, corresponding to conception, judgment, and reasoning.

Logical *Methodology* is conversant about the regulated ways or methods by which the means of thinking are conducted to the end of thinking *well*. It is divided into as many parts as there are methods; and of methods there are as many as there are different ends to be differently accomplished. The perfection of thought is threefold,—clear, distinct, connected thinking. These are each attained by a different method; and these three methods constitute the three parts of logical methodology, viz.:—1st. The method of *clear* thinking, or the doctrine of illustration and definition. 2nd. The method of *distinct* thinking, or the doctrine of division. 3rd. The method of *connected* thinking, or the doctrine of proof. These are each, however, only a *special* methodology, and, therefore, parts of a *general* methodology which will fall to be considered.

II. MODIFIED LOGIC has three parts:—1st. The nature of truth and error, and the laws for discriminating between them—*Alethiology*. 2nd. The impediments to thinking, and the means of their removal. These arise from, 1st, the mind; 2nd, the body; 3rd, external circumstances. The impediments from the mind arise in the senses, self-consciousness, memory, association, imagina-

tion, reason; from language, in feeling, desire, and will; from the body they originate in temperament, or the state of the health; from external circumstances they result from education, rank, age, climate, social intercourse, &c.

III. The aids to the subsidiaries of thinking, either through (1st) the acquisition, or (2nd) the communication of knowledge. The former of these consists of—i., experience (our own, or of others); ii., generalization (by induction or analogy); iii., testimony (oral or written); under which head falls to be considered the credibility of witnesses, the authenticity and integrity of writings, and the rules of criticism and interpretation. The latter of these is either *one-sided*—instruction (oral or written), or *reciprocal*—conversation, conference, disputation, &c.\*

This view of Logic is distinguished for its extensive sweep, its strict formal development, its compact thoroughness, its distinct outgrowth of part from part, its explicit exponentiation of many divisions usually omitted in treatises on this subject. The grasp of a master mind is plainly visible in each step of the evolution, as lecture after lecture unfolds and explains the scheme. It would be impossible, within our space, to signalize and criticize each part reposed to, or reclaimed for, the science, in these Lectures. We can only venture, and that most briefly, to note and state the chief feature of mark in Sir William Hamilton's logical system,—that on which he chose to rest his fame,—that for which his disciples claim for him the honour of placing the chief corner-stone upon the edifice which Aristotle first began formally to construct, as a temple for the Goddess of Reason, but which he capped with a blunder—a blunder, too, sequaciously acquiesced in by almost all logicians, and never fully and explicitly insisted on being set aside until now. Prior to 1833, the thought had occurred to him; between that year and 1840, he investigated the subject. In 1840, he explicitly, though not fully, taught it in his classes. In 1842 appeared, then anonymously, Thomson's "Outline of the Laws of Thought," in which a portion of this system was (independently, as Sir William Hamilton allows) developed and promulgated. In 1847, De Morgan's "Formal Logic" adopted somewhat more of this scheme (*though with a difference*), which led to a controversy upon the question of priority of discovery, &c., of which notice will be taken hereafter. In 1846, Sir William Hamilton's "Prospectus of a New Analytic of Logical Forms" was published, and in the same year he had propounded the same subject for a class (prize) essay. The prize was gained by Mr. T. S. Baynes, who did not, however, publish his work till about May, 1850, at which time logical controversy was again running high and wild, and various new treatises on the subject were being placed before the public. Without condescending on details, or controverted points, the following outline of Sir William Hamilton's opinions may be subjoined, viz. :—

\* The above-given "conspectus," though from a MS. taken in the author's classes, corresponds in essence with that given in "Lectures on Logic," vol. i. pp. 64—68.

In Logic, all that is thought *implicitly* ought to be stated *explicitly*; in other words, what is meant should be expressed. "The predicate has always a quantity *in thought*, as well as the subject." A proposition is simply an equation, an identification, a bringing into congruence of two notions in respect to their *extension*, i. e.,—their sphere, the number of attributes that are contained in or under any term constituting either of the extremes of a proposition. Propositions, if so equated in thought, may be also converted,—i. e., have their predicate and subject transposed—simply; so that all other modes of conversion, except one—simple conversion—are abrogated, and this part of logic becomes natural, imperative, simple, direct, precise, and thorough-going. Hence there emerge *eight* species of propositions in *quantity* alone, viz., in affirmative:—i. toto-total (all—all); ii. toto-partial (all—some); iii. parti-total (some—all); iv. parti-partial (some—some). In negative, similarly:—i. toto-total (any—not any); ii. toto-partial (any—not some); iii. parti-total (some—not any); iv. parti-partial (some—not some). In *quality* there would be an equal number. By the above theory, the significance of figure is superseded. There are sixteen *à priori* different combinations of propositions, differing in quality and quantity. A difference in quality and quantity in one, at least, of the propositions constituting a syllogism is necessary to determine a difference of what the logicians call a *mood*. There are, therefore, forty-eight possible moods, twelve in each figure. The fourth figure, however, is not acknowledged. The relative positions of the middle term in the premises constitute the ground of the syllogistic figures. When the thorough-going quantification of the predicate is admitted and acted upon, it is seen that every syllogism—interpolated inference being allowed for and expressed—emerges as a syllogism of the *first* figure, of which the others are merely unessential variations. As the relations of subject and predicate, subsisting between two terms and a common third term, must be either, 1st,—that in which the common third term is the subject of one, and the predicate of the other; 2nd,—that in which it is the subject of both; or, 3rd,—that in which it is the predicate of both, there can be only three valid figures. The *first* figure is the normal form of reasoned thought, and is applicable to all kinds of reasoning; the *second* figure suits deductive; and the *third*, inductive thought. By thus maintaining the integrity of Logic, as conversant with the form,—the whole form, and nothing but the form—of thought, we are able, under one supreme canon, to range all syllogistic reasoning, viz.:—"Whatever worse relation of subject and predicate subsists between either of the two terms and a common third term, with which one, at least, is positively related, that relation subsists between the two terms themselves." "This new Analytic is intended to complete and simplify the old,—to place the keystone in the Aristotelic arch." "The science now shines out in the true character of beauty, as one at once and various. Logic thus accomplishes its final destination; for, as thrice-greatest Hermes, speaking in the mind of Plato, has expressed it—'The end of philosophy is the intuition of unity.'"

The painstaking labour, thought, reading, considerateness, adaptation, and kindly tone of composition observable in these Lectures, prove how fully and faithfully he adhered to his candidatorial promise, "I shall not only endeavour to *instruct* by communicating, on my part, the requisite information, but to *educate*, by determining, through every mean, a vigorous and independent activity on the part of my pupils." His interest in his class, however, did not cease with the preparation of his lecture for the passing day. He undertook to prepare an edition of Reid's works, for the use of



his students,—intended, at first, to be merely an issue annotated for a text-book,—but which, in his hands, expanded into a formidable, but valuable commentated work. During the years 1837-8, besides composing his Lectures, he wrote the foot-notes to Reid. In 1839, he supplied a long and erudite paper on “Idealism,” to the *Edinburgh Review*. In 1840, he was chiefly occupied in elaborating those ingenious systems of notation which he introduced into Logic, and in pursuing his investigations into the history, possibility, and necessity of that doctrine of the quantification of the predicate, which seemed to him so full of instructiveness and importance.

In 1841-2 he composed those original supplementary dissertations which are added to his edition of Reid, and which are now such monuments of profound learning, critical acumen, and scope of reading. He continued his efforts to complete these dissertations, and also his labours regarding the proof of his new [or renewed?] doctrine of the thorough-going quantification, with indefatigable industry. At last, the extreme overstraining to which he had subjected his life-functions compelled them to cry “Halt!” and in July, 1844, he was stricken by a serious and disabling paralysis. The anxieties of these years of incessant toil were added to by the agitated state into which Scottish society was thrown regarding those great questions of Church polity which ended (May, 1843) in what has been roughly but expressively named, the Disruption. It was an overtasking time for many a thinking man; and Hamilton’s life, like that of many others, was marred and scared in the intense conflict of thought, emotion, and interest, which stirred to their utmost pith the men engaged in it. Hamilton held to the National Church, and excited the ire of the Disruptionists by sarcastically denominating them in a pamphlet “martyrs by mistake.” Many of the secessionists had been co-professors with him in the university, and it was resolved to establish a Free Church College, in opposition to that which they had left. This was done; and besides filling up the chairs by and for the ousted professors, the Seceders set up an opposition Professorship of Logic, which they conferred upon Mr. Fraser (since editor of the *North British Review*, and successor to Sir William Hamilton). To such straits of unfriendly feeling, on both sides, did this fatal disseverment of church fellowship bring men of excellent calibre and greatness.

Hoping for betterment, Sir William Hamilton’s edition of Reid was detained *in statu quo* till nearly the close of 1846, and even then was published incomplete; though the materials of much were collected, and some of the subsequent portions were written. To this work was appended an elaborate “Prospectus of Essay towards a New Analytic of Logical Forms,”—a work which the author has left incomplete. This edition of Reid’s works was re-issued in the same incomplete state again in 1849 and 1852. Early in the latter year, too, he published a selection from his contributions—most of which we have already noted—to the *Edinburgh Review*, with the title, “Discussions on Philosophy and Literature,” to which were affixed

lengthy and valuable "Appendices" on many important topics, few of which, however, fall within the range of remark to which we are limited in this paper. The most important of these are—first, a table and paper on the "Conditions of the Thinkable," and two papers on "Syllogism and Syllogistic Notations;" the latter of which (pp. 621\*—652\*) brings before the reader a continuation of a very keen and somewhat ill-natured controversy, carried on between Professor A. De Morgan—a gentleman of acknowledged eminence, not only in mathematics but also in logic and scientific literature—and Sir William Hamilton, during the years 1846—50, &c., of the earlier part of which an account is furnished in De Morgan's "Formal Logic" (Appendix, pp. 297—336). Farther information on the subject may also be gained in the pamphlets issued by the respective combatants in 1847, and in their correspondence published in the *Athenæum* in 1847 and 1849—50. Into this slashingly-waged controversy we cannot now enter, though we intend, in a subsequent paper, to give an abstract of it.

The "Discussions" reached a *second* edition in 1853. During the years 1854-6, amid the disablements and bodily shattering of palsy, compelled still to toil for the means of life—he superintended a superb edition of "The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart."

It was a melancholy sight, in a class-room thronged with students full of earnest and eager life, to see the Scottish Aristotle, after having been half-carried to his chair, sitting, his back propped with cushions, and his powerless right arm folded across his breast, while his Lectures were being read, and now and then interjecting an explanatory sentence here and there, making references to books in which further information could be gained, or superintending the examination of the class upon the themes proposed for their exercises. He looked so noble, yet so care-and-work-worn—"majestic though in ruins." Yet the toiling brain was slumberless, and even a sick bed could not withhold him from pursuing the dazzling problems of logic through the far-stretches of consciousness. Though dignified, he was far from being inaccessible; on the contrary, he was bland, courteous, and obliging—even to placing at the service of his friends and pupils his collection of logical books, probably the most complete and extensive in Britain. His manners were severely simple, and his habits were not only studious, but abstemious. The delight of thought alone seemed to fascinate him, and his house in Great King Street, Edinburgh, was the resort of many of the most active and influential intelligences of the day. He employed a reader and amanuensis latterly to perform the absolute duties of registering and expressing his ideas for public use; but in the private circle, though weak in bodily power, his mind retained its calm serenity, its intense intellectual acuteness, and its wondrous reach and accuracy of memory.

He was employed in the composition of a Memoir of Dugald Stewart, many fragments of which were found upon his desk at the period of his death. The last words he addressed to his

class when they parted to see each other no more, on the closing day of the session, 1855-6, were the simple and pathetic words, "God bless you all!"—words surely unforgettable by any who heard them so solemnly and so sadly spoken. On the morning of the 6th of May, 1856, he died. In privacy and silence, amid mourning, grief, and unavailing regret, on the 12th of May he was laid in his grave,—but almost before his hand was cold, the *printed* testimonials of candidates for the vacant professorship were fluttering their pages before the eyes of the patrons and electors; and a keenly waged sectarian contest was in process of being fought before the cold clods covered the coffin-lid of Sir William Hamilton.

The full and symmetrical integrity of Hamilton's mind, the encyclopædic learning, the quenchless aspiration after knowing all that is knowable, the scrupulous conscientiousness of the researches made by him, will always entitle him to the regretful reverence of thinking men. His mathematical and scientific knowledge was less under his command than his speculative acquisitions. He had more profoundly studied the form than the contents of thought; but in all the regions of pure mental science his power and wealth were kingly. If, indeed, Sir William Hamilton had any defect as a speculative thinker, it was perhaps an over-greedy accumulative and receptive energy which made him find higher delight in tracing the historic growth of thought than in forming, from the experimental observation of his own spirit, a knowledge of the genesis of ideas. He, we think, over-nourished his soul with recorded metaphysics, and by that repletion injured the fertility of his own mind—making it too often, like a tree in an over-rich soil, drop its fruit when only half-matured. This, we imagine, hampered his exertions, and withheld him from consummating a perfect greatness by pursuing daringly, flinchlessly, and unwaveringly, truth and truth only.

Aristotle, Kant, Reid,—Greek, German, and Scottish speculative thought, were the early influences which worked on Hamilton's mind. Cousin's eclecticism dismayed, while his thought-compelling energy delighted him. He admired the brilliant Frenchman's mastery of details, but disliked his management of principles. Hegel's excessive cumbrousness of thinking did not suit his subtle intellect. His own mind was naturally more introspective and self-examining than Aristotle's even; but he had less genuine sympathy with Nature and with Science than the great Greek. He was less self-absorbed and egotistic than Kant. He was much better grounded in philosophical knowledge than Reid. His learning was more extensive than Cousin's, and his original powers of speculation were of a keener cast. Hegel was his superior in the power of formalizing, but vastly his inferior in appreciating, the results of a careful critique of the human powers. Of the Scottish philosophy, Reid was the Socrates, Dugald Stewart the Plato, and Sir William Hamilton the Aristotle.

S. N.

## Religion.

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### IS THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY RECOGNIZED BY THE NEW TESTAMENT AS A DISTINCT ORDER IN THE CHURCH?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

THE subject of our present debate is an interesting and important one; important, because the majority of Christians in all ages have, as they believed on the authority of the New Testament, viewed the ministry of the church as a separate and distinct office from that of the major portion of professing Christians called the Laity; and the present discussion will be calculated to elicit the truth of these things if conducted in a proper, and in the usual *Controversialist* spirit. Regarding ourselves, we may say, that from our earliest years we have been taught to consider the office of a Christian Minister to be peculiar to itself, and so sacred, as to preclude any worldly or secular employment as a means of temporal support, except in cases of expediency; so that he who holds it should devote his entire time and talents to the discharge of his high and holy duties. We now propose candidly to inquire whether or not these early instructions are in accordance with the teaching of the sacred oracles; and if they should be, they will become the more precious to us, from the fact of having passed through the ordeal of impartial criticism; but if otherwise, we hope to have the candour to acknowledge our error, and to embrace those views which are based upon the Word of Truth. Our investigations into the facts of science have led us to discard some of our earlier impressions, because we found them to be dissonant with those facts; but instead of shaking our belief in the Divine authority of the Bible, they have led us to understand it more clearly, and have confirmed our faith in the authority of the Divine Record. We are not of those who are afraid of scientific truths overturning Christianity; nor of impartial inquiries of any kind proving detrimental to the interests of religion; and, therefore, we have always endeavoured to follow the advice of the Apostle Paul—to “prove all things,” and to “hold fast that which is good.” In endeavouring to do so on the present occasion, we shall first explain the meaning and import of the question at the head of our article.

First. By the term *church*, we understand the visible aggregate of Christian congregations throughout the world. We cannot confine its meaning here to any particular sect or body of Christians, although it is sometimes used in that limited sense, as, for instance,

"the church of Ephesus;" for it is evident that such a denomination cannot be exclusively the church of Christ, because His church only can be catholic or universal; and we must, therefore, take the term *church* in its widest meaning, as including all congregations and denominations of Christians in the world. Second, by a *Distinct Order* we understand a separate or different rank, class, or division from the *Laity*; or in other words, we mean the *Clergy*. So that our question simply means—"Is the distinction of Clergy and Laity in the Church in accordance with the New Testament?"

Our readers will, therefore, perceive that the debate will not be respecting the various orders or ranks of the clergy in the Romish or Anglican churches; nor whether the various views of the Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and other churches are scriptural; it is not, in fact, a party question, but one affecting all parties; it is, in short, a question respecting the Divine institution of the ministry; it strikes at the root of the matter, and centres itself in the fundamental principle whether the Christian Ministry is a peculiar institution; whether those set apart for that work should devote themselves exclusively to its duties, and be supported in temporal matters by the Laity; or whether they, at the same time, should labour at some secular employment. These we consider to be the chief topics implied in the question; let us examine them carefully, and test them by that rule, to which we are, by the terms of the question, confined.

We shall base our arguments upon the following propositions:—

I. The *names* given to the first ministers of Christianity prove that they were a distinct order in the church.

II. The *duties* of their office show them to have been a distinct order in the church.

III. Their *claims to temporal support* from the laity prove them to have been a distinct order in the church.

First, "The names given to the first ministers of Christianity prove that they were a distinct order in the church." We find in the New Testament the names of Apostle, Bishop, Presbyter, Elder, Deacon, and other titles given to the various officers of the primitive church; but it will be foreign to our subject to enter into any dispute respecting the meaning and import of these words, as now entertained by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists; for our simple inquiry is, as we said before, to ascertain whether the office of the Ministry is distinct from that of the Laity.

Suppose, then, we examine the original meaning of the term *apostle*. This word was anciently used to signify a person sent by a king or ruler to negotiate any important affair between him and any other people; but more particularly it is used to signify a disciple of Jesus Christ, commissioned by Him to preach His gospel. For this important work our Lord selected twelve of His disciples: "And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom he also named apostles." (Luke vi. 13.) That is to say, He gave these twelve a different

name from the others, to express their peculiar work. They were previously His *disciples*, a name signifying a *scholar* or *follower*; but now our Lord showed his intention of fulfilling his promise to Peter and Andrew, whom he promised to make *fishers of men*. (Matt. iv. 19.) "It is worthy of notice," says Dr. Adam Clarke, "that those who were Christ's *apostles* were first his *disciples*, to intimate that men must be first *taught* of God before they are *sent* of God. Jesus Christ never made an *apostle* of any man who was not first His *scholar* or *disciple*."

One of these apostles, Judas, fell from his place in the ministry; and another, named Matthias, was chosen in his stead; and the circumstances attending the election of Matthias will show that the office was viewed as distinct and separate from the body of the people by the primitive church. After our Lord's ascension, the apostles and brethren were assembled at Jerusalem; and Peter called the attention of the assembly to the necessity of electing one in the place of Judas; the meeting appointed two candidates; and having fasted, and prayed to God for His blessing to attend them in their choice, they cast lots, and the lot fell on Matthias, who was then numbered with the eleven apostles. (Acts i. 26.) The circumstances attending this election, we think, show that the office of the ministry was peculiar and distinct in the Christian church.

When St. Paul was converted, the Lord declared him to be a chosen vessel to bear His name before the Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel (Acts ix. 15); and in Acts xiii. 2—3, we have the account of the separation of Paul with Barnabas for this important work. "The Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away." This was a true apostolical ordination to the Christian ministry; and why all these attendant circumstances, if the office be not distinct from that of the laity? St. Paul frequently refers to this call and ordination: "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God." (Rom. i. 1.) "And I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry." (1 Tim. i. 12.)

We might here close our remarks upon our first proposition, as we think enough has been said to show that the name of *apostle*, bestowed by our Lord upon His first ministers, is a sufficient proof of the distinctness of their office and calling; but a glance at the import of some of the other names will, we think, be confirmatory of the view we have taken. For instance, the term *bishop*, from the Latin *episcopus*, meaning *overseer*, *inspector*, or *superintendent*, will show that the person bearing such a title held an office distinct and separate from that of those he *overlooked*, *inspected*, or *superintended*. The term *bishop* is primarily applied to Christ Jesus: "Ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned to the Shepherd and *Bishop* of your souls" (1 Pet. ii. 25); but, secondly,

it is applied to a Christian minister, one who had the pastoral care of a church: "If a man desire the office of a *bishop*, he desireth a good work." (1 Tim. iii. 1.) "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *overseers* (*episcopos*—*bishops*), to feed the church of God." (Acts xx. 28.)

Again, the term *presbyter*, translated *elder* in Acts xx. 17, will confirm our position. The following remarks of Dr. A. Clarke will illustrate what we mean:—"By the *presbyters* or *elders* here we are to understand all that were in *authority* in the church, whether they were the *episcopoi*, *bishops* or *overseers*, or *seniors* in *years*, *knowledge*, and *experience*. The *presbuteroi*, or *elders*, were probably the first order in the church; an order which was not so properly constituted, but which rose out of the state of things. From these *presbuteroi* the *episcopoi*, overseers or superintendents, were selected. Those who were *eldest* in years, Christian knowledge, and experience, would naturally be preferred to all others as overseers of the church of Christ. From the Greek word *presbuteros* comes the Latin *presbyterus*, the English *presbyter*, and the French *prêtre*, and our own term *priest*; and all, when traced up to their original, signify merely an *elderly* or *aged* person, though it soon became the name of an *office* rather than a *state of years*. Now, as these *elders* are called *episcopoi*, *bishops*, in ver. 28, we may take it for granted that they were the same *order*; or rather, that these superintendents of the church were indifferently called either *presbyters* or *bishops*." We before remarked that the disputes as to the meanings of *bishop* and *presbyter*, between the *Episcopalians* and *Presbyterians*, are nothing to do with the present question; we only bring the matter forward to show that the ministry was a *distinct* office from that of the laity; and whether both these parties are right, or both are wrong, we think that the fact of the ministers being termed *bishops* or *overseers* is a strong argument in proof of the distinctness of their office in the church.

We now proceed to consider our second proposition, namely, that "the *duties* of their office show them to have been a distinct order in the church." The primary object of the apostles' mission was to preach Christ crucified as the sole ground of the sinner's hope of salvation. This was the summary of the gospel news; and our Lord sent forth his apostles with this commission, to go and preach the gospel to every creature; to teach or disciple all nations; and to baptize them in the name of the Divine Trinity. They were commanded to travel, and as they proceeded, they were to proclaim the glad tidings to all they met. The work they had to perform was likened to that of husbandry; there was to be ploughing, sowing, and reaping. The Lord of this farm was now sending forth his labourers, who were to go forth and sow the seeds of eternal life; and they, having put their hand to the work, were not to look back. They were to make this business their chief concern; and the apostle's advice to Timothy will show the importance of the

Christian pastor's duty, and the proper way of discharging it. He says, "Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee. . . . Meditate upon these things; *give thyself wholly to them*; that thy profiting may appear to all," or, as the margin reads, *in all things*. (1 Tim. iv. 13—15.) "Preach the word; be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine. . . . But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, *do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry*." (2 Tim. iv. 2—6.) After having given Titus directions concerning what to teach and how to conduct himself towards his people, Paul says to Titus, "These things speak, and exhort, *and rebuke with all authority*." (Titus ii. 15.) He was to teach, and repeat again and again; and demonstrate the importance of what he taught with all the authority of an office which he had received from God.

We think that the appointment of *deacons* in the christian church will prove, as clearly as anything, that the office of the ministry was not of a secular character. We have this account in the sixth chapter of the Acts. It appears that a murmuring arose between the Hellenistic Jews, termed Grecians, and the native Hebrews. The former raised complaints against the latter, because they thought their widows were not duly served in the daily ministration from the common stock. The apostles could not attend to these daily ministrations themselves, as well as their own peculiar duties; so, hearing of these complaints, they "called the multitude of the disciples, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. *But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word*."

This topic almost necessitates a few observations on the term *deacons*. The word *deacon* is derived from the Greek *diakonos*, and means a *minister* or *servant*. It was variously applied. Jesus Christ himself is called the *deacon*, or, as is translated, the *minister of the circumcision*, Rom. xv. 8. The apostles are called *deacons*, though translated in our version *ministers*, 2 Cor. vi. 4; xi. 15; Ephes. iii. 7; Col. i. 23. There appears to have been in the primitive church two orders of *deacons*—*deacons of the TABLE*, and *deacons of the WORD*. The business of the former was to take care of the alms collected in the church, and to distribute to the poor, and occasionally to assist the minister in preaching; they were, in fact, his deputies; while the business of the latter was to *preach*, and in other ways *instruct* the members of the church. After the persecution of the apostolic church, the *deaconship of the tables* ceased, and likewise the *community of goods*. But the office for which these seven deacons were appointed is filled up in the various religious bodies by *churchwardens*, *elders*, *deacons*, and *stewards*, chosen by the people, or appointed by the ministers.



Having now glanced at the *duties* of a Christian minister, do we not perceive that they show him to have held a distinct office in the church? His duty was to preach and teach constantly, faithfully, and with authority. So important were these duties, that he was not permitted to engage in the secular affairs of the church to the detrimentation of his legitimate calling; and the abuse of these privileges, or the fact of ministers having become so worldly as to still follow their secular employment as a means of making themselves rich, or of congregations so mean as to engage ministers on the condition of their following some worldly calling, is no answer to the clear teaching of the Sacred Word on this matter. Nothing but extreme poverty can be any excuse for allowing any minister to engage in secular affairs for his temporal support. Peter, Andrew, James, and John, left their ships, &c., to follow Christ, and Matthew forsook the receipt of custom. "A change, as far as it respected secular things, every way to their disadvantage. The proud and the profane may exult, and say, 'Such preachers as these cannot be much injured by their sacrifices of *secular* property.' Let such carpers at the institution of Christ know, that he who has *nothing* but a *net*, and leaves *that* for the sake of doing good, leaves his *ALL*. Besides, he lived comfortably by his net before, but, in becoming the servant of all for Christ's sake, he often exposes himself to the want of even a morsel of bread. . . . When God calls to the work of the ministry, father, and mother, and all must be left."

This brings us to the consideration of our *third* proposition, namely, "Their *claims* to temporal support from the laity prove them to have been a distinct order in the church." The truth of this follows almost as a corollary to the last proposition; for if it has been demonstrated that the *duties* of the ministry show it to be a *distinct* order in the church, and that one of those duties is for the minister to forsake all secular employment for the faithful and proper discharge of his calling, then it clearly becomes the duty of those for whose benefit he labours in spiritual things, to provide him with temporal things. But let us examine the teaching of the Word of God on the subject. St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. ix., contains his views on the subject. The apostle first vindicates his right to the apostleship—"Am I not an apostle? am I not free?" It appears that some at Corinth questioned the apostle's claim to that office; and it also appears that he had bestowed his labours upon them *gratis*; and this, apparently, was brought by his opponents against his having any apostolical rights. "Have we not power to eat and to drink?" That is, "Have we not the *right* or *authority* to expect sustenance while we are labouring for your salvation?" Dr. A. Clarke's note here is so appropriate, that we shall quote it:—"Meat and drink, the *necessaries*, not the *superfluities*, of life, were what those primitive messengers of Christ required; it was just that they who *laboured* in the gospel should *live* by the gospel; they did not wish to make

a fortune, or accumulate wealth ; a *living* was all they desired. It was probably in reference to the same moderate and reasonable desire that the provision made for the clergy in this country was called a *living* ; and the *work* for which they got this living was called the *cure of souls*. Whether we derive the word *cure* from *cura*, care, as signifying that the care of all the souls in a particular parish or place devolves on the minister, who is to instruct them in the things of salvation, and lead them to heaven ; or whether we consider the term as implying that the souls in that district are in a state of spiritual disease, and the minister as a spiritual physician, to whom the *cure* of these souls is entrusted ; still we must consider that such a labourer is worthy of his hire ; and he that preaches the gospel, should live by the gospel.\*

We feel it to be unnecessary to enter into any lengthened arguments on this topic ; for the *reasonableness* of the thing is so apparent, that we are disposed to think that any one who can maintain that a minister, and of course his family with him, have no *right* to be supported *entirely* by the gospel, will not be convinced of the contrary by anything we or anybody else might say on the matter. We will just indicate a few passages of Scripture on the subject, and leave the subject for further consideration by other writers :—1 Cor. ix. 6—14 ; Rom. xv. 27 ; Gal. vi. 6 ; 1 Tim. v. 17, 18.

We shall now take a glance at the article of "An Elder," which we did not see until the previous part of this paper was written. Passing by his remarks respecting his own views of the Bible, and his regard for the Christian ministry, we notice that he admits the Divine institution of elders or bishops, and deacons ; the first "to watch the spiritual health and weal of the members ;" and the second to look after their "temporalities." But, according to our opponent, although we find here a "sacred office," yet we find no "sacred order ;" "that is, no body of men divorced from, and elevated above, the common callings, duties, and cares of life," to fill this sacred office, and discharge its duties. No ; a minister, while faithfully performing the various functions peculiar to him as a minister, attending, "instant in season and out of season," to the spiritual wants of his flock, must, according to "An Elder's" doctrine, labour at some secular calling for a livelihood ; for one of the "common duties of life" is to provide for the wants of one's family ; and as to do so by emoluments derived from the "sacred office" would evidently constitute a minister one of a "sacred order," it follows that he must pursue some secular occupation, in order to support himself and family. And as he would only have to work, say six days in the week, and ten hours a day, he would have ample time to look after the spiritual welfare of his flock, to visit them in sickness, and to relieve their temporal wants ;\* although "An Elder" would confine his labours solely to spiritual affairs, which he, no doubt, would be able very liberally to

\* St. Paul says that a bishop must be "given to hospitality."

do, seeing that men generally are so handsomely paid for their labour in trade and commerce! Again, as "literary training and preaching ability" seem to be at a discount with our opponent; and as "apt to teach" does not mean so much "preaching ability" as something else, the diligent pursuit of a secular calling would afford a minister ample opportunities for "imparting religious counsel, advice, and instruction;" to say nothing of first storing his own mind with truth by diligently reading the sacred oracles, for his personal visits to those who might, from a vitiated taste of preferring first-rate talent in the pulpit, stay at home instead of listening to him at church. By thus discharging the duties of his "sacred office," the minister would, as a matter of course, become "efficient" in them; and by not being "excluded from the ordinary duties, callings, anxieties, and temptations of life, he would have the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the intricacies and tortuous sophisms of the intellect, the sorrows, yearnings, and trials of heart, and the thousand petty vexations of human life"!

Such, dear reader, is the sketch of a Christian minister, drawn by one who has no shadow of hostility against them. Is it like the New Testament portrait? We trow not; for where does it affirm that the Christian minister should labour at a worldly calling for a livelihood? In vain have we looked into its pages for such authority; and if our opponents have been more successful, why do they not produce the chapter and verse? We have shown, and so has also a "Presbyter" (pp. 16, 17), that a Christian minister has a claim to live by the gospel; and we feel sure that we need say nothing more in proof of this.

Seeing, then, that a Christian minister has a claim to temporal support from the people over whom he has been appointed as overseer, we conclude that the New Testament sanctions and recognizes the Christian ministry as a "distinct order in the church;" and that, inasmuch as there is a "sacred office," so there is also a "sacred order," or class of men, called and set apart to discharge its duties.

The remaining portion of "An Elder's" article appears to have but little bearing on the question at issue, and may, therefore, be passed with very little notice.

We shall not quarrel with him respecting the question whether the preaching of the gospel was confined to the *eldership*, because we find that the *deacons* preached as well as the *elders*; compare Acts vi. 5 with viii. 5, 12, 26. The *abuses* which he seems to have in view of the sale of church livings is to be lamented; but what good thing is not liable to be abused? Shall we condemn everything as unscriptural that may be abused? If so, we must conclude that Christianity itself is unscriptural, because some of its professors put on a cloak of godliness to hide the ugliest sins.

Speaking of the disastrous results of men adopting the ministry AS A PROFESSION, he says, it is *unfavourable to personal piety*. In this we are agreed; but the *scriptural mode* is not to adopt it as a

*profession*, in the same way as a lawyer would *choose* his profession, but the minister must be *called of God*; have an inward assurance that the path of the ministry is the one he must pursue, or else he is nothing more than a hireling, having climbed over the wall into the sheepfold, and not entered through the only door—Christ Jesus. But the fact of hirelings having entered the Christian fold, and abused their power as shepherds, is no argument against the *shepherd* being *distinct* from the *sheep*; we cannot confound the two, unless troubled with a little aberration of intellect; and the “office” of shepherd requires a “shepherd” to fulfil it; and the “sacred office” of the ministry requires a “sacred order” or class of men to discharge its holy duties.

We cannot notice more of “An Elder’s” article, but similar courses of reasoning might be adopted with all the remaining *abuses* he brings forward. THEOPHYLACT.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

MR. EDITOR,—Your correspondent, “Presbyter,” in endeavouring to affirm that the Christian ministry is a distinct order, having separate claims and dues in the church as well as a *status* in society, has certainly used, or rather wrested various texts from their original intent and signification, and has not proved that preachers, as such, should be elevated into an order above other elders in a christian church, or that they should receive temporal support any more than one “who serves tables,” or in any other manner uses the office of deacon well. Nothing is clearer than that the New Testament teaches both by precept and example that the church should be subject to order, that good government is necessary, that rule must be exercised, that in the primitive church the duty was recognized, that every member should take the position for which he was best fitted,—some were to be as the eye, others as the head, others as the hand of the church; but such were expressly warned against considering that because they had to fulfil a particular office, or perform a special duty, they were superior to the others. “Call no man master” (or head); admit no superior claims, for all ye are brethren, and one is your Master (or Head) even your Lord. Nothing to my mind can be more conclusive than this passage against all claims of a separate and elevated or superior order in the church, such as are contended for by “Presbyter,” and which custom, alas! (descended as it has from a very early, but not the earliest days of the church) is acquiesced in, not only by Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, but by almost every denomination of Christians.

In the second paragraph of “Presbyter’s” affirmative article he quotes from Ephes. iv. 8—12, in which the apostle names five distinct offices—apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers; he exclaims, Here are “orders,” if words have any distinct meaning: but I cannot see from this how he is justified in elevating modern ministers, who are perhaps analogous to the prophets of the primitive

church, into a separate order, with a title to their names (for which not the slightest warranty is found in the New Testament), whilst the evangelist or modern village preacher, the "pastor" or elder, who takes a district and superintends that section of the church, the members of which reside within it, or the teacher—say of a Bible class, are unrecognized. Will "Presbyter" admit these as our ministers, or will the "order" recognize them as possessing equal authority, and entitled to the same respect, or having a claim on the church for temporal support equal with, "*the minister*"?

It appears to me the question is not so much as to whether these are or are not persons whose duty it is to have oversight in the church (this nearly all Christians admit); but whether persons having one peculiar gift, having ability to preach, shall be esteemed worthy of special honour, and whether they are called upon to give up their whole time and receive pecuniary support from the church, is the question to be decided. From my readings in the New Testament, I do not find the practice enjoined, nor examples of its practice, nor in fact anything which sanctions the system which now prevails, and which our early education has led us to believe is so entirely scriptural, and which the intense application to business, and the long hours of labour necessary to supply the wants of modern society, and low religious development, find so convenient.

When our dear Lord gave his commission to the primitive preachers, He certainly in no way sanctions the present system, by which a company of believers, who cannot depend on themselves and God's gracious Spirit for edification, invite the most eloquent preacher they can find, or their ability allows them to pay for, to preach the word to them, lead their devotions, conduct their worship, and direct their proceedings. Christ directed the apostles and the seventy not to settle over a church (even when formed), but to go everywhere proclaiming His gospel, and to lead a life of faith and humble dependence on Him for everything. See Luke ix. and x.; Matt. xxviii., &c. If we carefully read the proceedings of the church in the Acts, we do not find anything which supports the idea that those who preached were a separate order. True, the apostles, if they had no other means, had no lack, for all had everything in common; and when the engagements of the apostles no longer permitted them to attend to the affairs of the society, seven persons were selected to manage its finances, see to the necessities of the indigent, the provision of places for meeting, and doubtless to the proper and orderly conducting of their assemblies; but not a word is mentioned about the appointment of one as head; or, as we should now say, as a "minister." Probably, all the seven, though they are supposed to correspond with our deacons, were ministers; indeed, we know that Stephen was one of the most devoted and successful preachers that was found among the disciples. Not only did the deacons preach, but in Acts viii. we find that when the church at Jerusalem was scattered abroad, by

reason of a great persecution, they (the ordinary members of the church) "went everywhere, preaching the word."

No candid student of the book of the Acts of the Apostles can discover that, amongst the men upon whom the Holy Spirit descended in a larger measure than ordinary, any were elevated into a distinct or superior order. Besides the apostles, and the seven who were selected as rulers at their instigation, there were many illustrious and faithful preachers; there were "head men" amongst them, who probably had no office; who, whilst they had great preaching talent, did not claim, in consequence, to be supported without secular labour by the church. In Acts xiii. we find the church at Antioch had several prophets and teachers amongst them; four are named; but there is no reason to suppose they either were at the head of the church, or had an independent maintenance. If any should have been supported by the church, surely the two that were set apart for the special missionary work were entitled; but we read nothing about it; indeed, we are quite sure it was not afforded in one (Paul's) case.

In Acts xv. we read that Judas and Silas, who were not of the seven, and were not apostles, were sent unto various churches, at Antioch, and in Syria and Cilicia, and no reference whatever is made to their pastor, or bishop, or minister. Undoubtedly here there was no one man set apart as head; the brethren were addressed as a whole.

All through the Acts we shall find mention of churches as communities of brethren, but we never hear of the "minister." In probably all of these churches there were brethren who, as they had gifts, used them for the edification of their brethren, for the building up of the saints in their most holy faith, and many who, as evangelists, carried the good news of the gospel to the Jews and heathen, wherever they had access and opportunity.

Surely "Presbyter" has allowed his pen to slip in the remarks he bases upon 2 Thess. iii., which I read to mean, that the apostle, when he came on a visit to the brethren, did not even board at any of their houses, but took lodgings, and went to a workshop, where he night and day, by manual labour, earned sufficient to supply his bodily wants; he intimates that he did this, not because they would have been justified in refusing him the rights of hospitality, but that he would show them the dignity of labour and the obligation that all were under, by their own hands, to earn the food required by the body. It is worthy of remark, that he addresses the whole church, makes no exception for any of the rulers or elders that, without doubt, the church had amongst them. To me, there does not appear, in the whole New Testament, a stronger passage than this to show they had no separate order among them: and that all their elders, without exception, were enjoined not to be weary in well-doing, but to eat their own bread, which they should quietly work for with their own hands.

How "Presbyter" could, after reading this, pen the following sentence, I am at a loss to conceive,—“While Christians in general

were bound to secular work for self-support, their elders were required to abstain from it, *FOR THEIR OWN SALVATION and of those who heard them.*" There is not a particle of authority in God's Word for such a statement as this; if true, what a reproach to the Apostle Paul, who, if ever a man should be supported by the contributions of others, it was himself,—a missionary, evangelist, leaving home, friends, comforts; the highly learned apostle, he disdains not to work at hard manual labour, and to eat such food as, in the interval of his almost superhuman daily exertions in the cause of his Divine Master, he could obtain from the wages earned as a tentmaker.

"Presbyter" should not have touched Milton; so high an authority would certainly have counted for much, had his views been in accordance with those of "Presbyter;" but, happily, they are opposed to him. Hear what he says in "Presbyter's" own quotation: "It were to be wished they (ministers) were all tradesmen." Surely so devout a man and so great a scholar would not have made such a remark if, as "Presbyter" says, their own and others' salvation required elders to abstain from secular employment.

In conclusion, it appears to me that the ministers of the present day are in a false position; one which, whilst it may suit modern notions of comfort and pleasure, is not in the strictest accordance with New Testament teaching, or the examples it exhibits. The church should do its own work; depend upon itself for edification; make much less of preaching, and much more of prayer; assemble together more frequently for fraternal communion, and pay less regard to eloquent sermons. Then, instead of well-educated brethren who have known the truth ten, twenty, or thirty years, sitting to listen to a young man fresh from college, to a large extent ignorant of the sufferings, trials, and difficulties which beset their struggling humanity, they would themselves be expounding the word in destitute localities, where the good news of God's dear Son is rarely, if ever, proclaimed. Not that I would reject any agency; for wherever God has given great talents, they should be employed, and, if circumstances render it impossible for secular employment to afford sustenance, let the church give it; but instead of being stated pastors, let such go out as evangelists, calling upon a world lying in darkness to repent and live.

A WOULD-BE-CONFORMIST.

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## Philosophy.

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### ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRE-RAPHAELITE SCHOOL OF PAINTERS CORRECT?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

THOSE who are conversant with the progress of art in England are aware that within the last few years a new school of painters

has arisen, advocating principles at variance with those which had previously prevailed. It originated with a small number of students at the Royal Academy, who were dissatisfied with the universal practice of their brother artists, and desirous of introducing a purer style. They believed that the true function of art had been lost sight of in the following of conventional rules, and they banded themselves together for the purpose of reviving what seemed to them the only living principles, those alone by which true art could be produced. They took the title of Pre-Raphaelite brethren, thereby intimating that they intended to be guided by the ideas and the practice of those great painters who immediately preceded that master. In spite of much opposition, which, as might have been expected, so determined a course excited, they have persevered; and, though their efforts have been marked with much crudity, their excellencies have been such as to gain for them almost universal admiration, and their style has influenced all contemporaneous art, even in quarters where their principles have been most obnoxious. Before their time, painters had been content to give broad generalizations as representations of nature. Its facts they had *idealized* and composed in accordance with their own standard of beauty. They sought to improve upon what they saw, to amend what was faulty, and supply from their own imaginations what was defective. The Pre-Raphaelites, on the contrary, assert the supremacy of Nature, seeking only to exhibit what she reveals, and to interpret to mankind her mysteries. They approach her with reverence, not exalting themselves above her teaching, but in all humility receiving what she deigns to impart. Every portion of their pictures, even to the most subordinate parts of their backgrounds, are therefore careful delineations of actual objects. Their figures are all drawn from living persons, their landscapes from real scenes. The characteristics of these different schools will be well illustrated by passages from two writers who severally rank as leaders of these two parties. The first, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is taken from his third discourse delivered before the Academy students. "I will now add that Nature herself is not to be too closely copied. There are excellencies in the art of painting beyond what is commonly called the imitation of nature, and these excellencies I wish to point out. The students who, having passed through the initiatory exercises, are more advanced in the art, and who, sure of their hand, have leisure to exert their understanding, must now be told that a mere copier of Nature can never produce anything great, can never enlarge the conceptions, or warm the heart of the spectator." And again: "All the objects which are exhibited to our view by Nature, upon close examination will be found to have their blemishes and defects. The most beautiful forms have something about them like weakness, minuteness, or imperfection. But it is not every eye which perceives these blemishes. It must be an eye long used to the contemplation and comparison of these forms; and which, by a



long habit of observing what any set of objects of the same kind have in common, has acquired the power of discerning what each wants in particular. This long, laborious comparison should be the first study of the painter who aims at the greatest style. By this means he acquires a just idea of beautiful forms; he corrects Nature by herself, her imperfect state by her more perfect. His eye being enabled to distinguish the accidental deficiencies, excrescences, and deformities of things, from their general figures, he makes out an abstract idea of their forms more perfect than any one original; and, what may seem a paradox, he learns to design naturally, by drawing his figures unlike to any one object. This idea of the perfect state of nature, which the artist calls the ideal beauty, is the great leading principle by which works of genius are conducted." In contrast with this, Ruskin, in his "Two Paths," lecture ii. p. 72, says, "You know that among architects and artists there are, and have been always, since art became a subject of much discussion, two parties—one maintaining that nature should be always altered and modified, and that the artist is greater than nature; they do not maintain, indeed, in words, but they maintain in idea, that the artist is greater than the Divine Maker of these things, and can improve them; while the other party say that he cannot improve nature, and that nature on the whole should improve him."

That is the real meaning of the two parties, the essence of them; the practical result of their several theories being that the Idealists are always producing more or less formal conditions of art, and the Realists striving to produce in all their art either some image of nature, or record of nature; these, observe, being quite different things, the image being a resemblance, and the record something which will give information about nature, but not necessarily imitate it. You may separate these two groups of artists more distinctly in your mind as those who seek for the pleasure of art, in the relations of its colours and lines, without caring to convey any truth with it; and those who seek for the truth first, and then go down from the truth to the pleasure of colour and line.

This placing of truth first, and beauty and the pleasure resulting from it second, is a distinguishing trait of Fra Angelico, Giotto, and the other great painters who preceded Raphael. If they had to represent a scene from the Scripture narrative or from history, they endeavoured to make it as true as possible, rather than so to arrange it as to please the beholder. If they introduced a plant in their foregrounds, they sought to give an exact representation of its leafage, not so to treat it as to afford the most graceful play of lines. The earnestness of these painters was such, that the wilful distortion of anything from its true character would have been foreign to the spirit in which they worked. They regarded Art as a teacher of the people, intended to convey to them moral and spiritual truths. They received Nature as the work of God, fraught

with lessons, which it was the office of Art to interpret. All art with them was religious, and work was worship. To this enthusiasm early art owes its charm and its dignity.

Animated by a lofty purpose, and wrought in a pure and loving spirit, it gained a sway over men's minds which no art can rival without adopting the same principles, and seeking the same end. This elevating power of a right motive has been much overlooked. It has become the fashion to talk of art as a mere panderer to the luxury and taste of the people; not in any wise as a teacher. The mission of art has been ridiculed as an Utopian absurdity. A more enlightened view is now spreading, owing to the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite painters and writers. It is, we think, beginning to be seen that in the full development of man's spiritual nature art has a worthy part to perform, and that it was intended to educate him in the love of the true and the beautiful by presenting for his admiration whatsoever was lovely in nature, or of good report among men. It is of the utmost importance, if art is to be cultivated at all, that right views should be held respecting it. If it be regarded simply as a minister to the gratification of sense, with no higher purpose than to delight the fancy with visions of beauty, or charm the eye with the glory of colour, it will debasé both the mind which produces it, and that upon which its influence is felt. If, on the other hand, it be viewed as an exponent of God's works, whether of the outer world, with its overflowing beauty of moving cloud and waving tree, of sublime mountain, or placid water; or of the subtler moral beauties which mould the expression of the face, and move to the heroic action, it will possess vitality in itself, and be beneficent in its power.

History fully attests this, and contains for us no less a warning in the fate of Rome than an example in the triumph of Florentine and Venetian art. Upon this point Ruskin has, at p. 16 of "The Two Paths," the following remarks:—"Wherever art is practised for its own sake, and the delight of the workman is in what he *does* and *produces*, instead of in what he *interprets* or *exhibits*, there art has an influence of the most fatal kind on brain and heart; and it issues, if long so pursued, in the *destruction both of intellectual power and moral principle*; whereas art, devoted humbly and self-forgetfully to the clear statement and record of the facts of the universe, is always helpful and beneficent to mankind, full of comfort, strength, and salvation."

From what has been said, it will be seen that both schools admit that they must go to nature for their inspiration. The grand difference between them being in the fidelity, or otherwise, of their work. The one party argue for an ideal to be built up in perfect symmetry from excellencies that are found in nature separate and distinct; and by this standard they urge all objects should be judged. The other asserts that each thing, however mean and insignificant, has a beauty peculiar to itself, which can only be gained by a careful and loving study of it. They decry generaliza-

tion as monstrous, and would rather err on the side of microscopic minuteness, than produce what are called "broad effects," in which all the characteristics of different parts are made subservient to the light and shade, and what is considered "masterly handling."

Between these two we have to decide in this discussion, and the subject is one of much interest at the present time.

If we are swayed by the authority of names and the force of precedent, we may record our vote in favour of the Idealists; but if we are imbued with a profound love for nature in all its aspects, whether of strength or tenderness, from "the cedar of Lebanon" to "the hyssop that springeth out of the wall," and have accustomed ourselves to seek in her beauties a revelation of the Creator, we shall prefer that school of painters who approach His work with the same reverence and love as ourselves, and endeavour to transmit to us on the glowing canvas the elevated thoughts with which they have been inspired. In that case our decision will be that the principles of the Pre-Raphaelite school of painters are correct.

EDMUND.

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## Politics.

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### IS THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN ITS EXISTENCE AND OPERATIONS, BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

IN debates where truth is our only aim, it is evident that the real worth of an argument does not depend upon the difficulty of giving a satisfactory reply to it, nor even upon its own intrinsic soundness. We may most elaborately prove that one side of a shield is bronze, and by the very multiplicity of our reasons deceive both ourselves and our readers or hearers into a belief that we have proved the whole shield to consist of that metal. We must ever bear in mind that we are to do suit and service to truth, and not truth to us. If we are so careless as to fight at a disadvantage, we cannot expect that truth is to appear, a *Deus ex machina*, to turn the scale in our favour, and to extricate us from our difficulties. Our reasoning must have relative value and pertinacity as well as logical correctness, or we may wrangle for ever. The plan and grounds of an argument are as important as its actual ratiocination, unless we have no higher object than the display of intellectual gladiatorship.

The remarks we have just made have an especial applicability to the discussion now before us. A moment's reflection will show that the aspects and bearings of the question are so numerous as to allow of many different modes in our treatment of it. We may argue it as a topic of political philosophy, of general historic reasoning and comparison, or of national politics. Is any one of these

grounds sufficient in itself to ensure sound argument and safe conclusions,—and, if so, which presents the greatest advantages? Or, if we are loth to trust any one of these modes of reasoning singly, what are their relative values,—what should be their mutual connection and dependence? Unless we settle these points, it is evident that the debate will only issue in the production of a series of disjointed essays, in which each writer wanders his own way to his own conclusion; or else in an interminable series of conflicting opinions, irrelevant questions, and idle disputes. Let us examine, then, the relative value and trustworthiness of the modes of argument which we have pointed out. It is obvious that government is the outgrowth of human reason and human necessities. In all ages man has been impelled to establish systems of government as the means of securing certain ends. Here, then, our first principles of argument are clear; we may ascertain what are those common universal tendencies and necessities of our nature which result in the establishment of governments, and we have then only to exercise our powers in judging the fitness and adaptation of the means chosen to the end sought. In arguing such a question as that before us upon philosophical grounds, therefore, we are only liable to errors of reasoning. We may count upon arriving at a truthful and satisfactory conclusion with something like confidence, for it is scarcely to be imagined that a faulty syllogism can pass muster, or an ungrounded assumption creep in and escape detection by the hostile criticism of opponents, or the thoughtful scrutiny of readers. The debate may neither be short nor simple, but it will be through the incapacity or perversity of the debaters if it fail to be clear. We shall be able to ascertain wherein we differ, and to know what we are really discussing.

We hold, therefore, that the question before us may be safely and sufficiently discussed on philosophical grounds alone. Can we say the same of the other modes of reasoning which we have pointed out? The lessons of universal history, the experience of human nature at large, obviously afford a wide basis for inferential reasoning on topics connected with the forms and institutions of government. We may compare state with state, constitution with constitution, tracing out the effect of the latter in the condition of the former. We may reason wisely—nay, profoundly—but we cannot expect to be very convincing. Our historical studies leave general impressions on the mind, which rest upon a multitude of particular conclusions, every one of which is at least disputable. The mind becomes distracted if we descend to details, and those who differ from us will necessarily attack us upon details. National character, religion, civilization, may all be alleged as reasons why an inference drawn from the fruits of aristocratic rule in Sparta, or patrician power at Rome, should be explained away, or considered as inapplicable to the case of a modern aristocracy. We may claim for the democratic constitution of Athens all those glories and that unperishable renown which surround her splendid story, and

impute her many deeds of shame, her deep humiliation, and early political ruin, to the inherent vices of the individual characters of her citizens. Pointing to the bright side of her history, it might be reasoned that could the practical character, dogged energy, and steady perseverance of the Saxon mind have been substituted for the idle speculation, frivolity, and fickleness of the Athenian temperament, the ultimate issue would have been far otherwise than it was. Such reasoning, however, may be met with counter arguments as strong. We can only finally determine the point (in anything like a satisfactory manner) by reverting to first principles, and inquiring into the natural and necessary tendency of such a form of government as that adopted by the Athenians. Again, we might object to an inference on the ground that the failure of any particular kind of government resulted from a misapprehension of the ends of government, both on the part of the governing and the governed. The sole aim of ancient Rome appears to have been universal conquest and dominion. Her constitution varied often. First it was a limited monarchy, then absolute monarchy. The expulsion of Tarquin introduced a pure aristocracy, which gave place to pure democracy; and this again was succeeded by a mixed aristocracy and democracy, and finally by imperial despotism. The failure of each of these forms of government in turn, and the moral degradation, misery, and civil bloodshed which characterize Roman history, may all be very plausibly imputed to the fact that that people wholly misapprehended the true end of government, and perverted all its forms. Here, again, how shall we settle the point, save by recurring to philosophical reasoning upon the legitimate and proper ends of government? We might multiply examples, but we forbear. Enough has been said to show the difficulty of arguing a topic such as that now under review solely upon general historic grounds. Even if right, so much might be said against us, that we could scarcely hope to convince. The value of history is moral teaching rather than logical. It throws a deeper human interest upon our more abstract studies, and affords us an ample fund of corroborative examples and illustrations; but we must bring our philosophy, both political and moral, to our study of history, and not seek to deduce them from it. If we believe in a God that judgeth in the earth, we may reverently trace His judgments in the story of our race; but if we were to endeavour to determine from history whether there be any and what manner of God, we should in all probability fail. It is so also of all general principles of morals or philosophy.

There is yet one other mode in which we might attempt to discuss our theme—viz., as a question of national politics. Our opponent, "L'Ouvrier," having already disposed of the philosophical aspect of the question, announces his intention to discuss it further, as a matter of "constitutional history" and "actual fact," in a second paper. This resolve seems to betray some considerable distrust of his own philosophy, since it appears very needless to prove that the

House of Lords is *not* beneficial, if we have previously shown that it *can not be* beneficial. However, it is quite possible that a man may succeed in one line of argument, while wholly failing in another. Our duty, therefore, is to inquire whether "L'Ouvrier" has any right to claim attention and reply for his proposed historical proofs? Are we bound to join issue with him in this particular, or to admit that our reasoning is incomplete? The English Constitution is a mixed government, consisting of king, lords, and commons. Can we assign to each element its exact share and influence in historical and national events? Candour will at once admit the extreme difficulty and the huge laboriousness of such a task. We cannot judge by samples and instances. *Every* event in our history must be examined and estimated, first separately, and then in its influence on succeeding events. Who is sufficient for these things? Let it be granted that the Lords have, in some cases, concurred with the Crown in withholding just rights from the people; can it be denied that the Lords, at other times, have sided with the people against the threatened despotism of the Crown? What common measure have we by which to gauge, and so compare the peril escaped on the one hand, with the evil done on the other? That boasted trial by jury, which has been the bulwark of our liberties in all ages; that Saxon freedom to which we so often proudly and fondly recur; those Saxon laws and customs which the people cried out and strove and fought for during the times of the Norman line, and the early Plantagenets,—whose work were they? The Anglo-Saxon government was more essentially and solely aristocratic than the English constitution has ever since been. The very foundation of our liberties was laid in the era when aristocratic power was pre-eminent. Again, the first great settlement of English freedom dates from that Magna Charta wrested from the tyrannical John by the proud barons of the feudal age. When the insidious attempt was made to subjugate our country to the spiritual tyranny of Rome, by foisting upon us its canon and civil laws in place of our native laws, it was the earls and barons of England who, in the parliament of Merton, rang out that glorious and ever-memorable reply, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*. When these same barons were in their pride and power during the reigns of the first three Edwards, no less than 119 parliaments met in the course of 105 years; but when civil war, bloodshed, confiscation, and attainder, had brought them low, Henry VII. could reign through 25 years, and hold but 7 parliaments; and his son, the capricious and ferocious Henry VIII., summoned more frequent parliaments only because he found them the base and obsequious instruments of his pleasure. These and like instances might be urged by us,—would not our opponents strain every art to depreciate and explain away the inferences to be drawn from them? Or, if we heaped instance upon instance, and foiled their depreciatory criticism, should we not be told that the barons of those days were a nobler race than the peerage of to-day? or that institutions, valuable enough in the

middle ages, are now effete and out of place? We should evidently be at a loss to find common ground on which to contest the question, while we should weary the patience of our readers by never-ending replies and rejoinders. And when we come down to our own age, our difficulties increase. "L'Ouvrier" has already alluded to the opposition of the House of Lords to the Reform Bill of 1832. He must admit that that opposition was ultimately withdrawn by the peers themselves. He may dwell on their obstinacy, and on the dangers of the crisis, while another may insist upon the prudence which led to ultimate concession, or on the advantages arising from the delay. Was nothing gained by the extra discussion, the lengthened consideration, the repeated revision which the Reform Bill underwent? Did not the country become more prepared for the change, more ready to prize it and estimate its worth? Were not individuals and constituencies educated for their new position and new duties? Had there been no House of Lords, and the bill had passed at once, what would have been the issue? Would the nation have despised the boon so easily obtained, or would it only have led to further and more sweeping changes—to a love of change for change sake? It is obvious that these, and a hundred other questions, are involved in the general subject, and that our original theme would be lost and forgotten in subordinate discussions on matters of every-day politics. If we ever emerged,—with spent strength, from such a troubled sea, we should even then have done no more than substantiate that the House of Lords had or had not been beneficial in one specific instance. The little wool would but ill compensate for the great squeal. One other instance:—Allusion might be made to the late rejection by the House of Lords of the paper duties abolition bill. Now, one man looks upon the rejection of the bill as a constitutional question, another regards the measure as an integral part of Mr. Gladstone's budget, and a third treats it as a question solely of state finance. One disputant would enlarge upon the crying evils of the paper duties as "a tax upon knowledge." Another would criticize them according to his own views upon direct and indirect taxation, and a third again would point to the extra penny income-tax, and demand only to be freed from one or the other, he cares not which. It is apparent that every one of these views, and many others which might be added, may be made a separate subject of debate. All may, and several of them must be, disposed of before we can decide upon the right or wrong, the benefit or evil of the course pursued by the House of Lords. Even when all this has been done, "L'Ouvrier," as an advocate of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the majority, would have to prove that a majority of the nation really desired the repeal of the paper duties, and felt their retention to be an act of oppression and wrong, facts which the failure of the various "Constitutional Defence Associations," the quiescence of the nation, and the narrow majority in the House of Commons, render more doubtful, but which it is absolutely impossible either to prove or disprove. The space which we

have necessarily been led to occupy in giving one or two specific instances of the interminable controversies into which we should be led by "L'Ouvrier's" proposal to debate our theme upon the grounds of actual fact and constitutional history, is sufficient proof of its futility and uselessness. Different events in our history may serve as illustrations of our general philosophical argument, but the attempt to weigh the beneficial or evil influence of the House of Lords as a question of fact, is no whit wiser than if we were to propose to ascertain the saltiness of the ocean, by evaporating its waters, and weighing the residuum of salt. We have no wish, of course, to influence the judgment of our fellow-contributors on the affirmative side of the debate, but so far as we are concerned we can only look upon "L'Ouvrier's" proposal as an utter misapprehension of the only true method of debating the question. However ingenious and interesting his promised article may be, it will necessarily be insufficient, and beside the mark. With relation to the question at the head of these pages, we can only regard it as equivalent, as an argument, to so many blank pages, demanding neither the consideration of the reader nor notice from opponents.

If, as we would fain hope, we have succeeded in carrying the sympathies and convictions of our readers with us in our attempt to determine and fix the area and limits of the present debate, and so to shut out mere political wrangling and subsidiary disputes, we have rendered the remainder of our task simple and clear. The two articles which have already appeared have been written in accordance with the views we have put forward—i. e., as arguments upon a question, not of fact but of political philosophy, and for our own part we should be well content to rest the issue of the discussion upon them. It is hard to imagine that friend or foe can hesitate long between the clear and distinct reasoning of R. R., and the lamentably lame philosophy of our friend "L'Ouvrier." R. R. gives a reason for the faith that is in him, and defends his opinions by intelligible and pertinent argument. "L'Ouvrier," on the other hand, only informs us that "from" Jeremy Bentham's definition of the ends of government, and "from" the doctrine of universal suffrage, his argument "*is made to converge*" to the conclusion that the House of Lords is not a beneficial institution. The nature and process of this "*making to converge*" it is left to the curious to discover. The only open and intelligible argument adduced by "L'Ouvrier," and he himself declares it a "strong" one, is "the *possibility* of the Lords and the Crown uniting" against the liberties of the people. We may remind "L'Ouvrier" that universal suffrage not only "*possibly*" might, but actually has resulted in casting the liberties of France at the feet of imperial despotism, and in exchanging the native constitutional liberties of Savoy for the yoke of foreign absolutism! The real "*strength*" of "L'Ouvrier's" argument lies in the fact that it would apply to any and every form of government, and so would prove that the only beneficial government is the absence of all government.



We now propose, by way of confirming the able paper of R. R., briefly to point out the grounds upon which the desirability and beneficial nature of an institution like the English House of Lords rests. In doing this, we must be on our guard against confounding the end of government with government itself; or of mistaking a canon by which we may judge of the wisdom of particular acts of legislation, for a test of the forms of government. "L'Ouvrier" has committed these errors at the outset. He adopts Jeremy Bentham's definition of public utility, i. e., "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," and thence jumps to the conclusion that the House of Lords is not beneficial. How heedlessly he has adopted a phrase of Bentham's, without any investigation of Bentham's principles, will be obvious to any one acquainted with the writings of that jurist. "The object of Mr. Bentham," says Dumont, his intimate friend and disciple, in the preface to his French translation of Bentham's great work on Legislation, "in tracing, in the vices of legislation, the cause of the chief evils of society, has ever been to ward off the greatest of all evils,—the overthrow of authority—the revolutions of property and power. Existing governments are the very instruments by which he seeks to work. . . . His reasonings are as applicable to monarchies as to republics. He says not to peoples, 'Seize upon sovereign power; change the constitution of the state;' but urges on governments to learn the maladies which weaken them, and to study the régime which will restore them to vigour." Again: "Those who seek in these writings for arguments against such and such forms of government, will find their expectations deceived." And again: "Some may be astonished that so vast a work should contain no treatise upon the political constitution and the forms of government. Has the author regarded all forms with indifference, or does he think that there can be no trust (or certainty) in any theory of political power? It would be most improbable that such opinions could exist in the mind of an *English* philosopher; and such assuredly is not the case with Mr. Bentham. Yet he is far from attaching an exclusive preference to any form of government. He holds that the best constitution for a people is that to which they are accustomed. He believes that happiness is the only end,—the sole object of intrinsic value, and that *political liberty is but a relative good*,—one of the means for securing this end. He maintains that a people with good laws, but without any political power, may arrive at a high degree of happiness; and that, on the other hand, with the widest political powers, if it has bad laws it will necessarily be miserable."\* We thus see that the very maxim which "L'Ouvrier" "*makes to converge*" to one conclusion, Jeremy Bentham logically reasoned out to the opposite. Bentham's maxim was never intended to be detached from his

\* "Discours Préliminaire," pp. 15—18. The writer of these pages is responsible for the translation.

modes of thought and reasoning, and from the safeguards with which he surrounded it. Applied as "L'Ouvrier" applies it, the maxim becomes dangerous. It may consist with the happiness of a majority to hold a minority in utter slavery. The brutal spectacles of the Roman Amphitheatre might be justified by it; for, what were the agonies of the dying gladiator, "butchered to make a Roman holiday," compared with the universal thrill of savage joy, which burst forth in those inhuman shouts he "heard but heeded not," as he lay weltering in his blood. The maimed and vanquished victim of their sports extends his trembling finger, pleading for bare life; but the vast assembly, with thumbs bent back, declare that their pleasure is not to be sated without feasting their eyes on the agonies of death! It might consist with the happiness of the majority to confiscate the estates of the wealthy, but it would be very bad government. If it be said that such a proceeding would be, eventually, antagonistic to the happiness even of the majority; we reply, that it is equally certain that social wrong or injustice on the part of the House of Lords, would ultimately prove injurious to that body. Hence, as Bentham truly reasons, Convince the governing class or classes that humanity, wisdom, right, and justice, are the best policy, and it matters not who hold the sovereign power.

This leads us to consider the supposed principle of "the sovereignty of the people;" or, more correctly, the sovereignty of the *majority*. On 31st March, 1851, the population of Great Britain and the adjacent isles numbered 11,462,782 persons under 20 years of age, and 9,496,695 persons above that age. Under any scheme of suffrage yet propounded, the minority of nine millions would wield sovereign power over the majority of eleven millions. It will be said that the latter are incompetent to govern; but the objection, when most fully conceded, establishes the point that fitness and *not numbers* points out the rightful depositories of sovereign power,—that the majority has no inherent right to rule in virtue of the bare fact of its being a majority. Again, of the 9,496,695 adults, 4,967,928 were females, and only 4,528,767 males. Now, universal suffrage would still hand over the sovereign power to the minority, *i.e.*, the males. It would be an insult alike to our better feelings and to our understandings to speak of the inferiority and incapability of woman. In the matter of inherent moral rights, she is man's equal, formed by Deity to be his companion and helpmate. The only true reason for refusing her the franchise is that political power is not an inherent right, but a social expedient; that its holders are to be chosen in accordance with policy and expediency; that it is a means of arriving at certain results, and, therefore, must be distributed so as to secure those results.

Having thus exposed the folly of reasoning from maxims and dogmas, let us reason from the nature of things, and from first principles, by inquiry into the origin of government, the ends sought, or which ought to be sought by it, and the means or institu-

tions best fitted to attain those ends. Men are unequally gifted by nature; some are stronger, and some weaker. Fallen from the high estate of innocence, they are not a law unto themselves. Power and strength are made subservient to inclination and passion. Each one's pleasures, freedom, and possessions are his only so long as he can maintain them against all comers. The family, by a natural relationship and community of interests, forms the nucleus of a system of mutual defence; and reason and instinct suggest the extension of that system. Fear, danger, and the sense of insecurity lead to men and families leaguering themselves together in an offensive and defensive alliance, intended to secure to each his personal liberties and possessions. Then arises the division of mutual duties; one must lead and others follow; one will fight while another stays behind to carry on the necessary concerns of daily life. Some rule must decide so as to bind all; some law must regulate the division of spoils and the sharing of losses. In a word, external organization depends upon internal union; and internal union is possible only by the enforcement of certain rules of order. To enforce order, power must be placed in certain hands, and that done, civil government is constituted. We thus learn that the end of government is to secure each individual from the abuse of power,—to protect him against the natural tendency of all men to *make* the pleasures, persons, and property of others subservient to their own particular wishes. We see, too, that the natural means adopted is to constitute a new power. Political power is invented as an antidote to check the abuse of natural power. In a word, government is the institution of a *balance of powers*.

We have thus traced the first formation of civil government; but the evils of a state of nature may be re-enacted in a modified form within the community. Says Montesquieu, "It is eternally true that the possessor of power is led to abuse it; he goes on until he finds limits." Political power is as readily abused as natural power. The first ruler (perchance the patriarch of a tribe) dies, and it becomes an object of ambition to obtain his power; strength snatches at it; wealth and cunning strive for it; and they who win rapidly learn to abuse it, and to make it the instrument of civil oppression. Hence, whether the government be that of one (pure monarchy), or of the few (pure aristocracy), tyranny is the result. What system shall men adopt to meet this evil? All cannot rule and share alike in the actions and deliberations of government, for then labour would be impossible, and society would dissolve. Pure, direct democracy is a simple impossibility in an advanced community. But it will be said we may have representative democracy, where every man has a share in the government, and governs (so to speak) by proxy. In this case, power really rests in few hands; and according as the time for which representatives are elected varies, so will the government oscillate between oligarchy and pure democracy, sharing the evils of both in turn, and losing the advantages of either. History confirms our reasoning. Crom-

well, one of the noblest statesmen and truest patriots whom the world ever saw, found the Rump Parliament, and those he afterwards assembled, alike evil; the one tyrannous and oligarchical; the others vain, tumultuous, and incapable. Against his own desire, he was driven to dictatorship. Athens found it necessary to provide some checks upon the waywardness and madness of the Assembly, by instituting the Senate, the Areopagus, and the Heliasæ. Yet, even with these, we know that the uncontrolled passions of the multitude burst forth; that Miltiades languished in prison; that Cimon, Themistocles, Thucydides, and Aristides were ostracized—Alcibiades turned into a traitor by the alternations of ingratitude—and Socrates, her best citizen, compelled to drink the poisoned cup, and branded as the corrupter of youth. Seventy-five years sufficed to comprise the glory of Salamis and the humiliation of Ægospotamus. Xenophon tells us that the Athenians could “distinguish the good citizens from the bad;” but that they “preferred those who served their purposes;” that they “hated public benefactors;” and that none could prefer their rule to that of an oligarchy but those “determined to do wrong.” The great and good Washington and his coadjutors secured to their country Presidential power and a Senate to hold the Representative House in check. Pure representative democracy must fail. Frequent elections necessitate a government as unsettled, and if possible more contradictory even, than a government by open assembly of all the people. The strife for place and power is incessant. Corruption spreads, like gangrene, through the whole social frame. The industrious and the thoughtful are driven to leave everything in the hands of the idlest, most ignorant, and most violent section of the community. To conceal wholesome truth, to pander to the prejudices and passions of the moment, to flatter and truckle to the noisiest and most unprincipled, becomes the habit and rule of those who aim at office. Public men are driven almost to adopt the editor’s creed of the admirable *Beglow* papers, in which he declares his belief “in humbug generally.” There is yet another view of this question of democratic rule. Are the majority less likely to tyrannize and abuse power than a minority? To suppose this, we must suppose the mass of mankind to have a different human nature from their fellows; in fact, individually to change their nature as often as they pass from the side of the majority to that of the minority, or *vice versa*. A single highwayman attacking three unarmed men is not likely to maltreat them worse than three thieves would maltreat a solitary victim. Nay, we know that, in social life, public bodies will dare to do what a single individual would be ashamed to do. If a law be tyrannous, justice is equally outraged whether the “sovereignty of the majority” or the tyranny of an autocrat imposes it. If a law be wise and good, it matters not what was the Constitution which enacted it. I may hide in obscurity from the despot; may hope for sympathy and aid in my distress; may, at least in civilized lands, plead for redress; but if I offend the many-headed monster, escape is hopeless—sym.

pathy and aid are looked for in vain. Of all evils, the most crushing, relentless, and searching is the tyranny of the many over the few. Neutrality even is scarce allowed. There are Capulets and Montagues, Guelphs and Ghibellines, in democracies as well as in aristocracies; and their mutual hate is not more slack in the former than the latter.

The end of government is not, as some wild theorists seem to dream, to reverse the laws of nature, and to force all men to the same dead level of equality; its aim is to afford equal justice, equal security to each; to ensure that every man shall observe that law of right so finely described by Justinian, "*Juris præcepta sunt hæc:—honeste vivere, alienum non lædere, suum cuique tribuere.*" To gain this end, sovereignty must belong neither to one, to few, nor to the many; but power must be kept in check by power. Monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy have each their virtues and advantages. It is in their combination that we must seek that balance of power most nearly approaching perfection. Tacitus saw this, but despaired: "*Ex defecta, ex his, et constituta reipublicæ forma, laudari facilius quam evenire.*" Cicero "determined," as the result of his studies, that such was the best form of constitution. The only questions arising are the modes of constituting these three distinct bodies in one state. Happily, the British Constitution gives us an hereditary monarchy and peerage, whose origins are all but lost in dim antiquity. Our government has grown up, a system of checks and balances, resulting from natural causes, and events working in accord with the practical thought and experience of a race nurtured in freedom, yet deeply attached to order, stability, and precedent. Shall we change it, and substitute the artificial device of to-day for the natural growth of centuries? Far distant be the wish; and ever distant be the fatal resolve.

We have not now to discuss the hereditary character and powers of the Crown. Even "L'Ouvrier" would have an Upper House; and we have shown the necessity of our aristocracy. Shall we destroy the hereditary nature of our House of Lords, and take from the Crown the power of adding to its numbers, of repairing the breaches of time, and invigorating it with new life? To do so, would be to make the Upper House merely a second representation of the people. We may trace in France the results of the want of an hereditary patrician body. That country, since 1789, has alternated between the wildest republicanism and absolutism. In America, the Senate is elected by the State legislatures, the object evidently being to remove its origin as far as possible from the people, to ensure the most aristocratic body to be had in a new and independent country. In England, we know of no equivalent device that could be adopted. America had no choice; it was hopeless to attempt the establishment of an hereditary peerage in a new country; and in the absence of a monarchy, such an institution, if once established, would either die out, or have to be recruited by popular election. The consequence, however, of the

constitution of the American Senate is, that the body is deficient in power and dignity; that it encumbers the legislature, without adding to its stability, or checking its tendency to the evils of pure democracy. This is seen in the fearful power of mob rule; the intense and never-ceasing political excitement; the frequent outbursts of violence; and the alarming manner in which corruption is tainting the whole framework of American government. An elective aristocracy can have no permanent or distinctive character; it represents nothing in particular, save its constituents; and hence can only be a casual, chance, and uncertain check upon the other powers of the State. Nature herself teaches us that the influence and power of public services, wealth, and station descend from generation to generation. A *natural* aristocracy exists in every community, and is hereditary. Society has its upper ten thousand, whose children will claim and exercise the social rank and influence of their fathers. We may be assured that forms of government are wisest when most accordant with natural laws; when the balancing powers and checks of the Constitution are not mere artifices, but actual powers existent in the community. An hereditary peerage forms a genuine aristocracy; while an elective Upper House is a mere counterfeit. The one becomes an object of the highest ambition—the most powerful stimulus to public worth and eminence; while the other tempts only an inferior class of adventurers. Where both houses are elective, the Lower, as the more powerful, draws to it all the men of worth and talent; and the Upper becomes little better than a worthless form.

We have shown that an elective Upper House is objectionable. If the people frame both houses, they must be little more than duplicates of each other. It follows, therefore, that in the case of new hereditary peerages, the Crown must have the power of creation, unless we adopt the worst of all systems—self-election. This prerogative of the Crown, however, is the grand theme of the objectors. To prove the dangers it may occasion to the people, "L'Ouvrier" quotes a long extract from Lord Brougham, which shows that, in 1832, the Crown was on the point of using its power in order to *force the Lords to yield to the people!!* This is reasoning with a vengeance in the *lucus a non lucendo* vein; actually inferring black from white. Further than this, the Lords yielded without the power of the Crown being exercised; and if they had not yielded, Lord Brougham believes that the prerogative would not have been actually put in force. Danger to the people from this source is imaginary. If the Lords naturally side with the Crown, the latter has no motive for using the prerogative; if they side with the people, the open creation of new peers, in order to reverse the verdict of the House of Lords, would be the fatuity of madness. It would raise both Lords and Commons in open rebellion. We might as well expect the Crown to force the election of its nominees by driving electors to the poll at the bayonet's point, or that it would openly buy over a majority in the House of Commons. The

truth is, that the people can force the Crown, *in extremis*, by refusing the supplies and throwing out the annual Mutiny Act. The Crown, with the approbation of the people, could force the Lords, by the creation of new peers. But there is no power, except an appeal to arms, by which the Crown and Lords, either singly or jointly, can force the consent of the Commons. Thus, in the last resort, the People's House constitutionally is sovereign. So little has it ever apprehended danger from that branch of the prerogative of which we speak, that when the Lords, in the reign of Queen Anne, passed a bill to limit the numbers of the peerage, the Commons rejected it.

The British Constitution is imperfect, for no human institution is or can be otherwise. Suffice it that it has endured longer than any other; has been more fruitful in outward strength and internal happiness; that it still is, as it long has been, the glory of this, and the envy of all other lands. Those principles of life which have made it what it is still work within. It may fail in extremities; but they must be extremities to which we wilfully push it—extremities that can only arise when patriotism and virtue sink low; when the voice of wisdom and prudence is disregarded; and the example of our forefathers is forgotten in the whirl of passion. Its history is the history of mutual compromise and concession on the part of all for the good of all—the history of conflicts ending in concord. May it be perpetual. Let us guard it well, and value it as our best inheritance. So may we hope that our beloved land will still remain

“A land of settled government;  
Of old and just renown;  
Where Freedom broadens slowly down,  
From precedent to precedent.”

We have no need to fear the tyranny of the Crown, or of aristocratic rule. Let us beware of destroying that happy balance which now exists, lest

“Banded unions persecute  
Opinion, and induce a time,  
When single thought is civil crime,  
And individual freedom mute.”

B. S.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

“The House of Lords—that hospital of incurables.”—*Lord Chesterfield*.

BEFORE offering a few reasons for the belief that the House of Lords, in its existence and operations, is detrimental to the well-being of the country, allow me to say, that if no better defence can be made in their behalf than is made by R. R., they would have done better without counsel, and by simply pleading guilty, have thrown themselves upon the natural respect we have for “old-fashioned” things, even when they are not only useless, but mischievous too.

Of all the strange mixtures of wisdom and folly, a little reasoning

and much sophism, random assertions and shallow inferences, left-handed logic and pure dogmatism, the like of R. R.'s defence was surely never seen since the flight of Burke's "age of chivalry." History our friend very wisely eschews, and instead of it gives us some mild but delusive phrases about "the advantages of a permanent council," by which I suppose he means hereditary legislation; what we might "naturally expect," &c.; while the most "natural" thing appears to be to open our eyes, and see how the thing is done. We are told that "many of our most salutary laws have emanated from its members," yet R. R. gives us no instance in which this paragon of legislative perfection pressed a salutary measure upon the House of Commons. We then get the stock phrases about the "balance of power," and R. R. shows very clearly how the three parts of the British Constitution, "the wonder of the world," &c., are so arranged that any of the three are powerless for good, inasmuch as a movement by any one will bring two to oppose it, so that it has been likened to "a three-legged animal, each leg pulling in opposite directions, and so going nowhere;" and so it is that three-fourths of the energies of every government are spent in party warfare, and regulating this precious "balance of power."

Now herein lies the fallacy of all this reasoning. If each of these three held their powers as a trust for the well-being and good government of the whole nation, mutual helpfulness and prosperity would result from such an arrangement. The monarch holds power in trust for the whole nation; so, more or less, does the Commons; but the Lords hold in trust for nobody: it is simply an organization for selfish purposes—a remnant of the power they once had to keep the King a puppet and the Commons serfs. Sullen and dogged as a wild beast, reason, justice, truth, or right have never induced them to abate one jot of their arrogant pretensions. To brute force or "expediency" only have they ever foregone one of their unjust pretensions.

They have still, as a body, greater part of the land; the bulk of the Established Church belongs to them; half the House of Commons; government, with all its salaries, honours, and emoluments; the monarchy, too, for a king or queen is simply a fiction in the hand of the ministry for the time being; and still they must have a separate house to themselves, to keep up this "balance of power!" It is really

"The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That he should get who has the power,  
And he should keep who can."

Then we have the silly inference, that those who do not consider the present House of Lords as the perfection of senatorial excellence, must of necessity dispense with a second house altogether. A second chamber or senate appears necessary, and a dozen ways of securing the conservative element essential to such a house might be devised. If elective, its constituency, or the qualifications for membership, might be higher. It might be elected by, yet independent of, the



Commons. Previous service in the Commons might be indispensable. By any of these plans, or others that might be named, a senate might be formed, the members of which would bring to bear all the weight, mature experience, long-tried integrity, and stability of character, to support the wisdom of the conservative checks they might impose upon the more impulsive and democratic Lower House; but here we have offices and duties, confessedly requiring the very highest intellectual ability, left to the chance medley of "hereditary descent." Solomon chafed at the thought that he might have a fool to succeed him, and the folly of his son proves at once the wisdom of the father and the madness of depending upon succession for ability. Nature with all her laws, and God in all His providences, condemn such an institution. Take away from it all those gifted men who have, either for party purposes or public services, been elevated into the House of Lords during the present century, and what would you have left? A batch of stolid imbeciles, with scarce a dozen men amongst them fit to manage the business of a parish vestry. All their blood, rank, education, prestige, land, wealth, social influence, would not save them from the contempt, ridicule, and scorn of the nation.

But it will be said, are they really naturally worse than other Englishmen? By no means. But the system of which they form part, and the education they receive, is enough to spoil any men. Taught from early infancy that they are of superior race, of "noble blood;" born to command—others to obey; to rule—others to submit; petted, coaxed, and flattered; relieved from most of the incentives to self-control and improvement, no wonder that pride, arrogance, with selfishness, are the main features of their character. For a thorough and perfect embodiment of inveterate selfishness the House of Lords stands without a parallel in the world's history. Every patriotic and noble statesman has had to encounter their bitter and unrelenting hostility. Every step that the nation has taken in its onward progress towards complete civil and religious freedom has been fiercely and doggedly disputed. Every gain to liberty has been to them a loss, and our victories are their defeats. These are heavy charges, but history amply bears them out. When that most moral of monarchs, Charles the Second, came back to the throne, and, to use Macaulay's words, "superseded the reign of the saints by that of the strumpets," (by the bye, four or five out of twenty "noble dukes" are the legacy left to the nation by that same "merrie monarch" and those frail fair ones,) the peers of England entered into a composition with the king and nation, that instead of personal service and man tenure of armed men for the defence of the country, a land-tax should be paid by all landholders. Thus, in the words of Blackstone, "at one blow the whole of the tenure and conditions on which above half the land of England was held was changed."

This tax was to be 4s. in the pound, "nett yearly value," and so it was assessed year by year for more than a century, from 1690 till

1798, and had increased from one and a quarter to two millions; but seeing the increased expenditure consequent upon the French war, they passed an act fixing the land-tax at the rate at which it was collected in the reign of William the Third, and it has stood at £1,214,430, not one farthing more or less, since. Then it constituted one-fourth of the whole revenue; now it is not one-fiftieth. The excise, a poor man's tax, has advanced from less than half a million to near twenty. Everything to eat, drink, use, or wear, has been taxed and re-taxed, but the landowners, true to their selfish instincts, have never allowed their tax to be increased.

Take another example. A poor man receives a legacy of £100, and government claims £10. A rich man inherits as many thousands, and in most cases pays nothing, and in a few exceptional instances a mere fraction of what personal property pays. Again, at the commencement of the Russian or Crimean war, the increased expense was to be borne by the rich man's income-tax being increased, and the poor man's excise duties having five per cent. put upon them, with the distinct understanding that both were to be repealed at the end of the war; but unfortunately, when peace was made, the whole of the war taxes could not be spared,—so the rich man's income-tax was reduced, but the poor man's five per cent. remains to this day. Nay, search the record of taxation through, and you find that abominable thing that God hates, "one law for the rich and another for the poor." The true law of taxation, according to Adam Smith, is "that all classes shall be taxed according to their ability to pay." Our taxes are laid heaviest on those who are least able, and lightest where most able, to pay.

I shall be told that these evils are not so much the work of the Upper as the Lower House. The Lords operate upon the Commons to induce this course in two ways. First, nearly half the members of the Commons are the nominees or relatives of the Lords. In the counties, as a rule, the voter never dreams of exercising his judgment in opposition to his landlord, and many borough seats are simply private property. The landlord *chooses* the man, and the tenants *elect* him, and thus a large influence in the Commons is secured, to be used entirely for the benefit of the privileged class. Secondly, they exercise a powerful but indirect influence upon the Commons, because, whatever measures the Commons desire to pass, must be modified so as to pass the Lords. The spectacle is not uncommon of the Lower House passing just and liberal bills that the Upper refuse altogether. Hence it is a matter of more importance to the framers of laws what the Lords will allow, than what justice requires, or the nation demands. The *will* of the people *should* be consulted, but the *whims* of the Lords *must*. I might have pointed to our gross and shameless prodigality of blood and treasure spent in foreign wars during the last 150 years, costing more money than it has cost to till our land during that time. Yes, there has been more English money sacrificed at the shrine of the grim Moloch, War, than has, during the same time, been paid to all the labourers

to till all the broad lands between John o'Groat's and the Land's End,—wars, too, mainly to support despotic and aristocratic power abroad. I might have instanced the gross wickedness of using the people's money to bribe and corrupt the representatives of the people and guardians of their money and liberties—the unnatural law of primogeniture, that monster with “one cub,” cuckoo-like, leaving the rearing of its young to others—its inhumanity, in caring more for horses, dogs, pheasants, and foxes, than the human beings around it—its robbery of the poor, the widow, and orphans, in the appropriation of immense sums left for charitable purposes,—but enough.

Every true and patriotic Briton ought to use the influence God has given him to root up this upas tree of class hereditary legislation. Then and not till then will this mighty nation have peace, freedom, and prosperity, amongst her swarming millions of toilers; accomplish her great work of peacefully and helpfully uniting the families of the human race; her hands clean from oppression at home, she will then be able to follow her instincts in being “the friend of the friendless and the slave” abroad.

BRUTUS.

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## Social Economy.

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### OUGHT THE EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN AGRICULTURAL, MANUFACTURING, AND COMMERCIAL PURSUITS, TO BE ENCOURAGED?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

To those who, by experience or otherwise, know how much of individual and national happiness and prosperity depends upon the condition of our female population, the solution of the question now before us will be an interesting study. Many, like our friend “L'Ouvrier,” are induced by the very contemplation of the subject to look back upon their happy years of childhood, which are long since past, and call up before the mind the cheering voice and loving smile of that one whose life was an offering of affection to our hearts. We cherish the remembrance of a mother's gentle accents; and, as we listen once more to their echoes resounding through the aisles of past years, we feel our hearts warm as we prepare to discuss any subject calculated to render her sisters amongst us more serviceable to themselves, their families, and the cause of God.

While agreeing with our opponent that the domestic circle is woman's peculiar sphere of action—that “home” is her mission-field, and social life her vantage-ground—we yet think that the

employment of females in many branches of trade and commerce, hitherto closed against them, ought to be encouraged. We believe, in the first instance, that the adoption of this course would be of practical benefit to the female sex, morally and physically; and, in the second place, that it would be beneficial also to those of the other sex.

"L'Ouvrier"—unintentionally, no doubt—has narrowed the question somewhat by confining his remarks almost exclusively to those females who have attained the position of wives and mothers; and arguing, from the class of occupation they have naturally placed before them, that to engage them in any employment whatever outside the domestic field of labour is, in fact, to sacrifice the due discharge of what we all admit should be their primary duty. But we apprehend the class of females mainly contemplated in the question is that existing between the door of the school-house and the altar of the church;—that large mass, in the youth of their years, whom we throw upon the world for a means of living after leaving school, and who have some few years to exist alone ere they can hope for a wife's position or a mother's place. What occupations are available to that class at present? and how would their condition be affected by other channels being opened for their employment? These are the real questions to be discussed, and they are those to which we shall now direct our attention.

A girl in a humble though respectable rank of life has left school; and although her parents are living in comparative comfort, and occupy a fair position in the world, they feel that their daughter must turn her attention to some employment, so as to qualify her, in the first place, for earning her own bread, should any misfortune happen to them; and, in the next place, for easing them somewhat of the burden of her maintenance in her advancing life. In forty-nine cases out of every fifty in these countries the only occupations open to females of such a class are as governesses or milliners. To qualify for the former much extra expense must be incurred in the early education of the girl; and the remuneration offered, after all, for the toil and drudgery, mental and physical, of a governess's life, is not so much as a third-rate mechanic receives for his mere manual labour, and often not as much as the upper class of household servants receive for their services. The life of a milliner or dressmaker has been most truly characterized as not a life at all, but a continual death-walk to the grave:—badly paid, hardly wrought, despised, and careworn, the poor unfortunate milliner, in nine cases out of ten, starves out a miserable existence, stereotyping upon her face and frame poor Hood's immortal epitaph. If it be wrong to withdraw woman from the duties of home, her own legitimate sphere of action, let "L'Ouvrier" advocate that *all* occupations but home ones should be closed against the female sex, and we will give him credit for consistency of reasoning and soundness of argument. But it is difficult to see

how otherwise he protests against the channels of occupation for the sex being extended, if it can be proved that that very extension really places the members of the sex in a better position for the proper discharge of home duties, when such duties come upon them. We do not wish to see our fair sisters occupy the invidious place of one a shade above the rank of domestic servants, and yet far below the family in whose home they live. We are not content to see those whom we love and esteem sneered at by their inferiors, and practically despised by their superiors in life. We are not desirous that at the close of this century another Hood should have cause to sing our sister's dirge; and therefore we say, open up the field of occupations to our young women. You have shops, in which are sold all the articles with which a woman's hand is so familiar—place young women behind their counters;—you have printing offices, in which are required expertness of hand and quickness of eye, qualities possessed by our sisters around us—place young women in them;—you have counting houses, in which easy work is lazily performed by your young men now-a-days—place young women on their stools;—you have railway offices, in which affability of manners and smartness of action are essential—place young women in them;—you have telegraph offices, in which intelligence and steadiness are needed—place young women in them. The remuneration in one and all of such employments will, at all events, equal—in almost all cases exceed—that offered to them as governesses or milliners; the position is more respectable and defined; the work more congenial to their natural tastes, and the toil, mentally and bodily, much less. At this time of day it is needless to anticipate the objection being raised to these suggestions that woman is not mentally or physically capable of undertaking and properly discharging such duties. That line of reasoning—it would be libellous to call it *argument*—is almost antediluvian in its character, and, therefore, we seek not to combat with its ghost. But “L'Ouvrier” asserts that engagements in such occupations of “commercial civilization,” as he terms them, “estrangle a woman from the position which by nature she is, as a mother, called upon to occupy, and render her unfit for its duties.” Is this the result, then, or is it so in a greater degree, or *as great*, as the occupations of tuition, and millinery, and dressmaking, &c. ? To be an argument of any weight, “L'Ouvrier” was bound either to show that the few occupations at present open to females are not subject to this great disadvantage—for, where existing, we admit it to be such—or, being so liable, that any additional occupations would be more subject to them. He has not done this, simply because he could not, and, like a good and honest debater, has confined himself to starting fair and tangible arguments only in support of his views. The evils resulting from admixture of the sexes, and the temptations and dangers consequent upon congregating large numbers of females together, in any one place of business or manufactory, are, however, *the dangers of the adoption*

of the scheme we have advocated, and we desire honestly to grapple with them. We do not wish to argue that no such evils might not ensue, in many instances, in carrying out our plan; but we think we are entitled to say that those evils might be very easily reduced to a minimum scale; and that the more generally the plan was adopted, of necessity the more could many of such contemplated dangers be swept away. If female labour was more generally employed in mercantile and other establishments, the heads of these establishments could look after their interests, their wants, and their proceedings; and the more female hands were engaged in them, the less number of the opposite sex would be requisite, and, consequently, any danger likely to result from admixture of sexes would be considerably reduced, if not altogether dispelled. The mental and physical labour requisite as a qualification for such positions could not be half so severe as that endured now-a-days by thousands of our poor weak sisters; and the drafting off of large numbers of young women into such channels as we have mentioned would relieve the ranks of governesses, milliners, &c., from the over-crowding now experienced in them; and, as a matter of necessity, by lessening the supply, increase the rate of remuneration for these still preferring these walks in life. Many a parent, who feels a repugnance to having his daughter engaged in either of the two occupations at present open to her in these countries, and retains her at home in comparative idleness, a heavy drag upon his means and her own time, would rejoice to see some kind of employment opened up, in which she might lead an industrious, respectable life, relieving him from a heavy burden, and placing herself in a position to make her own way in the world after he is gone. Does "commercial civilization" unfit *him* for the duties of his home and family?—if it does, then what is to become of ninety-nine out of every hundred homes in this "nation of shopkeepers" and land of merchant princes? No, no, M. "L'Ouvrier." You have, in the execution of your theory, imported into the new occupations we propose for the fair sex all the hours of toil and labour attaching to their present limited means of living, and unwittingly arguing from false premises, you have very satisfactorily arrived at erroneous conclusions. For ourselves, we can only say that we are insane enough to believe that a young woman, who had spent a couple of years in a shop or a counting-house, or a telegraph or printing office, would make a far more useful and intelligent wife for a young man who had nothing but his hands and character to bring him through the world, than one who had gone through the slavery of the life of either a governess or milliner. When marriage has withdrawn such young women from their employments, and placed them in the homes of their husbands, all the feelings and instincts of their nature are called into action, and they are enabled to undertake their household duties with fresh and buoyant minds and unimpaired constitutions.

But we have said that the opening up of additional means of

employment for the female would benefit our own sex. It is lamentable to pass through one of the monster houses of a city such as London, or Liverpool, or Dublin, and notice behind the counters,—engaged in measuring pieces of ribbon, counting out buttons, and such like occupations,—young men whose faces beam with intelligence, and whose intellect needs but development on a fair and open ground to make them means of good to themselves and their fellows. They have prostituted the powers of their minds and intellects, and sit down lazily, early in life, to the career of a draper's assistant! We know many of that class—some of our most attached and valued friends are amongst it—but we have ever thought their position an unhappy and unenviable one. Would it not be a real act of charity to hundreds of them to put them outside the counters they now stand behind so lazily, and send them to merchants' offices, banks, the bar, or the pulpit, there to develop their natural abilities, and employ their talents and powers for the advancement of their own spiritual and temporal interests and the good of their fellow-men? Fill their places with the intelligent young women of our land, and free young blood, strong minds, and vigorous intellects to pursue a laudable course in some more congenial walk of life. "L'Ouvrier" makes this result appear an argument against instead of for our theory; but we would remind him that his line of reasoning was taken up most cordially by the admirers of stage coaches on the introduction of railways, by the advocates of manual labour on the introduction of steam power, and by the lovers of old sailing vessels when steamships were first proposed. His argument is the same old, worn-out fallacy, and will be exploded by a slight amount of practical evidence. "Adopt railway travelling," said the old stagers, "and you send thousands to beggary." Railways grew, however, and the *employés* of stage coach establishments turned their thoughts to some other means of living. "Introduce steam into your manufacturing and printing offices," said the workmen long ago, "and we are driven to the poor house." Steam entered, however, and employment was in a short time given to thousands who had never had it before. Steam-ships have been floated upon our seas, and navigation has increased a hundredfold. If experience is worth anything, then, it would teach us that if the employment of females, in some positions now filled by young men, would tend to deprive those men of occupation in that particular line, they are freed for other and perchance more useful labours elsewhere. Female labour is not thereby withdrawn from domestic life; for the labour spoken of is mainly that of the class which is in what may be termed a transitional state between childhood, on the one hand, and manhood on the other; and, therefore, the fancied injury resulting to society, suggested by our opponent, does not in truth exist to an extent to amount to an argument—or, indeed, at all.

We, therefore, believe that the employment of females in the various occupations which agricultural, mercantile, and commercial

pursuits open out to their capabilities, should be encouraged, because such a course would tend to improve their own condition, render them more useful in their own peculiar sphere of duty in after life, and be of practical benefit to thousands of our young men, at present forced by custom and circumstances to waste their time in what we cannot but call frivolous and unprofitable employments.

G. H. S.

NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

MR. EDITOR,—If your pages are not already occupied by champions of greater ability, we may possibly be permitted to state our views upon this important question of Social Economy, and allowed to break our maiden lance in defence of what we believe to be the true interests of our fair sisterhood, the women of England; and we consider we shall be doing this when endeavouring to prove that it is neither wise, just, nor expedient to encourage the further employment of females in pursuits appertaining to agriculture, commerce, or manufactures. While we would not attempt to dispute the equality of woman in mental capacity, yet we dare venture to assert that there is sufficient scope for her industry without bringing it into further competition with man in markets where even now you will find a large amount of surplus labour.

To us it appears probable that, however much you may endeavour to persuade woman to occupy herself in agricultural pursuits, you will not be likely to induce her to do so to any great extent, for two reasons. First, because she is physically unfitted for many of its labours: and, secondly, because the amount of remuneration (to most females, the great attraction) is already so small that, though men may contrive to subsist upon it, they can scarcely be said to live. We are also of opinion that at present no great number of females can by any means be employed in commercial transactions; and we therefore purpose addressing ourselves more particularly to the evil results attending their employment in manufacturing, upon which head we shall be enabled to write with more confidence, since we have had some little practical experience of the operations of the system in this department, in which the great majority of our working women are occupied.

Before proceeding, however, we may admit that we do not think it possible, in the present state of society, altogether to dispense with the services of females in some branches of manufacture; but we do hold that they should be occupied as little as possible, and that in all cases where the services of male and female are alike available, the preference should be invariably given to the former, to whom such labour belongs as a natural right. Having made this admission, we think that even the most prejudiced among our opponents can have no objection to grant that when woman was created, she was destined to be “a help meet for man,” to be his companion and counsellor in health, and his nurse and comforter in the time of affliction; and while it fell to her lot to guide, instruct,



and train their offspring, and to superintend the affairs of the household, upon man *alone* devolved the duty of providing for himself, wife, and family, the daily necessities of life. Should our opponents allow the correctness of this proposition, and we think its truth is too evident to be questioned, we contend that they ought not to encourage women to neglect these, their rightful and sacred duties, and advise them to transfer their industry to other fields of labour, unless it can be shown that society is benefited by the change.

But we purpose attempting to show that not only is society not benefited, but that, on the contrary, it sustains serious injury, as will be seen if we notice a few of the social and moral results of this system.

First, then, we find that the employment of females in manufacturing pursuits is a great evil; since it not only permits, but encourages parents to send their children to labour before they have received that education which they require to fit them for their station in life, however humble it may be. How is it possible they can be thus instructed, when at the age of seven or eight years they are taken to the factory, to be constantly occupied for ten or twelve hours daily? And this, not because the parents are in absolute want of the ninepence or shilling the child may earn weekly, but because, by thus availing themselves of the services of their offspring, they are enabled to indulge in luxuries which they fancy might not otherwise be obtainable; and, being illiterate, they do not understand that by so doing they are injuring the children by depriving them of education, and injuring themselves, by introducing more labourers into an already overcrowded field. Of course, the employers cannot be so blind to their own pecuniary interests as to refuse to employ children where they would otherwise be compelled to employ adults. What matters it to them that by such means the child is ruined, bodily and spiritually, for this life and the life hereafter, provided their wealth is temporarily increased?

Secondly. We assert that the employment of females in manufacturing pursuits is a great injury to society, because, by adopting this course, you prevent the maiden receiving that training, in matters belonging to household and domestic economy, which she requires to enable her properly to fulfil her natural and important duties of wife and mother: and, moreover, you leave her exposed to temptations and perils which, alas! too frequently lead to her irretrievable ruin. It may be urged that at least this course will tend to make woman more independent and self-reliant; but granting such to be the case, we can only look upon this as an additional evil; and, for proof, we may refer to the published opinion of a gentleman who for many years past has been a large employer of female labour, and who makes the following statement:—"The going from home, and earning money at such an early age (as might be expected), has the effect of making the child early independent of its parents, and, in frequent cases, at the age of sixteen to twenty, the girl leaves home and takes lodgings, *on purpose to be free from restraint*. At

an early age the evenings of the young women are spent in the company of the opposite sex; early marriages are thus consequent; and they become wives and mothers, entirely ignorant of the various important duties and responsibilities thereon entailed; and should they at once go to housekeeping, the husband's food will be imperfectly cooked, his shirt half washed, and discomfort pervade his dwelling." Such being the impartial testimony of one who is inclined to regard female employment in manufacturing pursuits as an "institution," we submit that if these are the advantages of feminine independence, it will be a red-letter day in our history when woman resumes her natural position of dependence upon man.

Thirdly. This practice is an injustice to the woman; for, having her time occupied in these labours, she is, of course, unable to make her husband and family comfortable, by giving due attention to home duties. Thus the men and women of the future are permitted to grow up without acquiring those principles of self-denial and industry, which only a mother can practically impart and properly instil into the mind. At this point, it may be urged, that the temporal comforts of the family are increased by the earnings of the wife and children. Again referring to the authority we have already quoted, we learn that "fathers and husbands are thus tempted to keep Saint Monday, and indulge in deeper potations, calculating, with unnatural selfishness, that their daughters', sons', and perhaps wife's, earnings will furnish the necessary means for housekeeping." This is another of the evils resulting from female employment in manufacturing pursuits.

Fourthly. The employment of females in manufacturing pursuits is a calamity to the man, because, from constant intercourse with females, he is enabled easily to gratify those lower passions of his nature which degrade him; or should he successfully combat these temptations, by this system he is deprived of a pleasant companion and a happy home, and may be finally driven to the parlour of the public-house, in a vain search for comfort. There, in all probability, he will acquire a love for drink, gambling, and other kindred pursuits; and not unfrequently become a participator in vices at which before he would have shuddered. We think, therefore, we are justified in presuming that crime would not now be so rife in this country had woman remained in her natural position.

And lastly. We contend that, as a nation, we are injured by the practices already specified; and also because the encouragement of this system has a tendency to degrade our national character. Surely none will be bold enough to affirm that the future generations are likely to be as intelligent, as morally good, and as commercially great as they would be, were the parents enabled to impart to them the instruction they require to fit them to "act well their part" in this world, and to prepare them for the better life hereafter.

If the truth of the above statements be admitted, our opponents must allow that great moral and social evils are fostered by this

system, which, of course, will be increased if it be further developed; and we, therefore, contend that they ought not to persist in their course, even if it should be found to be advantageous in a commercial sense; but viewing it from this point, we find that the consequences are, if possible, more disastrous, and we call upon all true Englishmen to do their duty, and use every effort to reduce this evil, by diminishing, as much as possible, the number of females employed in these pursuits.

The evils which working men bring down upon themselves by persisting in thus employing their wives and children, and thereby decreasing the value of their only capital, have already been so clearly set forth by our talented leader, "L'Ouvrier," that we feel we can add nothing to his testimony; but we will just give the following striking illustration of the correctness of his theory, and trust it will receive the careful consideration of our readers:—"The two staple trades of Coventry are watchmaking and ribbon-weaving; in the former, men alone are employed, while in the latter both men and women are occupied. When both are in full work, the earnings of the watchmaker alone are quite equal to, and in some cases exceed, those of the weaver and his wife combined." For this information we are indebted to Mr. Charles Bray, of that city, from whom we also learn further that "the watchmakers, as a class, are provident in their habits; do not marry early, and, when married, keep their wives to attend to home duties; send their children to school till fourteen years of age; belong to building, land, and sick societies; and are generally well conducted;" while, on the other hand, we find that among the weavers early marriages are prevalent; the children are sent to work as soon as possible; and the effects are such as we have already shown with reference to manufacturing pursuits generally. A fact like this is worth a gross of arguments, and needs no comment.

Having thus hurriedly and imperfectly pointed out the evils attendant upon the present state of things, we will now proceed to make a few remarks with reference to the arguments used by X. Y. Z., and with much pleasure we may express our entire concurrence in his opening remarks. We may also admit that, as a rule, "Englishmen do not, like the barbarous Australians, live in idleness, and compel their women to procure for them the necessities of daily life;" though we should scarcely like to guarantee that this statement will be equally correct, when another half century has elapsed, should our opponents, in the meantime, succeed in fully carrying out their views.

As our friend advances into the subject, we are told that our assertion, that "Home is woman's province," involves the denial of her equality with man. Perhaps it is our stupidity; but, at all events, at present we have failed to discover upon what grounds this statement is made. Might we not, by the same rule, contend that the mechanic is inferior to the agriculturist, because he has not the knowledge of farming possessed by the latter?

X. Y. Z. will not deny there may be some peculiarities of organization which partially unfit women for these pursuits. "The question is too large to enter into fully;" but he ventures to say that all such unfitness may be removed by proper training and education. It would be useless for us to attempt to deny that this is true, to a certain extent; because, in the same way, men might be fitted to become domestic servants, nurses, and the like; but the common sense of the reader will at once inform him whether society is likely to be a gainer by any such change.

We are well aware there have been masculine women in the world, as well as effeminate men, and therefore X. Y. Z. need not have informed us, that "in the arts of government, and even in the art of war, many women have excelled," unless he wishes us to understand that he is looking forward, in joyful anticipation, to that happy day when woman will prescribe for him in sickness, plead for him at the bar, judge him from the bench, exhort him from the pulpit, defend him from harm, should the bugbear of a foreign invasion ever become a reality, and represent him in parliament. Perhaps X. Y. Z. will also inform us if he would think it safe to advise the women of England to imitate, in their moral character, those females whom he has eulogized as adepts in the arts of war and government?

We allow that what keeps man from doing justice to the rightful claims of women is "custom," but the "custom" is on our opponents' side, not on ours, or we should not have to fight such a battle when contending for the true interests of women. Does he not admit, only a paragraph or so afterward, that nearly one-half of the English women are "returned as earning their bread independently; and besides these, there is a large multitude, who, as wives, sisters, or daughters, share in the ordinary avocations of their relatives." How, then, can he contend that the great obstacle to the further employment of women,—for we presume that is what he means by woman's claims,—is custom?

We now learn, that "it is evident that no amount of discussion or condemnation can reduce the extent to which female employment is already carried;" and it is questioned, "if it can be increased, unless among those classes who are placed by fortune above the necessity of working for their daily bread." If this be truly the exact state of the case, we regret we cannot congratulate X. Y. Z. upon his discretion, for he certainly might have employed his time better than in defending a system that cannot possibly be altered, and supporting the further development of a movement to which no increase can be obtained. Again, "This movement has developed itself in spite of every obstacle thrown in its way, and without any encouragement from any quarter." We should like X. Y. Z. to inform us what he considers encouragement, and who are the parties that have thrown obstacles in the way of female employment? They certainly deserve to be kept in remembrance, though with shame we must confess we never heard of them before. Assuredly, it

was not the employers of labour who objected to receive female labourers. Nor do we think it was the men employed, because they imagined, that when their wives and daughters earned something, they would be enabled to indulge in, till then, unknown luxuries.

Again, we are advised by X. Y. Z. that "there is no more fruitful source of prostitution than poverty," and, moreover, we are told that this statement "cannot be disputed." Were we allowed to question the correctness of it, we might endeavour to show that this evil is to be attributed as much to the indiscriminate mingling of the sexes in manufacturing and other pursuits, and the baneful influences for evil brought to bear upon the young woman by evil companions (with whom she would not have become connected had she remained at home), as to any other cause.

But if X. Y. Z. is a fair sample of our opponents, we have, in all simplicity, been endeavouring to prove, what they do not attempt to deny, viz., that the employment of females in agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits is a great evil; for while X. Y. Z. at first asserts "the absolute right of woman to a free and unrestricted exercise of her energies in any or whatsoever department she may choose," yet he soon begins to consider how far it is expedient that she should avail herself of this right," and, finally fearing his ground is untenable, he admits it is an "evil," but now contends that "it is woman's only preservative from a greater," though directly afterward he allows that what he is pleased to term the smaller evil is to a great extent the cause of that which he considers of greater magnitude.

Now, we have no wish to discuss the merits of the two evils; but if it be admitted that female employment is an evil, and to a certain extent the cause of greater evils, we call upon X. Y. Z., and all other opponents, to aid us in reducing it; and the greater evils of which it is the cause will, of course, be diminished in like proportion.

Our task is ended. However rudely and imperfectly it has been performed, we have done what we believed to be our duty in this matter to the best of our ability; and whatever defects there may be in our arguments, the reader will please debit to the champion and not to the cause; for, though we have fought with the sword of truth, we may not always have wielded it well.

A FACTORY CLERK.

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There are many who cultivate appearances, while they neglect the heart. There are others who cultivate the heart, but somewhat neglect appearances. Both are in the wrong, though the former are incalculably more so. I will endeavour to regard what is internal, so as to secure the approbation of God: I will so far pay attention to what is exterior, as not justly to incur the disapprobation of man.—*W. B. Clulow.*

## The Essayist.

### IN MEMORIAM MDCCCLX.

How life steals or starts away! 1860 is gone, and how many of the great, the good, and the love-worthy have departed during its currency! Time is life, and the flight of time is only a *euphemism* for the on-rush of death. The Yesterdays of life are memorialized with graves; would that its To-days were made memorable by good deeds, that our To-morrows might be hopeful and joyful. Every hour that passes causes our life to wester to its setting—in the tomb.

“Each passing moment that goes by us now  
Is full of lives,”—

on which the chill of death is gathering. As the Past has been, so is the Present,—the seasonless harvest of humanity. The radiant alchemy of life darts in quick pulses through our hearts, but every pulse is spendthrift of the present, and casts away in successive atoms “the pearl of days.”

In reviewing the year but lately closed over us, let us mark how death has stricken, here and there, a life from the roll-book of humanity. Let us notice how the summoner has come unhesitatingly to others, and bethink ourselves that we too may be among those to whom he is approaching. If the dead of 1860 have any lesson for us, it is surely not this, that we go on as heretofore, seeking indulgence for

“The hunger and thirst of the heart,  
The frenzy and fire of the brain.”

It is right enough that “we who are alive and remain” should rejoice in the new year which has been granted to us; but it is also right that we should cast the eye of memory along the past year’s track, and see how it has, like others, mounded the earth with graves. “Welcome ever smiles, and farewell goes out sighing.” Our task is not a cheering, though it is a delightful one; for we must chronicle losses; but we must also reckon up the mighty gains which these lost lives have brought us. Why should we continue to say that man is *destined* to immortal life? Are we not already, as much as we can be, immortal,—immortal in our influences as well as in ourselves? If we could only think so,—say rather, *live* so,—how different might it be with us. But the preacher’s task is not ours, and death has already finished a more solemn sermon than any preacher can ever hope to begin.

Only as memory serves, and sympathy enables, can we attempt to fill up the death-list of the year—among the myriads who have gone to

“Sleep the sleep that knows no (earthly) waking,”

we name only a few notable to men's minds. How many treasures of God may be among those of whom men know least and think seldomest!

The chill winds of January, when they were but six days old, took away, at the age of 77, the amiable old entomologist, William Spence, the projector, and co-partner with the Rev. W. Kirby in the composition, of one of the most interesting works on insect life in the English, if not in any, language. A man of quiet energy and assiduous perseverance, of acute powers of observation, and of terse and striking speech. His name was one of our boyhood's familiar words, and his book was the delight of many a stray play hour. His life is over,—his work endures.

The month lacked two days of its close when death smote the old bard of Rügen, one of the patriot singers of Germany, whose heart had borne the pulse-strokes of full 90 years. Ernest Moritz Arndt, a traveller, poet, historian, and worshipper of freedom, whose songs he loved to sing, long outlived Körner, his fellow-stirrer of the German heroism by ballads which at once enflamed and enraptured the heart of his countrymen. Napoleon's hate could neither wither nor appal the energies of his soul; the persecution that ousted him from the chair of history in Bonn could not quench the ardour of his mind; the bitterly-bought bread of literary effort did not cause him to repent, or relax his zeal; years heaped on years, and sorrows accumulated on sorrow's head, could not bow his spirit or quell his resistancy to tyranny. Death only could crush out the vital energies of that noble nature; yet not wholly, for his life will still operate for freedom and for fatherland,

"Where'er resounds the German tongue,  
Where German hymns to God are sung."

An actor in the gigantic struggle waged in the Peninsula against the tyrannous imperialism of Bonaparte has carved his name and fame on the annals of England, both by pen and sword. In accuracy, acuteness, diligent research, and interest, "The History of the War in the Peninsula, by Col. Sir W. F. P. Napier," excels the more ambitious chronicles of Southey. "The Conquest of Scinde" has been graphically, powerfully, honestly, we believe, composed by the illustrious brothers, Lieut.-General Sir Charles, the conqueror of Scinde, and Col. Sir William; while "The Life and Opinions of Sir Charles Napier" is replete with fascinating narrative and personal adventure, such as few books now afford. It is not for us to attempt here the recounting of the heroisms and indomitabilities of this restless member of a restless family,—a race of singular men; but to record his decease and our loss. On the 12th of February, at the command of the stern and resistless sovereign,—Death, amid the storm and gloom of nature, into the dark valley, he

"Rose, though reluctantly, and forth he went."

In the British Museum, a conscientious worker in the loftier tasks of literature, Mrs. Jameson sat plodding among books in the

cold drafts of an uncharitable March day. For years, with a faithful and unflinching energy, she had been engaged in

"Twining memories of old time,  
With new virtues more sublime,"

in her works, especially those on "Sacred and Legendary Art." In her "Loves of the Poets" there is a delicate, yet delicious, warmth of feeling thrown into her exposition of the characters of the ladies whom the poets chose as the objects of their affection, honest or criminal, which bespeaks a woman of clear mind, yet charitable heart; of vigorous moral habit, yet of appreciative sensibility: but in drawing "The Characteristics of Women" from the deep, yet rich mine of Shakespeare's poetry, she proved that she was a woman noble and good, full of feeling and fancy; a true enthusiast, "with a glowing soul." "The cold winds of March," with their shivering keenness, cut the Gordian knot of her life; and on the 17th thereof, at the age of 64, her noble, pure, earnest, and loving heart "grew cold beneath their touch," and all that was earthly of her was laid in "the acre of God."

Only the day before, a fever, furious and fierce, burnt down the clay tabernacle of a friend who had scarcely seen his 45th summer,—a poet, an essayist, and a descriptive writer of versatile power and cunning reach of fancy,—Hugh MacDonald. Much had been hoped of him. From the very den and lair of poverty he had scrambled into the loving notice of many. The toils of newspaper life, and the serious struggles of will against nature, laid him low,—though he has written his epitaph in the hearts of not a few who knew and loved him well. *Vale!*

"Far may we search before we find  
A heart so manly and so kind."

April's first shower fell like tears on the death hour of one of Britain's most erudite Hellenists, Colonel William Mure. In the family vault within the church of his native parish—lying on the outskirts of that county of which he was for years the parliamentary representative, Renfrewshire—the historian of "The Language and Literature of Ancient Greece" rests from his labours. The kindling enthusiasm with which he wrote of Homer and the epic and lyric poets of the age of "the blind old bard of Scio's rocky isle;" the splendid lambency he shed upon the fame of Herodotus; the grandly graphic pen with which he details the doings, the feelings, the manners, and the thoughts of the times of Thucydides and Xenophon,—make us all the more feel the intense deprivation with which the unfulfilled purpose of this critic—endowed with the noblest gifts of soul and sense, and master of the writer's hard-earned skill—blanks the world's expectations. In an era when scholarship offers few rewards, little praise, and no profit to its votaries, he threw his whole energies into the study of the Greek classics in their very inner spirit and central core, as well as in



their outer relationships and circumstances, and redeemed his native land from a reproach too readily cast on it, that learning is therein but of stunted growth. It is true he did not live to finish the vast design whose far-reaches he had placed before himself. Alas! few lives are ever rounded off into completeness *here*. But though life fail, the fault, if any, does not lie with the earnest and eager worker. No! in such high aims, even

He who faints half way  
Gains yet a noble eminence o'er those  
Whose feet still plod the earth with hearts o'erdusted.

The five researchful tomes which Colonel Mure has contributed to the critical exposition of Hellenic literature are a noble monument which scholars for generations will mourn has not been built higher and been cupolaed with Fame—that it might have shown its author to be an inheritor of a fulfilled renown. So much of him have we perennial and persistent still among us. The chaunt of the mourner is still—the sorrow of friends is subdued and hallowed—but the scholar's prize and delight will continually excite regretfulness, though not repining. Lay the palm upon his tomb. “Κούφη γῆ τοῦτον καλύπτει.

May, the life-month of so much loveliness, was somewhat of a step-dame to literary men. Horace Hayman Wilson, who enriched British literature with several gorgeous productions of the Oriental mind, and so long and learnedly expounded the Sanscrit language in Oxford, gave up his latest breath to a May breeze. At Florence, in the same month, the Rev. Theodore Parker died; he bore a name of some repute in the theological polemics of America; he was a broad, deep, genial, philosophical thinker, kindly of nature, and capable in brain, a man of note in his own sect, and known to a large section of Christendom as a transcendentalist in religion as in philosophy—a man (perhaps too) thoroughly imbued with Germanic latitudinarianism, but honest, vigorous, gifted, and popular. A sturdy independent American life, we believe, he led; and he left his native land to enrich his soul with European memories—and *now* he is but a memory himself! Verily, “man proposes, but God disposes”! A shrewd, laborious, thorough Scottish scholar, who had made the literature of his country a special study—who gave his heart in earnest to the elucidation of its old memories and its singularly-chequered history—riper in years and labours than successes, David Irving, LL.D., expired at the age of 81, on the eleventh day of

“The flowery May, who from her green lap throws  
The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose.”

Only eleven days thereafter, already old, at little more than half the age (43)—Albert Smith—the *Yorick* of the Egyptian Hall, died also. Life was to him a serious jest. Over-application, the consequence in part of competition, in part of an extra-arident temperament, in

part of the desire to capitalize his wit while it was marketable, invited paralysis, and it struck home once and again. His mimetic monologues gave many an hour's laughter to London; but the lips that uttered them moulder in silence in the cemetery, and the world laughs at a new jester. Nor did the mortality of the month end with this. Our boyhood's friend and instructor, our playfellow and prompter, the popularizer of children's literature, the true original *Peter Parley*, S. G. Goodrich, "passed away" in Boston, U. S., from the world he had helped successfully to leave better than he found it, on the 30th day of May—that May which the poets call a "merry month."

June was yet young, when at Venice a remarkable Englishman died. He was officially the Consul-General there for Her Britannic Majesty; but he was known throughout the world as one of the most prolific novelists of our age. During thirty years of a life terminated at threescore, he produced upwards of 200 volumes of novels, tales, histories, biographies, &c. George Payne Rainsford James was one of the most successful imitators of the wizard Scott. Ingenuity of invention, facility of conception, fluency of expression, extraordinary acquaintance with what might be called the "upholstery" of many periods, singular tact in exciting interest and keeping up the tension and attention of the reader's mind, distinguish this writer more than most of his compeers. A vast amount of study, thought, acquirement, skill, perceptive force, and constructive power is exhibited in most of his works, though he never attained the highest excellence. The art of interesting he had studied, till he was a perfect master of it. One praise belongs to him which, we grieve to say, is not a general one among imaginative writers. His style is eminently pure, and the moral of his stories is in general of a healthy kind; there are few blush-raising phrases, incidents, &c., in his compositions, and there is no glozing over of sin, shame, or debauchery. For the last ten years of his life his brain was outworn, and the cunning of his old profession had left him. He was an exhausted mine. He sought renovation of mental capacity in Virginia, but it came not; he wooed restoring health in the queen city of the Adriatic, Venice, but it would not be won. The busy brain became still, the heart ceased, the mind failed, life fled, and the "thick-coming fancies" of his earthly art were exchanged (June 9th) for the more multitudinous realities of the after world. Let us hope that the fruits of fancy were replaced by the full fruition of a holy faith.

On the 11th June, at the age of 63, the Rev. Baden Powell, Savilian Professor of Geometry, expired in London. He was a man of singular scientific culture, a man whose profound grasp of the theories of discovery and research, whose acquaintance with the processes of induction and of the facts which Nature reveals to the student who seeks to conquer by obeying her, gave him an eminence among thinking men, to which few in their lifetime attain. The wide sweep of facts over which he could cast his intellec-

tual eye, the wondrous secrets he had read in the blazing letters of heaven, found charactered in the rocks and cliffs of various countries, observed written in beauty in the summer flowers, or seen flashed from the electric currents of the sky, enabled him to speak with some authority upon "The Philosophy of Creation." His knowledge of the lives and doings of those men whose labours have been expended on the observation and interpretation of phenomena,—who strove to catch truth's image in the flux of change and seeming which the vast expanse of the infinitely complicated area of cause, effect, and circumstance presents to view,—made him amply qualified to decipher the philosophy of induction, or at least to bring into prominence and intelligibility "The Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy." Among the certainties of mathematical science, among the problems of physics, among the inferential teachings of psychology, his vision was keen and clear; his reasoning was confident; his pen was one of power. In the blaze of revelation, we are afraid his eye was dazzled into blindness. His long research for truth in geometry, and in "The Order of Nature," somewhat disabled him from perceiving, with appreciative joy, the arithmetic-less calculus of faith, and made him not only antagonise, but prefer science to religion; so that, to our minds, he did not rightly conceive or expound "The Connection of Natural and Divine Truth;" and he has failed, as we think, to show how "Christianity without Judaism" did or could exist. Far be it from us to pass, or even to attempt, harsh judgment on the dead. We aim at protecting ourselves from imputations we would fain avoid, by signalizing those points of difference, while we express the deepest admiration of the skill, ability, culture, scientific eminence, and clerical and professional position of Baden Powell,—a man of strange dogmatic faculty, of dauntless honesty, and determinateness of mind; a man far in advance of his age in many points, of unquenchable zeal, and diligence of thought; a man of, we think, the sincerest possible convictions; a man whose memory is a national benefaction, whose life is an honour, and whose death is a loss to his country. Creed is less material than character, though a true faith is essential to a right practice. Not creed *versus* life; but creed *plus* life, as a result of it, is the Divine order, as we think, of Christian being and well-being. The speculative intellect of man may soar into far regions of (imaginary?) truth, without unmooring the genuine life of a believer from the only "anchor of the soul, sure and steadfast," and so making "shipwreck of faith." The Divine Judge alone can infallibly determine between the worthy and the unworthy. We can only know that a great and noble spirit—reverential, yet independent,—has passed from our midst, and we can only hope that he has attained something more than earthly glory, honour, and immortality,—eternal life.

A sad and dreary, toilworn and weary life was ended on the 26th of June. To coin existence into jests was his task who then passed, after long-continued pain, from the frivolity of caricature, extra-

ganza, and burlesque, to the reality of the timeless life of the hereafter. Robert B. Brough was a man of powers far superior to those productions from which he with difficulty wrung a livelihood. The breadth and boldness of his lyric poems, and the imagination manifest in those novels which, though hastily and disjointedly written, survive him, afford proof that he was made for better things than to manufacture fun for playgoers. We are no enemies of mirth—true, hearty, sincere, and joyous laughter, fun, and even jollity,—but when we find jests written with blood; and fun, whose manufacture-cost is life,—as in the cases of Hood, Reach, A'Becket, Jerrold, and Brough,—we cannot think of laughing at such serious mirth—such tragical farcicality. The veriest needlework slave is not more an object of supreme pity than he whose life-energies are exhausted, for the scantiest pittance, in composing quaint jokes and telling jests, fighting off death for the sake of wife and children the while. Farewell, Brough! A strong-hearted effort, in much pain, you made to do your day's work to your hard and thoughtless taskmaster—the world; and now that thou art in the region of unworldliness, let us hope for better things to come.

On July's earliest day, at Munich, Gotthelf H. Schubert, a philosopher of no mean rank, died. He was one of Germany's noblest, most religious, and most virtuous authors. A lofty idealism, drawing together the human and the divine, by the bond of faith, and likeness of feeling, inculcating a mental dualism, which seeks to comprehend and subdue nature, at the same time that it believes in and aspires after immortality, maintaining the potency of faith, the capabilities of feeling, the worth of the soul, uniting the objective nature-philosophy of Schelling, with the subjective mysticism of Jacobi, and showing the penetration and permeation of all phenomena with spiritual intention and impulse, was what he taught. It is a system certainly not free from difficulties, and perhaps amenable to many criticisms; but it is constructed with a wonderful skill, and its architectonic fashions, into a conjoint whole, the natural and the spiritual worlds; while in its moral functions it aims at the maintenance and progression of all that is rational, loving, lofty, and divine. Fourscore years had passed over the good old man's head, and in part now he is realizing the solution of the mysteries of that spiritual being which he strove here to develop and exalt.

Two eminent Englishmen—statesmen and journalists—fell victims in India to the toil of organizing and reconstituting the British power in that immense possession. Sir H. G. Ward, Governor of Madras, a writer on politics, and the Hon. James Wilson, a writer on finance. Theirs were deaths truly glorious—they died in duty's cause. The singular and touching story—though but a flat level of facts—of the life of James Wilson, will long be a wonder and a praise to the country which gives scope to the lowliest subject to rise to all but the loftiest station. Over each the requiem was sung within a few days of the other; the former expired on the 2nd, the

latter on the 11th of August. Will it ever be possible to Europeanize India? If it ever be, it is a task which will demand the most gigantic ability of mind and body. Already the martyrs England has offered up in the attempt form an immense holocaust; and when will the end be? Brave souls, defiant of risks, are ready in Britain always when great deeds bring a demand for a man to do them. Over few better, braver, wiser, more dutiful men, will England ever lower her flag above a grave, than those who fell in a warfare as arduous, though not so beglittered, and begauded as that of any soldier who wielded sword in any cause. The legacy of their example is left for us—in duty's cause to do or die.

In the chronology of philosophy, another blank is filled by the death, on 21st September, of Arthur Schopenhauer. As an interpreter of nature, spirit, and history, this sublime and imposing thinker postulates, as the ground and substratum of all events, *the will*. The very heart and core of creation, of movement, of natural, personal, or historic circumstance—the very essence of *being* is Will. Out of it grows conception; from conception, belief; from belief, act; from act, history; from history, philosophy; from philosophy, civilization. Brought up under the influence of Kant, having been a pupil of Fichte's, influenced by the system-building of Hegel, and the transcendental idealism of Schelling, he became a co-thinker with Schubert, as well as the inspirer of Reiff and Planck. A recusant from the school who based their theories merely on thought-consciousness, he has become the pioneer of a new class of speculative adventurers who seek, in the intricate latencies of the will, the secrets of creative and active intellection.

"Our wills are ours, we know not how;  
Our wills are ours, to make them Thine;  
Our little systems have their day;  
They have their day, and cease to be—  
They are but broken lights of Thee—  
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

An original thinker, of great skill and intensity, has, in him, passed away from among the philosophers of Germany.

All the churches knew and revered the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, for worth bordering on saintliness. The simplicity of the gospel of Christ was exhibited most thoroughly in his discourses. His nature seems to have been suffused with evangelical truth and godliness. Earnest pathos, fervent exhortation, clear, doctrinal statement, faithful exposition, and biblical Christianity, were prominently the characteristics of his mind. He was a national Gamaliel. Children of all sects sat at his feet, and were instructed; and the "Family Devotion" of many a household altar was aided by his labours. On the closing day of September, at a ripe old age (84), he was taken home—home to the Father's house.

"Never to mansions where the weary rest,  
Since their foundation, went a worthier guest."

At the same age, a month afterwards, the singularly eventful life of Lord Dundonald, an old-fashioned hero of the Nelson and Collingwood school, fearless, venturesome, hardy, persevering, persistent, came to an end. What a career! Volumes of fiction could scarce contain the incident, the change-fraught circumstances, the peculiar risks, the strange eventfulness, the casualties, the mishaps, the successes, the persecution, the intrepid bravery, the unflinching daring, the personal consistency and patience, which are exhibited in this instance of real life in this era of our own. In corvette, in war-sloop, in vessel of the line, on fire-ship, or under his captain-flag, he sought for victory or death. In almost every quarter of the globe his restless spirit pursued honourable adventure. Even when unjust shame and obloquy were heaped upon him, in unrepining hardihood of soul he carried himself to other lands, to defy death in active service. And death was kindly to him; for it left his heart unchilled, till the fame of which he had been wronged was restored, the honours of which malice had stripped him were returned, the worth and wealth of a public man's life were conceded as a right, not accepted as a grace. The inventive genius of this very spirit of warfare has been long known, though seldom practically acknowledged. It has been whispered that his recently devised projectiles are of too demoniac an order to be employed even in the hellish trade of war. It is no place this to discuss such a question. It seems legitimate enough to infer that if war is the science and art of destruction, the more effective the weapon, the more perfect the success of the deadly and death-dealing scientific art. But such thoughts strike on a repulsive chord. When counting the graves of departed celebrities, we have too much to remind us that death is slackless and slakeless, and needs small help from human science to aid him. Oh! man,—

"Thou art death's fool!

For him thou labour'st, by thy flight, to shun,  
And yet runn'st toward him still."

One week alone elapsed between the demise of this hero and that of another of a similar spirit—a brave and dashing, death-despising, honour-thirsty soul—Sir Charles Napier. He was a letter-writer of no ordinary causticity, and some of his broadsides hit the Admiralty as hard as those he dealt out more professionally in Martinique, in Portugal, or at Acre. Somewhat blustering and blunt he was, but there was that in him too which our age wants—*heroism*. When we have it, let us prize it, for the hour too surely, howsoever long delayed, arrives, when

"High birth, vigour of bone, desert in service,  
Love, friendship, charity, are subjects all  
To envious"

Death. The sterling honesty of hardy men, permeated with patriotic heroism, is much required in our time; and, old though

they were, Dundonald and Napier can be ill spared. Let us hope that "emulation hath a thousand sons" ready to gird on their armour, *sans peur et sans reproche*, to take the places of the lost. True hearts are the best armour for British wear and war.

Croly's fame, and life, and character have had recognition in a previous issue of this Serial, and less need therefore now be said of him, while numbering the dead of 1860. Force, fire, vigour, persistency, and honourable feeling distinguished Croly in all his relationships. Journalist, magazinist, novelist, poet, preacher; in each he won a high grade. The loving respect of his people is, however, a holier epitaph than Minerva can write upon his sepulchre.

November did not close without adding its streak of gloom to the accumulated sadness of the year. On its 28th day, a man of illustrious ancestry, art, and acquisition, of deep ethic thought, of wide ethnic knowledge, of linguistic attainments rarely equalled, of high artistic instincts, of rare scientific culture, of sedulous industry, of honourably won reputation, of sound sense, genuine faithfulness, sincere religiousness, and of ripe effort—one who merits the gratitude of the present, and the admiration of the future times—C. E. J. Baron Bunsen—was called from the congregations of living men, to the true "Church of the future." The disciple of Niebuhr, the reformer of the modern German church, the diligent student of languages and men, of histories and nations, of sciences and events, of court modes and liturgical forms, of barbaric periods and civilized eras, of politics, philosophies, and religions, he was a man of almost universal culture—the Humboldt of interpretative theology. The criticism of sacred writ has been his life-long theme of thought; to that he brought every other knowledge in as tributary and contributory. The experience gained in many lands, the philosophic training acquired under many masters, the exegetical skill learned in several universities, the philologic lore won in many countries, he sought to so impregnate with religiousness, as to take life and inner unity thence, and grow into the bright consummate flower of spiritual truth. Such were his aims, if honest interpretation be given to his efforts. That he may have been mistaken in the philosophic basis on which he placed his soul's dependence, that he was wrong in the critique with which he worked, that he was faultless in the neological theology which he adopted, we scarcely doubt, though we dare scarcely presume to judge; but that he was an honest, eager, able, noble labourer in the vineyard of the heavenly Father, we conscientiously believe. The final life-fruit which he aimed at leaving behind him to the world and the church never reached the maturity of completion: his *Bibelwerke* is unfinished here. May criticism have been exchanged by him for enjoyment, and may it have sufficed him that his life itself was a *magnum opus*, of whose unfinishing volumes he has left us the earliest. The uses of a great life are to be suggestive, exemplary, inspiring, instructive, ennobling to others. Bunsen's, amid all its almost infinite

variety of thought, activity, and acquirement, was sublimely simple, sincere, and unical. The faith and the fear of God were inwoven into the very tissue of his soul—were a vital part of his existence. All is over now for him; the great Silencer has touched him; he has become a partaker

“Of that immortal death, which leads to life.”

*L'avenir est à nous.* “The future is for us!” But for how long? and for what? Short at best is the time-distance that separates us from the grave, and

“The long, mysterious exodus of death;”

but that brief space has marked out on it a multitude of duties, which are intended to keep us in continual action. Our life is too truly only

“The struggle of the instinct that *enjoys*,  
And the more noble instinct that *aspires*.”

Be it our task, as we reflect upon the “dead past” of our own life, and see how unrecallable the joys and opportunities of its hours are, to endeavour to make the present living with the performance of duty. Let time be thus made the vestibule of eternity; for therein duty will be enjoyment. “The future is for us!” But what is it? A responsibility, so long as life extends; and beyond that, faith alone can tell. With hallowed aims, with holy aspirations, let our souls be stimulated. Let us sustain our souls with faith in Him who is willing and mighty to save; and then, whatever be in store for us in the future, to be will be to be blessed. Let our “In Memoriam” be also our “Ebenezer.”

“He that fears death, or mourns it, in the just,  
Shows of the resurrection little trust.”

S. N.

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## The Inquirer.

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### QUESTIONS TO WHICH ANSWERS ARE SOLICITED.

135. I have a small Latin book, entitled “The Works of Johannis Sleidani,” with the following date:—A' cfo lœ XXXI. Would any reader of the *British Controversialist* let me know the date in figures, and, if they know, anything concerning the author or book?—R. L. M.

136. Could any of your readers inform me what was the origin of the word “Yankee”?—X.

137. Will any of your legally learned 1861.

readers kindly put me in a way by mentioning how I am to proceed in my self-education of English law? When one wants to know something about law, I suppose there is some introduction “to buying acts, and reading them.”—S. P. G.

138. Can any of your readers inform me whether there is any work published containing a statistical view of the colonies and dominions attached to the several governments *throughout the world*, and if so, the price, and where to be obtained?—R. D. R.



## ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

119. *The Minute of the Committee of Council on Education*, for 1856-7, referred to by your correspondent, is on page 1. The volume can be ordered through any bookseller, and the price is 3s. 6d.—E. B.

135. *John Sleidan*.—The notation is Roman. The date is 1631. *Johannes Sleidanus*, whose proper name was Philipson, was one of the most noted publicists of his time. He was born at Sleida (hence his cognomen), near Cologne, in 1506. He studied law at Liege, Cologne, Louvaine, Paris, and Orleans. He was for some time in the service of Francis I. of France, and was historiographer to the princes of the Smalcaldic League. He was chosen Professor of Law in Strasburg, in 1542. He was ambassador to Henry VIII. of England, in behalf of the Protestants of the continent, and a member of the Council of Trent. In 1548, he published an abridgment of the doctrines of Plato regarding a Republic and Laws; he translated the "Memoirs of Commines" into Latin; in 1555, he issued his commentary on the condition of religion and government in the age of Charles V.; in 1556, his work, entitled, "On the Four Greatest Empires;" and in that same year he expired at Strasburg. He was the correspondent of most of the eminent men of his day. His works have gone through many editions. His commentary on R. and

G., in the time of Charles V., in three volumes, was published by Am Ende, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1785, with critical and explanatory notes. His letters, and a memoir (which see), occupy the greater part of the last vol. "A small Latin Book" cannot therefore be "The Works of John Sleidani." Hallam quotes a "History of the Reformation" as his, vol. i. p. 293, n.—S. N.

136. *Origin of the word Yankee*.—Yankee is the Indian corruption of the word English, — Yengees, Yangees, Yandklees, and, finally, Yankee. It got in general use as a term of reproach thus:—About the year 1713, one Jonathan Hastings, a farmer at Cambridge, New England, used the word Yankee as a cant word to express excellence, as a Yankee (good) horse, Yankee cider, &c. The students at the college having frequent intercourse with Jonathan, and hearing him employ the word on all occasions, when he intended to express his approbation, applied it sarcastically, and called him Yankee Jonathan. It soon became a cant phrase among the collegians, to designate a simple, weak, and awkward person. From college it spread over the country, till, from its occurring in New England, it was at length taken up and applied to the New Englanders generally, as a term of reproach. It was in consequence of this that the song, called "Yankee Doodle," was composed.—X.

## The Topic.

### WOULD THE DESTRUCTION OF THE POPE'S TEMPORAL POWER AFFECT HIS SPIRITUAL SUPREMACY?

#### AFFIRMATIVE.

I AM inclined to think that were the temporal power of the Pope wholly destroyed, it would affect his spiritual power in a very serious manner, if not to destroy it altogether. Referring to history, we find that when the Pope's temporal authority was greatest, so was his spiritual supremacy great in like

ratio; and tracing the existence of each downwards to the present period, we arrive at the fact, that as the temporal dominion of the Pope has decreased, so his spiritual influence has become weaker. Upon these premises I assume that the existence of the spiritual power is dependent upon that of the temporal, and, consequently, were the Pope to lose

the one, the destruction of the other would follow as a natural deduction.—J. C.

We think that the destruction of the Pope's temporal power will be but the prelude to the further abridgment or annihilation of his spiritual supremacy in the Romish church—the only church where his spiritual supremacy has been acknowledged. This supremacy has been dependent upon his temporal power ever since Gregory VII., the proper founder of the papal empire, fixed a new era of time called the Induction, which commenced 1st of Sept., 1077, to commemorate his triumph over the emperor Henry IV. respecting the right of investing bishops. Ever since then the Pope has presented the anomaly of being not merely spiritual or ecclesiastical, nor secular or political, but a mixture of both; his spiritual title preventing his taking the name, while exercising the power of a king; thus showing his claim to the title of ANTICHRIST, agreeably to the statement of Cardinal Bellarmine, that "*Antichrist will govern the Roman empire, yet without the name of Roman emperor.*" As the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was perfected by the addition of his temporal power, and as this power has always been exerted to uphold his spiritual power, so we may justly infer that when his temporal power is destroyed, his spiritual supremacy will decay.—THEOPHYLAOT.

The Pope's temporal power is a legitimate outgrowth from his spiritual supremacy. To deprive the Pope of his temporal power were to effectually check the arrogance of the papacy; and, by carrying that outwork and earthwork, would enable the legions of truth to concentrate their forces against an hoary antagonist, and render his destruction the more speedy.—LUTHER.

And it is high time that it did (if there be such an attribute at all in the pontificate of Rome); for any human being to arrogate to himself the impious assumption that he is delegated by God himself to open the gates of heaven to whom he lists, and to close

them against whom he wills, is blasphemy against Deity, and a lying imposition upon mankind. The Protestant Christian, with his Bible in his hand, and the love of Jesus in his heart, can acknowledge no spiritual supremacy in the Pope. The anathemas of the Vatican we can afford to despise; they are mere *brutum fulmen* to the ear to the man whose hope is fixed upon the Rock of ages; and it is our prayer and hope that the time is at hand when ghostly intolerance shall cease; when all the synodical fulminations shall be received for what they are worth, and the Pope's supremacy (1) be regarded only as a delusion and a snare.—A. F.

In reply to this question, we answer, Yes; and we have a proof of it in the events that have lately transpired in Italy. The Pope, no longer able to intrigue with foreign powers, and his prelates seldom if ever filling their state offices, finds his bulls of excommunication set at nought, his clergy forsaking him, and the people, becoming more enlightened, less fearful of offending the "Vicar of Christ."—SAGAMORE.

I say, undoubtedly it would; for to take away the temporal power would be to give the people worldly freedom to think and act for themselves; consequently they would not care to respect the spiritual supremacy, and in course of a very short time I believe the Pope's position, in every way, would become trifling and unimportant.—R. D. R.

#### NEGATIVE.

The spiritual supremacy of the Pope is (or ought to be) founded on *faith*; not *force*, still less *fraud*. To show pure and simple faith, holding together the whole Roman Church, massed and coherent, would be a grand and edifying spectacle. If such were possible, much of the hypothetic doubt of the world would be at an end. I think that the Pope would gain so much more in grandeur and simplicity, that the loss of his temporal power would be a boon to him, and that such a loss would be great gain. The weapons of this world are powerless against any great

idea once firmly fixed in the faith of a people, and the Pope could not suffer injury from relinquishing their use, and relying upon the moral support of the nations of his form of Christianity. His potency I am convinced would be increased, not diminished, by his being truly able to say, "My kingdom is not of this world."—*ANGELICANUS.*

The temporal power of the Pope is a mere material excrescence—the growth of ruder ages. The spiritual supremacy is the essential element of the Papacy. The temporal power was acquired through the spiritual supremacy; and the latter, as it pre-existed, ought to survive the former. Out of spiritualism the temporalities grew, and into that it may return. The strength of the function of faith ought to be sufficient, among believers, to secure the supremacy of the Pope without the help of material elements.—*TOUCH.*

The destruction of the Pope's temporal power would not affect his spiritual supremacy. In such a case he would be viewed by his spiritual subjects as an injured sufferer. Such a view of him would produce commiseration and sympathy, and would lead to a mere abject homage being paid him. Thus he would become more firmly enthroned in the hearts of those who pay him spiritual allegiance. Admiration of, and subjection to the Papacy, is too deeply rooted in the hearts of such for the mere loss of the temporal power of the Pope to eradicate it. Their minds must be cast in a new mould for Popery to lose its hold of them. For this to take place, light such as they have never yet beheld must dawn on them. The fetters that bind them have bound them too long and too firmly for the

destruction of the Pope's temporal power to break them.—*S. S.*

The Pope is the head of the Roman Catholic Church; but it does not follow that he is to enjoy any regal authority over his own or any other country. His business is with the souls, not with the bodies of men; and however well he may exercise his power spiritually, it does not follow that he is a good monarch, or even one fit to have the entire control of his subjects. The Pope of Rome would be Pope of Rome still, were Victor Emmanuel made King of Italy entire; and no one would dispute his spiritual authority over all of the Roman Catholic religion.—*F. S. M.*

We believe that the Pope's spiritual supremacy would not be affected by the loss of his temporal power. All good Catholics wish well to the Pope, so far as his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters is concerned; though many think that matters spiritual should be entirely separate and distinct from matters temporal, and that the loss of the Pope's temporal power would enhance his spiritual power and dignity. Again, the loss of temporal power would take from the "holy father" many pressing cares and anxieties; and he would, in consequence, be able to devote more energy and zeal to the superintendence of the Church of which he is the acknowledged head. The less those who exercise church government are liable to corruption and temptation, the firmer is that government likely to be. The increase of the temporal power of popes, as is proved by the history of the past, has generally introduced corruption and its attendant host of unseemly deeds, which might have resulted in the overthrow of the Romish Church.—*T. L. P.*

## The Societies' Section.

### REPORTS OF MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT SOCIETIES.

*Droitwich.*—*Mechanics' Literary Institution Soirée.*—The second annual soirée of this institution took place on

Tuesday evening, January 8th, at the Royal Hotel, in this town. The assembly room was handsomely decorated for

the occasion, and about 300 ladies and gentlemen attended, amongst whom were Sir John Pakington, Bart., M.P., J. Holyoake, Esq. (Mayor), J. S. Pakington, Esq., Revs. W. W. Douglas and W. Lea, J. W. Lea, Esq., S. Tombs, Esq., W. Clay, Esq., J. Curtler, Esq., J. Bradley, Esq. The arrangements for the evening were confided to Messrs. Hyatt and Wilson, the secretaries to the soirée committee. The speeches were agreeably enlivened by glees, songs, and musical performances by the brass band of the institute, conducted by Mr. Holyoake, the Mayor. Tea and coffee were served at intervals. The only resolution of the evening, which passed off with much less talk than is usual on such occasions, was proposed by Sir John Pakington. It was as follows:—"That the moral and intellectual education of the labouring classes is both a national and social duty, in which union is strength, and the success of which is greatly promoted by literary and mechanics' institutions." This resolution contained four distinct propositions, to the first of which only the committee wished him (Sir John) to speak, namely, to the national duty of providing education. It was no great time since he had addressed the House of Commons on the subject, and therefore he was not unacquainted in the matter. He was happy to say that the national duty in that respect was now more fully understood and recognized, and that very little difference of opinion existed as to the necessity for providing it; but he was sorry to say there was a great difference of opinion with regard to the means of carrying out that duty. Perhaps there was hardly any place in England where it was necessary to say less upon this subject than in Droitwich; for he might observe, there was hardly any place where the means of education, and also where the numbers actually at school in proportion to the population, were so large as in that town. Therefore, as the majority had come there on the present occasion with the idea of hearing softer and more agreeable sounds than those he uttered, and were no

doubt anxiously waiting to step on what the American song called the "light bombastic toe," he would not detain them, but hoped that they might all spend a pleasant and happy evening, and that the present might be the forerunner of many such delightful gatherings. The motion was seconded by Mr. J. W. Lea, of Worcester. Mr. Lea said, with regard to his own company (the Droitwich Salt Company), he might say they had aided education by every means in their power, and had for the last nine years supported a missionary at Droitwich. Their schools had provided education for 250 scholars, and had an average attendance of 180. Mr. J. S. Pakington advocated that part of the resolution which stated that the success of education was greatly promoted by mechanics' institutes. Theoretically speaking, a mechanics' institute should combine to a certain extent the advantages of a university and a club; it should be the centre of a great force for promoting good and repelling evil; and it should afford to its members in-door and out-door recreation as well as educational facilities. Mr. Pakington spoke of the advantages of union, and showed how advantageously the Worcestershire Union of Educational Institutes was working. He was glad to observe that the Droitwich Institute held a better place in the Union than it had done in the previous year, and he hoped it would go on increasing in prosperity every year. The usual vote of thanks having been accorded to Sir John Pakington for presiding, dancing was commenced and kept up with much spirit until an early hour.

*Stourbridge.*—*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Institute.*—On Monday, Jan. 13th, the annual meeting of the Associated Institute was held in the lecture room, when the reports for the year were passed, and other business transacted. The separate meetings of the Mechanics' Institution and the Working Men's Institution had been previously held, when the election of officers, &c., took place. That of the Mechanics'

Institution was held immediately before the general meeting, the President, J. H. H. Foley, Esq., M.P., occupying the chair. The report having been adopted, the President was re-elected, as also were the vice-presidents, the Rev. J. W. Grier being added to their number. Mr. J. Taylor was elected treasurer, and Messrs. Southall and Chapman secretaries. The committee, who were next appointed, consisted of the following:—Messrs. Bullock, Barratt, Blurton, Anderson, Shacklock, Pagett, Evers, Pearce, Partridge, Boden, and Burroughs. The officers of the Working Men's Institution, appointed at their meeting on Saturday, are as follows:—President, Mr. R. Miles, vice-president, Mr. S. Canadine; treasurer, Mr. J. T. Short; secretaries, Messrs. C. Jefferies and T. Williams; committee, Messrs. Wellings, Hicklin, T. Richards, Palfrey, Griffiths, Wight, B. Rider, W. Rider, Clark, Hart, Edwards, Litchfield, and Godfrey; auditors, Messrs. T. Clark and T. Richards; librarians, Messrs. W. Rider and Palfrey. The annual general meeting took place at 8 p.m., J. H. H. Foley, Esq., presiding. Lord Lyttelton, W. H. King, and W. Akroyd, Esqrs., were present, and some sixty or seventy other members of the Institute.—Mr. Southall read the report of the Mechanics' Institution for the year 1860. The number of annual subscribers had been 52, and of quarterly 109, giving a total of 161. The income of the year, including a balance of £2 19s. 1d. from 1859, had been £84 9s. 9d.; the expenditure £65 7s. 9½d.; leaving a balance of £19 1s. 11½d. There were liabilities to the amount of £10 17s. 3½d. Only eight lectures had been delivered in the course of the year, the attendance not having been so numerous as was wished. It was the intention of the committee to resume the lectures early in February, when it was hoped the number attending them would be such as to induce the committee to continue them throughout the season. Classes for Latin, reading, writing, arithmetic, and dictation, under the superintendence

of the Rev. J. W. Grier, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Taylor, were in operation during the year with favourable results. A sub-committee had been formed for the purpose of considering the subject of classes, and more especially the elementary ones, in connection with which the Rev. Mr. Grier, and W. H. King, Esq., had borne a prominent part. A number of resolutions had been framed by the sub-committee, the result of which had been the establishment of evening classes in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, dictation, and derivation of words; Mr. Chetwynd (the master of the Red Hill School) being the teacher, at a salary of £20 per annum. The number on the register is 43, and the average attendance 25. The total number of volumes in circulation during the year had been 1,376, comprising History, 108; Memoirs, Biography, and Travels, 192; Natural and Mental Philosophy, 35; Moral and Political Philosophy, 17; Natural Theology, 15; Natural History, 60; Mechanics and Arts, 74; Novels, 417; Poetry, 58; Magazines, 308; Miscellaneous, 92. The Associated Institute had now joined the South Staffordshire Educational Board, and the attention of members was directed to the examinations of the Society of Arts, and the importance of certificates obtained from that society. The prize and certificate scheme for 1861 of the Worcestershire Union of Institutes was also open to members. The report then referred to the annual meeting of the Worcester Union of Institutes at Stourbridge, on the 13th of November, and to prizes given by J. H. H. Foley, Esq., to members of the Stourbridge Institute for essays and examinations on various subjects. The amount received into the Penny Savings Bank from the commencement to the end of the last twelve months was £1,587 6s. 3d., repaid, £1,438 18s. 10d.; leaving a balance in hand of £148 7s. 5d., or £8 7s. 11d. less than the balance of last year. The number of depositors was 550. In conclusion, the committee

directed especial attention to the classes, and hoped that the united labours of the two institutions would be crowned with success.—Mr. Short read the report of the Working Men's Institution. It stated that the number of members was 150. The income of the year had been £47 4s. 8½d., and the expenditure £34 6s. 3d., leaving a balance in hand of £12 18s. 5½d. The library contains 555 volumes, and the number of issues during the year had been 1,875. The reading room was well attended, being supplied with daily and weekly newspapers and magazines. The report then referred to matters touched on in the Mechanics' Institution, the thanks of the Institute being given to Mr. J. H. H. Foley, for £5, distributed as prizes for the encouragement of classes, and also for the presentation of volumes to the library. The report alluded, in conclusion, to the opportunities of improvement afforded to members by the formation of classes, urging them to avail themselves of them.—Mr. Blurton then read the report of the Building Committee of the Associated Institute, and the following were appointed upon it for the ensuing year:—Messrs. Akroyd, Blurton, Chance, Barratt, Taylor, W. Rider, Short, J. Hicklin, Canadine, and B. Rider. It was ordered that the reports which had been read should be printed. Lord Lyttelton moved the following resolution: "That the primary object of mechanics' institutions and of working men's institutions is to provide a means of educating the mechanics and working men of the country; and

the members of this institute pledge themselves to that object in preference to any other." His Lordship enforced the necessity of classes in institutions professedly educational. Mechanics' institutions were designed to diffuse knowledge and instruction by means of classes, lectures, and reading rooms. These were the three parts of the machinery. But lectures and reading rooms could not flourish as regarded the great majority of members, except there were classes as well, for these presupposed the existence of classes, and only those could avail themselves of the library and reading room who had first been well grounded in elementary instruction. Many of the members left school at an early age, and required the advantages classes would give. Those institutions ought to afford to the member the means of carrying out that desire which lectures had given to him of self-improvement.—Mr. King seconded the resolution, which was put and carried.—Mr. Akroyd then moved a resolution, which he said was somewhat supplementary to the other: that it rested with the members of the Associated Institute and their friends to decide among themselves the classes they would join, and to make arrangements with a master to take these classes. Mr. Rider seconded the resolution, which was also carried. After a vote of thanks to Mr. Foley for presiding, which he acknowledged in suitable terms, referring also to the subject of classes, and the value of the Society of Arts' certificates, the meeting broke up.

#### LITERARY NOTES.

Eothen Kinglake's "History of the Crimean War," Vol. I., containing a preliminary narrative of the antecedents of the dispute between the Russian Empire and the Western Powers, is in Murray's press.

It is understood that the new translation of the Scriptures, preparing for the Roman Catholics of England, under the editorship of Rev. J. H. Newman, is nearly ready.

At the Burton Library sale in New York, all the Shakespeare works were bought up for England.

The "Memorial" church to George Herbert, author of the "Temple," &c. (1593—1632), erected at Bemerton, near Salisbury, the parish of which he was rector, by Mr. Wyatt, at a cost of upwards of £4,000—subscribed chiefly by literary men, has been consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford.

"Aristotle's Ethics," Books I. and X., are to be lectured on by the Greek Professor in Trinity College, Cambridge, this term.

"The Prince of Wales at the Tomb of Washington" is the subject for the Chancellor's gold medal poem, Cambridge—not to exceed 200 lines, and to be lodged in three months.

The Rev. Robert Steel, of Cheltenham, author of "Samuel the Prophet," "Lives made Sublime by Faith and Works," is the acting editor of the United Kingdom Alliance organ, "Meliora."

"The Domestic Annals of Scotland, 1688—1745," have just been illustrated by a volume from the pen of Robert Chambers.

The Messrs. Chambers have begun the issue of a new "Library for Young People," in shilling vols.

Dr. Basilus Levison, Bishop of the Russian Church at Jerusalem, has lately acquired possession of an exceedingly old—as is supposed, a Solomonica copy of the Pentateuch in Samaritanese.

Buckle's "Civilization in England," vol. i., has reached a second (revised) edition, and vol. ii. is nearly ready.

George Henry Lewes' "Biographical History of Philosophy" has reached a third edition.

Eighty songs and letters of Robert Burns are to be sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, soon.

Sir John Bowring has re-translated Chamisso's "Peter Schlemihl."

Hurst and Blackett, it is rumoured, are to bring out a ladies' (shilling) magazine, containing treasures from the stores of Mrs. S. C. Hall, Miss Muloch, &c., in March.

Charles Dickens has sent a message to the Britannia Theatre, prohibiting the dramatization of his (and others') "Message from the Sea."

Alphonse le Flaguais, a distinguished French poet, author of "Fille de Jephté," "Marcel," "Melodies Françaises," &c., born at Caen, 19th March, 1805, died in his native place, Jan. 2nd, 1861.

"Orley Farm," by Anthony Trollope, is to be sold in parts, on and after March, by Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

Julius Janin's translation of Horace is out, and has led to a "passage of compliments" between the ex-school usher and the ex-premier, Lord Derby, who had contributed to the rendering of Horace by Lord Ravensworth.

A new first folio Shakespere has been bought in Germany for about £250.

Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, cadet of the House of Condie, son of the late Chief Justice Oliphant, of Ceylon, author of "Lord Elgin's Mission to China," "Minnesota," "Russian Shores of the Black Sea," &c., has been appointed Secretary of Legation for Japan.

A new poem, by the Hon. Mrs. Norton, is in the press of Messrs. Saunders and Otley.

"Presented to John Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A., by a few friends in America, who appreciate his literary integrity and private worth. New York, Nov., 1860," are the words inscribed on a silver inkstand, modelled after the Warwick Vase, and placed on a silver salver, adorned with mulberries and mulberry leaves, lately given to that gentleman.

Mr. Henry Steevens, who bought Humboldt's library, is cataloguing the books, &c., many of them special presentation copies, for sale.

The Abbé de Migne is editing a "Library of the Fathers," in 2,000 vols., at 10,000 francs, to subscribers, but the vols. are also sold separately.

Several rival cheap editions of Emerson's "Conduct of Life" are issued. In that published by Smith, Elder, and Co.—neat—the author has a pecuniary interest.

Early in March, the fifth volume of Macaulay's "History of England" (library edition), bringing down the narrative completely and consecutively till the death of William III., will be given to the public, under the editorial care of his sister, Lady Trevelyan; and a complete library edition is thereafter likely to be issued.

## Epoch Men.

### GREGORY VII.—CÆSARISM IN THE CHURCH.

"There was a carpenter of Tuscany,  
Whose son, from a cowed monk, made himself Pontiff."—

R. H. Horne's "*Gregory VII.*"

"In the course of the eleventh century the church became theocratical and monastical. The creator of this new form assumed by the church, so far as it belongs to a man to create, was Gregory VII. . . . He was a reformer through despotism, like Charlemagne and Peter the Great."—*Guizot*.

THE growth of the Church into a great and durable power, spiritual in its aims and functions, detached as much from earth, attached as much to heaven, as may be, is one of the most singular of that series of phenomena which constitutes history. Its story is an exhaustless and perennial source of instruction and interest. Having its origin in heaven, it seeks to rise, and raise, again to that resplendent height. And amidst manifold vicissitudes it has, during the eventful ages of the past, held its course right onwards and upwards with unslacking perseverance and undelaying energy. It is, as it was designed to be, the moral educator of the race. It was instituted at the giving of the first promise; it overlived the Deluge; it was enshrined in the Abrahamic covenant; it was manifested in the Sinaitic law; the Jewish people became its conservators; and type and prophecy were given as its handbook and guide. In the evolutions of history "the fulness of time" arrived. The known nations of the earth were brought under one empire, that it might have "free course." The Incarnation and the Death occurred; but the Resurrection followed, and the commission of the church was granted. From the hills of Judea it passed, with prompt diffusiveness, into the chief seats of the world's idolatries, and subdued them. The tenfold wrath of persecuting Rome was braved and borne. Its adversity was great; and it was great in its adversity. It lurked in the catacombs of Rome, an outcast; it emerged a victor, and avowed itself in the temples of Constantinople. The empire that failed to awe it fell before the barbarous hordes of the northern nations; but the Church made the foes of Rome its subjects. Amid the wars and changes of ages it kept its power, and so secured predominance. It held the balance of power in Europe in its hands; and it ultimately seized the helm of the world's progress, that it might steer it whithersoever it determined. Then it issued a claim to an undisputed supremacy over all thoughts, feelings, rights, customs, properties, powers, dominions, material civilization, and intellectual efforts. With the intense sincerity and absorption of a passion, its hierarchy sought power, privilege, and

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permanency; and endeavoured to obtain recognition as an absolute and independent moral power, entitled to influence and guide persons, peoples, and princes; to wield an unopposed sovereignty over minds, lives, actions, and events. It aspired to be regarded as the one single source-fount of the civilizing principle, and to hold in its grasp the spiritual guarantees of moral progress. It professed to garner up in its comprehensive purposes all the elements which co-operate in the determination of the great and permanent interests of humanity, and the final destinies of individuals and nations. Social influences, secular institutions, moral schemes, political life, personal being, the very inner soul of man, conscience itself, were to be subject to its sway, and touched to their issues by its direction. These inordinate powers it claimed for behoof of humanity, as well as arrogated for the successful all-prevailingness of its schemes. The world was, in those days, tossed about and torn with change. The savage syllogisms of war alone decided the fate of peoples, and the reign of blood seemed to be acquiring permanency, and to have become chronic. To bring man out of this embondagement to material force, and to make him susceptible of the influences of the spiritual world, was an aim in itself noble and holy; and if the end could ever sanctify the means, a grander cause was never brought within the scope of historic development.

In the course of the evolution of these far-reaching plans, many mighty men co-operated towards their ultimate success. There was one man, however, in whose person the unbounded ascendancy of the Church may be said to have culminated. A man sprung from the workshop, and emerging from the cloister, persistently pursued purposes matured in the monastic cell and under the prior's cowl, until at length he was able to assume the dictatorship of the Roman Catholic church, to direct all its affairs, and control all its decisions; to push on its ambitious purposes until kings and emperors became the subjects, almost the serfs, of the occupant of St. Peter's chair; a man who made hierarchy and pontiffs alike the tools and instruments of his policy, and who, by inflexible determination, subtle suggestion and conception, unshaken courage, extensive learning, persuasive eloquence, and a long life's devotion, managed the papacy under many different popes, until at length—his self-restraint rewarded by success—he was able to take his seat upon a throne to which empires seemed the footstools, and of which kings gladly accepted the ministry,—a spiritual Cæsar, sitting in Rome, yet swaying the world with a potency no Cæsar ever wielded; for he claimed supremacy, not over act only, but also over thought.

Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII., was born in Soana, a city of Etruscan origin, situated in that low, marshy tract of land, called La Maremma, which margins the Tuscan coast of the Mediterranean Sea, about A.D. 1020. His father—Bonicius, a carpenter—was a native of the republic-city of Orvieto, to which Soana was subject. Hildebrand, though of low birth, was of noble extraction. He was descended from the family of the Aldobrandeschi, and dis-

played, in his after life, many of the characteristics of his kindred.\* Both his father and himself were patronized by the Counts of Tusculum, a family which exercised great power over, if not in, the Church. This patronage, rather than his own desire, seems to have determined his destiny; for in one of his letters to the Romans, he says, "Ye know that, contrary to my inclinations, I was brought up to holy orders." In his early years, he gave signs of great ability and love of learning; he was diligent, patient, capable, and intelligent. In the monastery of Calvello, near Soana, he received his boy-training, and was thereafter removed to the monastery of St. Mark, on the Aventine Mount, of which, at that time, his uncle was abbot. Here he underwent ecclesiastical discipline, and was initiated into the order of the Benedictines; here, too, he pored over the laws and the traditions of the ancient ages of the Church. Being diligent and studious, his mind ripened rapidly. He was noted, by his instructors and among his fellows, as a youth of quick and penetrating intellect, of determined character, of religious disposition, and of noble demeanour. He excited, at once, love and respect. Rome afforded ample opportunities for becoming acquainted with the doctrines, traditions, and customs of the Church, but supplied no facilities for the acquisition of secular knowledge; and of this, Hildebrand's soul was greedy. With his uncle's leave, at the age of sixteen, he became an inmate of the famous monastery of Clugni, in Burgundy, where he proceeded, with unwearied industry, to study canon law, moral philosophy, rhetoric, the Scriptures, and the political machinery of the church. The holy leisure of seven years was thus spent, and at the expiry of that period he had acquired that wide range of information, that eloquent and vigorous style, that wise wiliness, that powerful self-command, that determinate resoluteness, and that skill in managing men, which he afterwards displayed. Even then, too, he seems to have been imbued with that zeal for reform, that arrogant energy, that calculating prudence, that craft, sagacity, and foresight, and that bold, persistent, and wide-reaching ambition, which made him, in the after-time, the leading man of his age. These were years of intense and earnest self-formation.

St. Odilo, the originator of the "Truce of God," an influential, praiseworthy man, was then abbot of Clugni, and Casimir I., king of Poland, was Hildebrand's companion. Casimir was recalled to his throne in 1041; and in the same year Hildebrand was commissioned by St. Odilo to reform his old convent, St. Mark's, on the Aventine. He forced the monks to discontinue their practice of allowing shepherds to pen their flocks in the churches to save them from midnight thieves; and dismissed the women who, in nominal servitude but real uncleanness, waited upon and ministered to the monks, to the scandal of their profession. He became a man of mark for austerity, gravity, and learning. He did not

\* Dante's "Purgatorio," xi. 58-65.

cease to increase these in his new position. Under Lorenzo, bishop of Amalfi—with Pope Benedict IX., and Gratian, archbishop of St. John, afterwards Pope Gregory VI., as fellow-pupils—Hildebrand studied science, which the superstitious then looked on as magic. Benedict IX., whose own name was Theofilatus, was the son of Albericus, count of Tusculum, and had been nominated and consecrated Pope in 1033, before he was ten years old: he was exceedingly licentious. The Romans revolted, and drove him from his throne in 1044; and a new pope (Silvester III.) was elected; but his election was speedily set aside. Benedict re-entered Rome by the aid of the swords of his father's retainers. By the negotiation of Hildebrand, however, it was arranged that Benedict should transfer the papal chair to his friend, Gratian, for fifteen hundred pounds of gold. This being arranged, Gratian, as Gregory VI., donned the purple, and Hildebrand was appointed to the office of his secretary. Gregory, on pretext of clearing the highways near Rome from freebooters, surrounded himself with an army, and so awed the people into acquiescence in his simoniacal advancement; and the arch-schemer who formed the plan, Hildebrand, was made sub-deacon of the church, and bishop of his father's native city, Orvieto.

Henry III., emperor of Germany, a man of firm will, good talents, extensive information, and some eloquence, was displeased at the turbulence of the idle and restless Romans, and determined to attempt, as their temporal superior, to purify and pacify the church. He set out for Italy. Gregory, attended by his secretary, met him on the way. He received them politely; and they retired, flattering themselves upon the success of their policy. On arriving at Sutri, eleven miles from Rome, Henry called a council, at which he deposed the three existent popes, Benedict IX., Silvester III., and Gregory VI., as all irregularly elected, either by intrigue, interest, or simony. Benedict retired to his estate, and Silvester to his bishopric, but Gregory was banished to the convent of Clugni, whither Hildebrand accompanied him. Here, on the death of St. Odilo, Hildebrand was chosen prior; and here, after having left him heir of all his wealth, and, by a sort of Hannibal's oath, bound him to pursue his enemies with unslacking vengeance, Gregory VI. died in Hildebrand's arms.

Henry appointed a new Pope—Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the title of Clement II.—at the Council of Sutri. He was immediately enthroned, and on Christmas, 1046, he crowned the Emperor, Henry III., with all due solemnity. In 1047, the Pope, at the instigation of the Emperor, issued a decree, that no future pope should be acknowledged till he had obtained the imperial sanction. Clement accompanied Henry across the Alps, and, on his return, died—it is said by poison—at Ravenna, after an occupancy of the papal chair of nine and a half months. The old Pope, Benedict, the suspected poisoner, reassumed the pontifical seat. In July, 1048, the Emperor raised Poppo, bishop of Brixen (Damasus II.), to the papacy; but he died in Palestrina—by poison,

too, it is thought—twenty-three days after his elevation; and so Benedict remained in the chair. No sooner did the news of the demise of Damasus II. reach Clugni, than Hildebrand set off to Germany, with the design of taking part in, and perhaps of influencing, the choice of a new Pope. The Emperor was, however, too rapid. Bruno, bishop of Toul, a relative of his own, was, on his nomination, elected at the Diet of Worms. The news reached the hurrying Hildebrand, but he pressed on, and met the Pope on his way Romeward. He invited Bruno to Clugni, and there unfolded to him a part of the grand scheme for elevating the papacy with which his own soul was filled. He inveighed with sagacious eloquence and urgent earnestness against the subjection of the sacred to the secular power, and maintained that the imperial election was an invasion of the rights and institutions of the church. The calculating craft of Hildebrand wrought upon the mind of Leo IX. The former undertook to manage everything successfully, if the latter would consent to follow his advice. This was agreed to; and Leo accordingly divesting himself of the externals of dignity, reassumed the poor habiliments of a monk, and refused to be called Pope until the voice of the cardinals and people of Rome should welcome him as such. Barefooted and humbly clad, meek and lowly in seeming; Leo, the shepherd of the church, walked in modest pilgrimage to the loftiest eminence the world afforded. Hildebrand accompanied him. But his political foresight and intriguing spirit had forerun his own presence, and, by his contrivance, an extraordinary ovation rewarded the obedient Leo for his few weeks' abstinence from glory and applause. Enthusiasm seemed to have run wild, and re-echoing acclamations accompanied Leo from beyond the gates of Rome to the (then humble) church of St. Peter's. Leo heaped benefactions upon Hildebrand. He was made Sub-deacon of St. Paul's, Cardinal, Abbot, Canon of the Holy Roman Church, and Custodier of the altar of St. Peter. Greatness favoured his daring. On the altar of the founder-apostle of the Roman Church were laid the annual offerings of every count, duke, abbot, prince, and king, to the holy apostle who held supremacy—through his successors and deputies—in the church militant, and possessed "the power of the keys" in heaven and hell. Besides these, the payments of the people, for the maintenance of the state and the services of the church, were deposited on the same altar, and Hildebrand was the keeper of them all. He speedily became the head and soul, the animating spirit, of the movement party in the church. Leo's simple, unsuspecting honesty made him a fit tool for working out unpopular purposes. Hildebrand was constantly engaged in prompting him to some new reform, and some stirring change. He kept Leo, however, as much from Rome as possible, that he might retain the real, though not the ostensible, management of that city and its intrigues in his own hand. Hildebrand, therefore, kept up a continued succession of pilgrimages, processions, synods, and councils, and a constant moving to and fro

between Rome, France, Germany, Hungary, &c., in most of which he accompanied and assisted the Pope, at the same time that he held the princes and ecclesiastics under his own curb, by rapid movements and bold measures. Simony, and the immorality of the clergy, were cursed and fulminated against, and those guilty of either were anathematized and excommunicated. At the Council of Rheims, in this Pope's reign, it was first decided that the Church of Rome should be recognized as chief, and paramount over all churches, and that the Pontiff, as primate, should rule and overrule all others. At a council in the church of St. Lateran, in Rome, the doctrine of transubstantiation was affirmed, in the act which condemned Berenger—who denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the symbols of the eucharist—as a heretic. Hildebrand, though admiring the acute and subtle genius and the learning and sanctity of Berenger, opposed him, but urged a compromise of tenets, which was agreed to. Leo also, by Hildebrand's advice, declared war against the Normans, and even led the fight himself.

Hildebrand now longed for the downfall of the Pope he had used as his puppet, and began to intrigue with the deposed Benedict; and these two, conspiring together, bribed the Italian troops into defection, so that Leo IX. was taken prisoner by the Normans, and confined in Civitella and Beneventum.

“Ingratitude, more strong than traitor's arms,  
Quite vanquished him;”—

and when, released by the pity of his captors, he returned to Rome overcome with sorrow, and died of a broken heart, April 19th, 1054.

Hildebrand had taken his measures cunningly. Benedict reascended the papal chair, and persecution and revenge occupied all his thoughts. This created a storm of fury and insurrection, and Hildebrand fomented the rage, because it formed his best excuse to his former ally for taking part in the choice of a new occupant of the apostolic primacy. He managed to get the appointment of plenipotentiary of the Roman clergy and people, with unlimited authority in this matter. He insinuated himself into the confidence of the Emperor, and, by his singular address, secured the nomination of the very man of his heart's desire. This was Gebhardt, bishop of Eichstadt, the most influential of Henry's councillors—a man of wealth, prudence, and ambition. Gebhardt hesitated; Hildebrand insisted; and the tiara—glittering temptation—overcame him, and he was consecrated—April 13th, 1055—as Victor II. Benedict was enraged, and resisted; but the masterly intrigues of the Canon of the Roman Church secured a peaceful accession—indeed, ex-Pope Benedict IX. died (P) in a convent about the same time.

The choice of Hildebrand displayed great tact. He weakened the imperial council, and yet strengthened his own party: for Gebhardt, who had passed all his lifetime in Germany, and in the imperial court, as he was unacquainted with Italian laws and

customs, could not materially interfere with the working-out of the plans of the Cardinal who had helped him into power. His art was that of Antony's with Lepidus:—

“And though we lay these honours on this man,  
To ease ourselves of divers slanderous loads,  
He shall but bear them as the ass bears gold—  
To groan and sweat under the business—  
Either led or driven as we point the way;

To wind, to stop, to run directly on,  
His corporal motion governed by my spirit.”

Victor II. was acute enough to see that a strong ambition guided the views of Hildebrand, and he contrived to rid himself of his personal control, by sending him as his legate to France, to outroot simony. Hildebrand went, full of outward obedience and inward wrath. But he was an earnest man, and set himself to work, though he did not leave means unarranged to maintain and further his own interests at Rome during the politically-planned exile to which the astute Pontiff had at once promoted and condemned him. On this mission, his fame was magnified by popular ignorance, fanatical adulation, and cunning prelaticism. Stern and uncompromising in his legatine functions, he yet mingled such private suavity with his public arbitrements, that admiration and love waited on his progress. Short as he was in stature, his intrepidity and imperiousness lent a dignity to his form; and his keen, decisive intellect left nothing unmoved which lay between his intentions and the results he wished. Miraculous powers of spiritual discernment were attributed to him. It was said he had “that curious skill which, comparing looks with words, could pluck out the lie though guarded round about with subtlest phrase—could see and tear a falsehood from the heart, though it lay hidden, like the germ of blight within a flower.” At a council held in Lyons, he accused the whole assembled bishops of being disciples of Simon Magus, not of Simon Peter. One bishop denied the charge. “Recite the Doxology!” thundered Hildebrand. “Glory be to the Father, the Son, and the——” A sudden alarm seized the prelate as he attempted to name the Holy Spirit, and confessing his guilt, he was deposed then, though afterwards reinstalled. Other eighty bishops, believing—or pretending to believe—in his preternatural prescience, confessed, and were forgiven by the crafty legate. “Ceremony is a scarecrow to awe-strike fools.”

In this ambassadorial tour, Ferdinand of Castile and Henry III. of Germany agreed to abide by the decision of Hildebrand, as to which of them should bear the exclusive title of Emperor. The legate gave his voice in favour of Henry's claim, and so made the sovereign of Germany the bearer of a designation and supremacy, the right to which was founded on a judicial decree of a churchman.

Leaving Lyons, Hildebrand repaired to Clugni—now governed by Abbot Hugo—and began the reform of the monks there by

condemning to death many of the most licentious, indolent, and ignorant, asserting that he did so by the inspiring suggestion of Jesus Christ. At Tours he called Berenger before him, and by sheer threats compelled him to abjure his doctrines. After these displays of zeal, Victor recalled him to Rome. But here his influence was too manifest, and he was sent to Florence, and kept under *surveillance*—an unavailing measure; for he was too well versed in intrigue, and too firmly determined on working out his designs, to abstain either from secret efforts or open acts. The winning card seemed always in his hand.

In 1056, the Emperor, Henry III., died, leaving Agnes, his wife, regent of the kingdom, and the Pope guardian of the person of his son, Henry IV.—a child six years of age. This was a new chance for effecting the papal supremacy, and the sleepless mind of Hildebrand foresaw that new moves on the chess-board of European politics were possible. Victor, Henry's guardian, died in 1057. But the master-builder of the Pontificate was not yet prepared to place and be the key-stone on his finished work; and though he coveted the Papacy, he employed his influence to put the tiara and the purple on another. He restrained his own ambition, only as huntsmen pull the red-eyed mastiff in, "to let it slip with deadlier certainty" at last. Policy, as usual, dictated the choice, and the manner of expressing it. Frederic of Lorraine was the brother of Godfrey, duke of Tuscany, whose power, as a barrier between the Papal states and the empire, would be advantageous. Though Hildebrand was nominated, to keep his name and position before the Church, Frederic was elected, apparently by a tumult, really by Hildebrand's consummate management. The new Pope was styled Stephen IX. New honours were showered upon his helpmate, and Hildebrand was delegated to represent the Church at the imperial court of Germany. Pursuing the directions of the prime minister and dictator of the apostolic see, Stephen decreed that ecclesiastics should not be cited before civil tribunals, and that they should not be taxed by the secular power. He also projected bestowing upon his brother Godfrey the imperial crown, and of employing him to expel the Normans from Naples and Sicily. But death, after an eight months' reign, stayed his unaccomplished intent at the very moment of its initiation. Before his death, he made the assembled clergy and people of Rome swear that they would delay the election of a successor till Hildebrand's return from the German court. The Romans naturally hated Germanic popes, and, taking advantage of Hildebrand's absence, notwithstanding their oath, they chose John Mincius, bishop of Villettri, nicknamed the Stupid; and, under the title of Benedict X., had him consecrated by the Archbishop of Ostia. Hildebrand posted rapidly to Rome, bearing with him the letters patent of the Empress-Regent, Agnes, for the enthronization of Gerard, bishop of Florence, a native of Burgundy, related to the duke of Tuscany and the counts of Tusculum, accompanied by whose armies he

marched to Rome. Benedict X. resigned through fear, and Gerard (Nicholas II.) was consecrated on 6th January, 1059, in the church of St. Peter's, Rome. The Romans were riotous, and tumults broke out against the new Pontiff. He retired to Pisenum, and left the control of the revoltful factions to Hildebrand. In this emergency, his courage and cunning did not forsake him. Threats and bribes were freely employed to still or soothe, and before Easter the Pope—now rivalless by the death, fraudulent and violent, of Benedict X.—was supreme, in seeming, at Rome.

In 1059, at a council, in the Lateran at Rome, consisting of 113 members of the hierarchy, it was resolved, at Hildebrand's instigation, that no one should be placed in the Apostolic Chair except by the consent and choice of the College of Cardinals—reserving to the German Emperor the right of assent. Thus the Roman clergy, the Emperor, and the people were at once denuded of their several rights in the election of the Primate of the Church. Hildebrand was now the acting governor of the whole machinery of the Papal Court, and the invariable companion and confidant of the father and shepherd of Christ's flock. By his energetic plots, Robert Guiscard, the leader of the Normans, was made the shield of the Church against the resistant counts and barons, whose rights the new resolves of the hierarchy had infringed; and the services of this adventurer in putting down the refractory aristocracy of Italy, were rewarded by the title of duke, and by an investiture of the lands of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, &c. He, in return, swore allegiance to the Holy See. The grasp of the Papacy was gradually more and more tightened round the sceptre rather than the crook, and step by step did the ardent and ambitious Hildebrand advance the occupant of St. Peter's chair from shepherdlike oversight to sovereign supremacy.

This purpose was fatally pursued, even to extermination, against the partisans of Benedict X. The Norman troops were "let slip" upon the counts and barons in the Campagna, and with insatiable and sanguinary eagerness they attacked and destroyed them. This temporal overthrow of his enemies did not content the arrogant audacity which Hildebrand had evoked in the soul of Nicholas. He sent an embassy, armed with full powers of excommunication, against the simoniacal, wedlock-loving priests of Milan. Many contumacious bishops were deposed, and the offending and penitent were threatened and warned. So much farther was the great scheme evolved, and a new machinery was requisite to carry on the schemes of the progress party. On the 4th June, 1061, Nicholas II. died, at Florence, in circumstances not quite free from suspicion.

Hildebrand knew that the sanctity of helplessness was thrown over the interests of Henry IV. during his minority, and that no final struggle could be managed until he was able himself to hold the reins of empire. The time was not yet white for the harvest, and hence he determined again to set another in the forehead of his party,



while he should move and animate the government. He offered to compromise the difference between the Empire and the Church, by undertaking to secure the election of any ecclesiastic the Empress-Regent would fix upon, provided cardinals alone were, according to the new electoral law, allowed to give their votes. This, on behalf of her son, she refused to agree to; and at a congress of bishops, at Basle, Cadolaus was chosen by the Imperialists to fill the papal seat. He took the title of Honorius II. Hildebrand, determined not to be foiled in the mighty achievement on which he had set his heart, and towards the accomplishment of which he had toiled with such eager intensity, called together an opposing council, and, as Cardinal-Archdeacon of Rome, proposed the elevation of Anselmo, bishop of Lucca, to the headship of the Apostolic See. This was agreed to with acclamation, and Alexander II. became the rival of Honorius. Hildebrand intimated to the Emperor that he was prepared to maintain the validity of the election made by the cardinalate by the sword, if requisite. Henry decided on appealing to arms against this usurpation, and preparations for war were set about by both parties. Meanwhile, Hildebrand hastened the consecration and enthronization of his nominee. But his fiery temper, roused to desperation at the occurrence of such a crisis, for once outran discretion, and made him forget his usual tactics—a mingling of audacious daring, forethoughtful caution, and well-veiled cunning.

It happened thus:—In that old church which now forms one of the vaults of the Vatican, and is, as fable reports, reared over the spot where the remains of the apostle Peter repose, in 1061, the magnificent ceremonials usual on the consecration of a new pontiff had, despite the protest by Benzone, bishop of Alba, against the legitimacy of the inauguration, because it wanted the specially reserved sanction of the emperor, just been completed. Alexander II., Vicar-General of the Church, and the earthly representative of its heavenly head, was preaching in the ordinary humble, "*nolo episcopari*" style, in presence of a conclave of cardinals, ambassadors, and people. In his sermon he lamented the divided state of the Church, and expressed so earnest a desire for the peace of Zion, that he even proffered to suspend the exercise of his holy functions till he had received the assent of the imperial power to his appointment. This, Hildebrand could not brook. It seemed to him yielding up to kingly sway a power of which the Church ought never now to quit its hold. He dashed up to the papal throne, and there struck the Pontiff on the cheek with his closed fist, and ejecting him from the church, locked him up in his chambers to fast and repent. Even to such a height of imperious domineering had this prelate raised himself,—even thus did he then lord it over God's heritage! The Pope, like a flogged cur, was thereafter submissive to his master. Hildebrand ruled and overruled everything. Risking the arbitrement of war, he was, on the plains of Nero, 14th of April, 1062, defeated by Cadolaus, who entered Rome in triumph. But it was short. Duke Godfrey of Tuscany and

Hildebrand besieged him there, and he was compelled to fly. Blood, pillage, and horror prevailed everywhere, and the enemies of Alexander II. were fain to lick the dust before the unquailing Chancellor of the Holy See, for to that office Hildebrand had been raised by the insulted Pope. By the aid of Bishop Annone, Hildebrand contrived to kidnap the youthful Emperor Henry. Agnes, his mother, resigned her functions, withdrew her sanction of Cadolaus, was absolved, and ended her days in the city of Rome, an humble devotee of the Holy See.

At a council in Cologne, with the boy-emperor, a prisoner, at its head, Alexander II. was declared legally elected. This decision was re-pronounced in Rome in the Lent of 1062, and Cadolaus was excommunicated. He was not subdued though. He determined to run the gauntlet with his foes, especially with that inexorable prince of plots who had tricked him out of the purple and fine linen of the papacy,—Hildebrand.

The Lombardese army of Cadolaus met the Tuscan soldiers of Godfrey in the Leonine portion of Rome, and was defeated. He fought with the courage of despair, and having cut his way with one Cenciùs through the Hildebrandists, reached the Castle of St. Angelo, where he defiantly sustained a siege of two years, and whence he at last escaped. He continued the war during his life, though he was again deposed at Mantua in 1064. At the same council, Alexander II. was solemnly proclaimed to be legally elected, and all his acts were confirmed.

The victorious Pontiff, less mindful of the duties of his dignity than the power of enjoyment, and the pomp and grandeur it conferred, left the management of the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Papacy to the secret begetter of all those schemes which tended to the overshadowing of the whole world by one gigantic institution, which should pervade and permeate all—should not only rule all princes, but enforce obedience from all people. Hildebrand unhaltingly pursued his course, strong in the invincibility of his cause, and in the inflexibility of his own character, and by the mighty chemistry of his own passionate persistency regulated the results of the co-operating activities of rivals to the productions of his own ends—the union of the priesthood into one interest-linked phalanx; the attainment of entire supremacy for the Popedom; the organization of a grand central authority in Rome, whose behests should control the haughtiest monarchs and the most indomitable peoples; the institution of a permanent and invulnerable ecclesiastical State; the aggrandizement of the Church, so that it might be the unopposed tutor of humanity in Christian civilization. But the farther detail of his imperious tutorship of the Church and the World must be adjourned for the present, to be resumed during the onward march of the year.

S. N.

## Religion.

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### IS THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY RECOGNIZED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AS A DISTINCT ORDER IN THE CHURCH?

#### AFFIRMATIVE REPLY.

It is a matter of surprise to us that this friendly discussion is about to close so early from a lack of opponents. It is no equivocal sign of the general diffusion of common sense and scriptural knowledge, that after *two* negative articles we are informed by the Editor that the leaders in the debate must now close it with a last word or two. Though the subject lies in a nutshell, is not perplexed by the intricacies which involve so many questions of the day, and is therefore within the comprehension of the narrowest intellect, yet we had anticipated a very much larger number of opponents to the recognized order of ministers in the church. There are so many disappointed aspirants for the office, so many whose abilities are rated at a lower standard by others than by their possessors, so many who endeavour to introduce into the Christian Church the socialistic ideas attached to the terms of "equality, liberty, and fraternity" without the desired success, that we had expected a spirited debate. However gratifying to the lovers of order and the promoters of scriptural ideas, the fact that we have scarcely the materials for a reply is a source of perplexity.

The article by "An Elder" is chiefly made up of an enumeration of *abuses*. If he had laboured to show that there was *no use* in the order, he would have given us no little work to answer him. The abuses we admit and deplore. The apostle, in appointing the order, foretold their probable occurrence. (Acts xx. 29.) We could add to the list drawn up by "An Elder," but to correct them is the calling of a *reformer of abuses*. The question at the head of the pages in which his article appears is, however, whether the order of ministers is, or is not, recognized in the New Testament? and not that on the assumption of which he writes—namely, whether that order is, or is not, liable to abuse and perversion? He commences with the remark, that "our Protestant rule of faith, 'to the law and the testimony,' should be the rule of church polity and government. I say *should be*, but it is not" (p. 19). On reading this, we prepared for a searching investigation of the subject, an array of texts on both sides of the question, a refutation of the arguments founded upon one class of passages, and a lucid statement, founded upon the other, proving "the heresy, countenancing the minor evils of pew rents, professional singing," &c. (p. 23). But we are not

favoured with a single reference to a text in the Bible, demonstrating, in the pages of the *British Controversialist* as elsewhere, that the opposition to a distinct order of ministers "should be, but is not," founded upon "the law and the testimony." The discussion is properly and necessarily limited to the Scriptures, and of the Scriptures not a passage is adduced by "An Elder" in support of vague charges against the existing order of the ministry. It is true, to show that "of essential qualifications" ministers of the day "have very little in common" with "the elders in the primitive church" (p. 20), he loosely quotes a few expressions from one Epistle, but from thence argues in a style not authorized by facts. For example:—"an 'elder' was to be literally an elder, as indicated by 'ruling his own house well.'" Put this bold assertion by the side of the facts, that Paul had no wife, and no "house to rule," and that to the responsible work of selecting and ordaining the *elder* men in a church, he appointed Timothy, a *young* and *unmarried* man, and what becomes of the credit of such a controversialist? The fact is too well established to admit of question, that an elder, meaning an officer of the church, does *not refer to age at all*. There were many aged men associated with the apostle, but it was not from them that he selected Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 12) to be an elder, and to select elders for ministers. A youth, called of God, and set over a church by the Holy Spirit, though taken from "a scholastic institution" (p. 20), will have the qualifications of an elder now as in apostolic times; whereas, "the literal elder" of this writer may lack all "christian experience, high-toned piety, and *maturity* of character."

The writer of the second negative article has been unfortunate in signing himself "A Would-be Conformist." A single fact shows one of two things,—either that he is unaware of the design and use of the Epistles, or that he is totally unconscious of the direction in which his will inclines. His quotations are from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and not a reference is made to the Epistles. A writer who closes his eyes to the Epistles, and looks only to the Acts, in discussing such a question, ought in all prudence to have adopted any other signature than "A *Would-be* Conformist." In that book we have but "*some* intimations of the manner in which the primitive church was constituted and governed, and its ministers were appointed, and its ordinances administered." (Rev. T. Scott.) It is a compendious narrative of "the gradual *expansion* of the church, by the free admission within its pale of persons directly converted from heathenism." After a rapid sketch of the career of the apostles Peter and Paul, "it abruptly closes, leaving us to gather further information from other sources." (Cyclop. Bibl. Literat.) From this book *alone* not a single safe opinion of any point of ecclesiastical polity can be drawn; and yet the "Would-be Conformist" rests all his negations upon it. Nelson, with the glass applied to his blind eye, declared, truly enough, that he could not see Sir Hyde Parker's signal for the discontinuance of the battle of

Copenhagen ; but he did not sign his next despatch, "A Would-be Conformist" to the orders of his superior in command. The bias—unconscious, we admit, but still the bias—of this writer will be more apparent, when the character of some of the Epistles is duly considered. "If," observes Mr. Albert Barnes, "the various Epistles, and the various other books of the New Testament, be attentively examined, it will be found that each one is designed to accomplish an important object, and that, if any one were removed, a material chasm would be made. Though the removal of *any one* of them would not so impair the volume of the New Testament as to obscure any *essential* doctrine, or prevent our obtaining the knowledge of the way of salvation from the remainder, yet it would mar the beauty and symmetry of the truth, and would render the system of instruction defective and incomplete. This is true in regard to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, as it is of the other epistles. They fill a department which nothing else in the New Testament would enable us to supply, and without which, instruction to man respecting redemption would be incomplete. They relate mainly to the *office of the ministry*; and though there are important instructions of the Saviour himself respecting the office (Matt. x. ; Mark xvi. ; and elsewhere), and though, in the addresses of Paul to the elders of Ephesus (Acts xx.), and in the epistles to the Corinthians, there are invaluable suggestions respecting it, yet such is its importance in the organization of the church, that more full and complete instructions seem to be imperiously demanded. These instructions are furnished in these Epistles. They are as full and complete as we could desire in regard to the nature of the office, the qualifications for it, and the duties which grow out of it. They are fitted, not only to direct Timothy and Titus in the work to which they were specially appointed, but to counsel the ministry in every age, and every land. It is obvious that the character and welfare of the church depend greatly, if not entirely, upon the character of the ministry. The office of the ministry is God's great appointment for the preservation of pure religion, and for spreading it abroad through the world. So important, then, is this office to the welfare of the church and the world, that it was desirable that full instructions should be furnished in the volume of revelation in regard to its nature and design. Such instructions we have in these Epistles ; and there is scarcely any portion of the New Testament which the church could not better afford to part with than the Epistles to Timothy and Titus."\*

Now, can "A Would-be Conformist" betray more clearly a determination *not to conform*, than by putting the glass to his blind eye, when he *looks* at the only portion of the New Testament that professes to show what kind or order of ministers is recognized by the apostles of Christ? In the very act of referring to the book of Acts, which, compared with the Epistles, has really little to do with

\* Introduction to Notes on 1 Timothy.

the subject, he ventures to use the word "candid" (p. 95). A "candid student" will look elsewhere to throw light upon that book, and not from it argue as if the Epistles had no existence. He quotes our remarks upon 2 Thess. iii. 8, speaks of our pen slipping, and then gives what he "reads" to be its "meaning." The gloss he there puts upon the passage is, that the apostle refused "the rights of hospitality" in order to "show them the dignity of labour," &c. (p. 95). Now, as the apostle gives us his reason, it is really waste of time to conjecture what were his reasons. The apostle tells us that the course he pursued was for example's sake, and "not" because he had "not power" (2 Thess. iii. 9). This peculiar expression is not to be explained to suit one's views, but by other passages bearing upon the subject. In 1 Cor. ix. 6, the apostle asks, "Have not we power to forbear working?" and then explains the expression in the following verses:—"Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof?" &c. "Do ye not know that they who minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they who wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? *Even so hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel.*" Now, can our "candid" opponent avoid understanding the sense in which the apostle uses the word "power" in 2 Thess. iii. 9? Unquestionably, he asserts here, as in 1 Cor. ix., the *power* conferred on ministers of the gospel by the above "ordinance of the Lord," to live upon the contributions of the people to whom they minister in holy things. For special reasons, he declined the exercise of this *power* among the Thessalonians; but, to prevent the very inference which "A Would-be Conformist" draws from this disinterestedness, he takes care to assure them that, under other circumstances, he would have claimed exemption from secular engagements while ministering to their spiritual necessities, for he had power, that is—a *divinely conferred right*—to do so.

After explaining the passage, agreeably to a foregone conclusion, "A Would-be Conformist" adds:—"To me there does not appear, in the whole New Testament, a stronger passage than this, to show they had no separate order among them; and that all the elders, without exception, were enjoined not to be weary in well doing, but to eat their own bread, which they should quietly work for with their own hands" (p. 95). As before shown, the writer argued from the Acts, as if no Epistles existed; so here he argues from the second epistle, as if the first to the Thessalonians was not extant. "Without doubt, the church," at Thessalonica, "had rulers or elders amongst them." He prefers conjecturing what really did exist. The apostle exhorts these Thessalonians, in the first epistle (v. 12, 13), "to know them which labour among them, and are over them in the Lord, and admonish them; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their work's sake." It is impossible to attach any meaning to the word "know," that would answer to the explanation which "A Would-be Conformist" gives of 2 Thess. iii.

8, 9. If this church "knew" their ministers after the fashion recommended in this negative article, they would have suffered their elders, after laboriously toiling (*κοπιῶντας*) in the day, to spend their nights in the shop or counting-house, for their livelihood. The word implies a sense of grateful obligation to their minister, which would see that he "reaped of their carnal things," while "sowing to them spiritual things" (1 Cor. ix. 11). While the apostle exhorts them to "esteem them very highly," that is, "to make very much of,—to hold in the highest honour:"\*—our opponent would turn ministers into butchers, grocers, tailors, and shoemakers, for the edification of "Would-be Conformists."

Another specimen of Nelson's spy-glass will justify our dismissing this paper without further examination. The one we are about to quote is the most flagrant of the kind. On page 15 we made the following observation: "The christian minister is plainly warned, that if his profiting in all things (1 Tim. iv. 15) connected with his calling is to 'appear,' he must be 'in them,' and 'continue in them.' 'Saving himself and them that hear him' (1 Tim. iv. 16) is, by an inspired authority, declared to depend upon exemption from the cares and anxieties inseparable from secular pursuits." Now, in this passage we quote and give references in support of the opinion stated; and therefore, in page 16, it was unnecessary to quote and refer again, a second time, to the same passages. Yet "A Would-be Conformist" selects the latter, in preference to the former, and thus gives an air of plausibility to his assertion that "there is not a particle of authority in God's word for such a statement as this" (pp. 95—96), namely, "That while Christians are bound to secular work for self-support, their elders were required to abstain from it, for their own salvation and of those who heard them." Here is Nelson's glass put to his blind eye in the most determined manner possible. "Not a particle of authority"! "Be in" your work of teaching and exhorting, says the apostle to Timothy; "continue in them," he adds for emphasis; and then adds, "for in doing this, thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee" (1 Tim. iv. 15, 16). Now we argue, without fear of refutation, that no elder can "give himself wholly . . . to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine" (ver. 13 and 15), if he is to make shoes, or clothes, or sell grocery and drapery for his people for a livelihood. It is equally clear that there is more than particles of authority in a single passage, to say nothing of God's word elsewhere, for, not our assertion, but the apostle's declaration, that in abstaining from all secular pursuits, the minister of the gospel will alone "save himself and them that hear him."

Apart from the New Testament, experience and observation prove that as soon as ministers, without, as in the apostle Paul's case, a clear and providential necessity, attempt to combine secular pursuits with their spiritual calling, they invariably lose all spiritual

\* See Bloomfield's Greek Testament on the passage.

power; and not a few of them ruin their own character, and scatter their flocks. A more pernicious idea cannot be entertained than that suggested by "A Would-be Conformist," that "a company of believers" should "depend upon themselves and God's gracious Spirit for edification" (p. 94). No man, whatever be his professions or self-knowledge, does "depend upon God's gracious Spirit," who does not recognise an "overseer," appointed by that Holy Spirit, to "feed" the church (Acts xx. 28). Dependence upon that Spirit is dependence upon the means he has provided. To denounce or neglect these, and to "depend upon themselves for edification," is not the practice of a well-informed and intelligent "company of believers." Plymouth Brethren have tried this species of fanaticism; and turn where you will, you will find that they cannot (as implied in 1 Thess. v. 13) "be at peace among themselves." This injunction, to be at "peace," is annexed to the other, to "esteem very highly" their appointed ministers. The "Brethren" have no scriptural elders to esteem; and the numerous sections, into which these denouncers of "sects" are subdivided, show that they cannot maintain the peace among themselves. The Society of Friends, again, have never occupied the position in the church to which their many signal virtues entitle them, and are anxiously inquiring into the cause of their rapid decay. That cause is, in the language of the "Would-be Conformist," that they "depend upon themselves, and," in a manner not authorized by Christ, upon the "gracious Spirit, for edification."

It is surely inexcusable in any writer to speak in the following fashion—"Modern ministers, who are, perhaps, analogous to the prophets of the primitive church" (pp. 93, 94). Are arguments affecting the vital interests of the church and the world to be based upon so gratuitous an assumption as this—a "perhaps"? With the New Testament, with commentaries, Greek dictionaries and grammars, and biblical cyclopædias, to be found now even in some Sunday school libraries, ought any one to confound the stated evangelist of the Acts and the Epistles with "modern village preachers"? the "elder or pastor," described in the Epistles to Timothy or Titus, with a person who "takes a district, and superintends that section of the church?" "the teacher of a Bible class" with a minister over the church of Christ? With charming simplicity, the author of these inexcusable crudities ends by asking, if "A Presbyter" will join him in sanctioning this confusion of ideas, and this ignorance of what constitutes a minister of the gospel!

It is obvious that the writers of the two negative articles have an eye quick to discover the abuses that weaken the power of the christian ministry; but it is equally plain that their other eye is, like Nelson's, incapable of seeing, but capable of being used as an excuse for not seeing. If they really wish to see and appreciate the evidence on the other side, let them apply the glass to the eye that has not yet lost its power of vision.

PRESBYTER.



## NEGATIVE REPLY.

IN attempting to answer what has been advanced upon the other side by "Presbyter" and "Theophylact," there appears but little pertinent to the precise point in dispute. That there must be government within, and united action without, both of which involve organization, executive and administrative powers, no one disputes; so that the question between us is not, "Does the New Testament command certain things to be done?"—in that we all agree—but "Does the doing of these things elevate the doers into a distinct and sacred order?" Our opponents have quoted many passages to prove that the men should be appointed and the duties done; but positively none (because there are none) to prove the sacred or clerical character of those appointed. There are some passages that may be taken to support that view, if "Theophylact" is really in earnest in classing the apostles and the teachers of the present day in one category; but he will then be committed to "apostolic succession," as well as "sacerdotalism."

The supernatural qualifications they received, and the special work they had to perform, viz.—to bear testimony to the truth, divine mission, life, teachings, death, and glorious ascension of the Lord, all without written testimony, or other corroborative evidence—so different to that of a teacher now, in simply explaining and enforcing the precepts of a book of Divine authority, accessible to his hearers as well as himself—all show the chasm between the two classes, and the fallacy of reasoning from their appointment, and their relative connection with the "deacons," to support the supposed sacred character of the order. A little consideration, or better information, would have saved "Theophylact" from introducing the equivocal distinctive names of laity and clergy. We believe the equivalent for clergy is only found once in the Word of God (1 Pet. ii. 9), and there it is applied, not to apostolic succession, but by an apostle to the whole church. So much for early training, in opposition to the Word of God. In this article there are some things so singular and so bold, that one scarce knows how to answer them.

Where did the writer get the idea, that secular employments are prohibited? We presume from the place where he found the word, "detrimentation," i. e., his own brain.

We are sorry he was so unsuccessful in his search for commands in Scripture for "bishops or elders" to labour; but we will endeavour to give him a little assistance. First. We suppose it will not be denied that men are generally called upon to "labour" to "provide things honest;" and curses, ecclesiastical as well as social, follow the neglect of this command. Now, there is not a particle of evidence that when Christians were appointed to the office of elders, they were exempt from this command; but there are express intimations that all those virtues that were expected from them as private Christians should "more abound" in them as officers.

But it is "mean," "degrading," &c., for a minister to work, say our opponents. We really cannot help that; we are not concerned whether it be respectable or not—that is the business of society; we are simply contending it is scriptural, and therefore right. If they will turn to Acts xx. 28, they will find there is no mistaking the matter, since Paul commences his special address to the elders of the church at Ephesus by reminding them they were appointed "over" the "flock" by the "Holy Spirit," to "feed the church of God;" and ends by emphatically pointing to his own example, and that, "so labouring," they should not live upon, but be able to assist and aid the weak, enforcing all by the saying of Christ, that it is more blessed to be in a position to render help than to need it. (By the way, why is Paul's conduct, in this respect, now so seldom made the subject of commendation and encomium?)

But Scripture, say our opponents, speaks of certain parties who have a right to sustenance and support from the church. Just so; but who were they? The apostles, in the first instance; but their circumstances were so special, that no man ought now to ground his claim upon their right.

Further. The way in which one of them waived it, and his reasons for so doing, show that while he allowed the right on his own account, and found no fault with those who availed themselves of it, he evidently considered that, where such a course was possible, to preach the gospel "without money and without price" was more in accordance with its spirit, and such servants more like their Master, who, while "He went about doing good," yet "had not where to lay His head." Now, one of the reasons why that apostle was so eminently successful in his labours was, no doubt, the self-denying and disinterested character of those labours. "We seek not yours, but you," he said; and men understood and believed the doctrines from such lips.

But we may be reminded that this passage refers to others besides the apostles, such as Apollos, Timothy, Silas, Titus; these appear to have been considered as having some claim for support upon the churches with whom they were for the *time being*. We say, for the time being, because there is not the slightest evidence to prove they were ever located or "settled" in one place. Peculiar exigencies or special circumstances might and did induce them to remain longer in one place than another; but their work was entirely that of a missionary or evangelist, and wherever Christ's followers were, they were commanded to assist and to sustain them. Such appears to have been the primitive practice; and wherever a man is found with the qualifications, and labours of an evangelist, such all Christians should assist and support.

But now the church pays its pastors to minister to those within, instead of seeking those who are without, and perishing for lack of knowledge. In concluding, "Theophylact" fails in an attempt to be merry, at the idea of an elder "working ten hours per day, visiting the sick, preaching twice on the sabbath," &c. It might be

retorted, that all this is done ; and there are hundreds and thousands in this, our own land, who, as village, local, or occasional preachers, do labour, "say six days in the week, and ten hours per day," and yet find time to prepare for preaching on the sabbath, conduct prayer meetings in the week, and do a large amount of what is usually considered the pastor's work ; — but this reply, though logical, is not scriptural, for the Scriptures never contemplate, or recognize, in any single passage, the concentration of all power, or the attending to all these duties, in a single person. The idea we are taught by Paul, in his first letter to the church at Corinth specially, and also in many other places, is, that each individual member should be appointed to, and undertake those duties in the church, for which by his peculiar gifts or endowments he is best fitted ; and so, out of mutual helpfulness and assistance, produce spiritual growth and well-being, both individually and collectively. Under this system, one visits the sick, another presides over the meetings of the church, and a third endeavours to comfort and console God's people under their trials and difficulties, while another preaches the glad tidings to those still without. I need not say that, under such an arrangement, the sneer of "Theophylact" loses all its power ; for if it be not only impossible for one man to perform all the duties of the executive, but also unjust to expect him to do so, and at the same time follow a secular calling for his livelihood, yet it is neither impossible or unjust for the church to appoint a dozen members to perform these duties among them, and still support themselves and families. Further, in treating of "their claims upon the laity for support"—(by-the-bye, that term, "laity," savours more of Rome than Scripture)—"Theophylact" appears not to be aware that in every case the persons spoken of were engaged in missionary or evangelistic work ; and throughout the New Testament there is not the slightest trace of any officer having been paid permanently, or at stated periods, to preach to any particular congregation.

"Presbyter," in his zeal, pushes this matter to a ridiculous extent, and tells us that Paul's injunction, "to count those who rule worthy of double honour," means worthy of double fees. Unfortunately, I do not understand Greek ; but, if it be so, it appears *all* in authority—elders, deacons, stewards, churchwardens, or whatever name the executive may be known by—should receive a salary, and the preacher twice as much ! Such shifts are men put to when they try to fit God's Word to human institutions, instead of shaping their course according to its commands.

That the ministers of the present day, in many cases, well earn the payment they receive, and in some instances deserve far more than they obtain, we cheerfully admit ; but we contend that, according to Scripture, the church has no right to delegate to any one man the duties that God has intimated, both by plain directions in His Word, and the disposition of His gifts among the members

generally, should be engaged in by them for mutual edification. The whole system of the one man stated minister is not so much "abused," as an *abuse* from beginning to end.

Having shown the inapplicability of the passages quoted to answer the end proposed, and that, even where they do appear to forward our opponent's views, they refer to a class entirely different to those to whom they are now applied, we proceed to point to a few passages which show that any such class in the Christian church is repugnant to all its spirit and teachings. Christ himself tells us (Matt. xx. 25) that true greatness in the church comes not by "authority or dominion," but by the humility which makes its possessor the servant of all. Again (Matt. xviii. 4), we are positively forbidden to call our brethren "master" or "lord," such being an invasion of Christ's prerogative; and gifted men in the church are expressly ordered not to allow themselves to be called "rabbi."

Do these men, who now make use of the various ecclesiastical titles, from "most reverend father," through the different grades, down to simply "rev.," ever attach a definite meaning to these texts? And then, too, the monstrous fiction of the "indelibility" of this so-called sacred order. If a man be ordained or set apart, whether in the Episcopalian Church or among the Dissenters, and only stays long enough to prove his thorough incompetency for the *duties* of the office, he thereby secures a right to use the *titles* so long as he shall live; and as editor of a newspaper, teacher of a school, or aught else, parade his "rev." at the foot of his recommendations.

We before adverted to the Apostle Paul's charges to the elders of the church at Ephesus. That as he had followed and strived to imitate his Master in impoverishing himself for the church, they were in like manner not to live *on* but *for* the church, so that they might not be supported by, but support the weak. So, in various other places, he always speaks of the members of the church being in a state of mutual dependence upon, and mutually helpful to each other; not one word about any headship, but that of Christ: "*All ye are members one of another.*"

Further, the style of address made use of by the apostles in their letters show that there could have been no "sacred order" in the primitive church. They are addressed to "the church," or those "called to be saints," or some other general designation, indicative of being sent direct to the whole body of members;—indeed, a mode of address highly insulting to the "bishop," had such an officer, with modern privileges and duties, been in existence. In most cases, the officers were not named at all; and where they are, it is after the general address to the church, and always in the plural number. That Paul, and others, did not direct his letters to the church through them, we take as conclusive that, in addressing the church generally, he addressed them too, that is, they were not *above*, but *in* the church. We had intended to have brought,

from early church history, proof that our view of the case correct, and also evidence of the change wrought in the church by the introduction of the idea of a "sacred order," but lack of space forbids. Let the following suffice:—Tertullian, who lived in the second century, says:—"One is bishop to-day, another, to-morrow; to-day, a deacon, to-morrow, a reader; and he who is now a presbyter, will be to-morrow again a layman;"—showing reprehensible abuse of the power by the church, but also showing there was no idea of the ministry being a distinct order.

Earlier still, A.D. 96, Clement of Rome, in writing to the Corinthian Church, says:—"It were sin to reject those who have faithfully discharged the duties of a bishop." He professes himself willing to do "whatever they command him." This primitive bishop evidently did not consider himself as belonging to "sacred orders." All our great historians bear the same testimony.

Gibbon says:—"Every church was a separate republic. The bishops were only considered the first of their equals." "The progress of ecclesiastical authority gave birth to the memorable distinction of *laity* and *clergy*." Mosheim says:—"Every church consisted of the people and the ministers or deacons. The people were, undoubtedly, the first in authority." "There reigned not only a harmony, but a *perfect equality* amongst the members of the Christian churches." Neander:—"The essence of Christian community rested on this,—that no one individual should be chosen pre-eminent organ of the Holy Spirit, for the guidance of the whole." "Edification by the word was not assigned exclusively to one individual." "Peter and John place themselves in the same class with other teachers of the church, instead of claiming a place above them." "In the early apostolic church all arbitrary and idle distinctions of rank were unknown, and every office was considered simply with reference to the end it should subserve." Quoting Tertullian, he says:—"The Word of God and the sacraments were, by God's grace, communicated to all, and may therefore be communicated by all, as instruments of God's grace." "Travelling preachers of the gospel were warranted in expecting that those, for whose spiritual necessities they laboured, should provide for their bodily wants; but it cannot be inferred from this that the case was the same with regard to the local officers of the church."

But we have quoted enough to show that, in the earlier and purer state of primitive Christianity, there is no trace of it. But there is plenty of evidence to show where it came from. The idea of the Jewish priesthood, coupled with the lust of power, brought forth this sacerdotal notion; and although less odious and arrogant than in times gone by, it is still a pest and a disease, enervating and rendering useless the efforts put forth for the salvation of the world; an insult to the sacred character of God's royal priesthood; and must and will pass away, along with other corruptions introduced in the "dark ages," before the fuller blaze of gospel light, and clearer conception of primitive christian simplicity.

AN ELDER.

## Philosophy.

### ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRE-RAPHAELITE SCHOOL OF PAINTERS CORRECT?

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

"The world being inferior to the soul: by reason whereof there is, agreeable to the spirit of man, a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety, than can be found in the nature of things."—*Bacon*.

OUR position with reference to this question is not so much that of a propounder and advocate of art principles, as that of a defender of principles long established, and all but universally accepted, against the innovation of almost untried and little more than theoretic art dogmas. The Pre-Raphaelite school of painters is a birth of modern times; its disciples are men living in our own day; the productions of its artists have existed but a few years: whereas, on the other hand, the system of art to which this is antagonistic has been the growth of ages; the accumulated experience of centuries has been its inheritance; those heaven-inspired geniuses—the "great masters"—have been its immortal exponents; and the pride of our great picture-galleries are its priceless productions. Now, we do not by any means despise the theory under consideration, because it is an innovation upon a system that has been the development of ages:—we would the rather give it a kindly hearing on account of its youth and want of experience;—but, at the same time, we expect, and it must be admitted that we are not unreasonable in entertaining such expectations, that it shall be able to show some good, unquestionable ground for claiming a hearing; that, asserting as it does its own superiority over the old, time-honoured, long-tested, and so grandly productive system of art, it shall have some powerful reasons, some incontestable facts, some irresistibly logical arguments, in support of its great pretensions. Now such, on examination, will be found to be wanting. There exists no great undiscovered principle of art which it has been the mission of this new school to reveal and illustrate. That which is the pervading doctrine of the system is nothing more or less than the exaggeration into a servile imitativeness of nature, unchecked by discriminating intellectual interpretation, of that affected devotion to nature which has ever been most intense in the greatest painters.

The Pre-Raphaelites claim, as their distinctive peculiarity, the exactitude of their representation of nature; but this is not their peculiarity, so much as an overplus of exactitude, which, by excess, becomes inexact,—if we may be permitted an assertion so paradoxical:—what we mean is this, that their imitation of nature is carried so far as to include what in nature is abnormal, and hence, strictly speaking, unnatural. They not only reproduce all the

minutiae of nature in her healthy and beautiful developments, but with equal fidelity they delineate her defects, and, by so doing, they imagine that they are her faithful pourtrayers; whereas, they are but her libellers, and their productions are too often mere caricatures.

In contradiction to this slavish imitativeness is that ideal interpretation of nature which, without indulging in flights of mere fancy, or hypothetical creation, produces what is alike possible and perfect—what is in accordance with both physical and æsthetical law. Thus guided, have Titian, Michael Angelo, Rubens, Raphael,—all, in fact, of the real art geniuses of the past, as well as the most noteworthy painters of modern time,—laboured. They have been true to nature, without being her slaves: while imitating the real, their pencils have been permitted a due amount of ideal action; the ideal, however, never supplementing nor contravening the real, but rather harmonizing its effects, or multiplying its possible developments. We do not, of course, mean to assert that the great classical painters have always thus allowed imagination to be restrained by a due regard to the conditions of actual possibility. It is rather a notorious fact, that many of their works contain distorted interpretations of the actual. What we insist upon is, that their noblest productions are those in which an abstract but not specific imitation of nature is given,—in which they are true to the real, without being mere literal transcribers of phenomenal occurrence, but rather creators of such idealisms as are consistent with possibilities. It is this principle which we hold to be the only and true principle of art production. All the finest and best paintings are in accordance with it,—their worth being in proportion to such accordance.

The following lines by Bailey, with reference to fiction, are equally applicable to the art of painting. We quote them, as enforcing our remarks:—

“ True fiction hath in it a higher end  
Than fact; it is the possible compared  
With what is merely positive, and gives  
To the conceptive soul an inner world,  
A higher, ampler heaven, than that wherein  
The nations sun themselves.”

Substitute the word painting for fiction, and these lines then express that art-doctrine which, when most thoroughly received and acted upon, has ever led to the most perfect results—to the production of paintings truly ideal, by being ideally true—results which have never been, and never can be achieved, by means of that laboured imitation of things with would-be photographic accuracy, which is the secret, according to Ruskin and his disciples, of the successful attainment of excellence of artistic effect.

If mere copying be art, then will the camera soon supersede the artist's brain and hand. What a glorious era to Pre-Raphaelites must have dawned these past few years! Throughout the land by

thousands are our photographers transferring to their portfolios representations of scenery, life, and action, which, for fidelity of minute delineation, can never be equalled, nay, not even approached, in accuracy, by a Michael Angelo. What chance, indeed, have the works of such painters as he, whose trees are of unrecognizable species, of further enduring celebrity, seeing that now more accurate portraitures of nature can be mechanically elaborated? What hope of success can now animate the possessor of brains, in competition with the possessor of lenses? How futile for genius to attempt to surpass the photographer?

It will be perhaps objected to these remarks, that they do not fairly deal with the subject. Yet we maintain that all this is logical, deducible from the premise afforded by Pre-Raphaelite principles. If true art consists in an unqualified imitation of nature, then that system that most effectually achieves this is the system, *par excellence*, of art production, and the results, so obtained, must necessarily be the noblest works of art. Yet how palpably is this opposed to fact. The greatest paintings are not those in which nature is most strictly imitated, but rather those which, without containing what is impossible in nature, are products, in the truest sense, of poetical imagination—being thoroughly ideal, without being in any wise unreal—the joint result of duly-balanced perception and conception.

Coleridge has truthfully said, that "Painting is a something between a thought and a thing." Without presenting to the spectator either the mythical and fantastic vagaries of thought on the one hand, or on the other the crude and material aspect presented by things, genuine painting takes the happy mean, toning down, by the refining influence of thought, whatever in things may, by harshness or obtrusive self-assertion, offend; inspiring matter with a certain vitality, by the active force of mind; by the divinity of idea, giving to mere fact a moral purpose, otherwise latent and undeveloped; and so effectuating far higher and nobler ends than could by any possibility reward the efforts of either imagination or imitation, working singly, and unaided by each other's influence.

"Like perfect music unto noble words,"

does imagination harmonize itself to material existence. However much words of themselves may be intrinsically melodious, whatever special excellence their relative arrangement may have, whatever adaptability to a designed purpose is theirs, whatever may be the truth or beauty of the thought they embody,—there yet remains a phase of charm which musical utterance gives—a new presentation, which in no way interferes with any of the existing specialities, but the rather makes each more prominent, at the same time preventing their obtrusiveness by the addition of a before unrealized attractiveness. Thus, too, it is in the representation of the natural phenomena which surround us: a similar relationship subsists between matter and mind. All nature abounds at times with vivid



beauty, From the contour and tint of one of Eve's daughters to the microscopic feathery down of a moth's wing—from the grand and towering forest tree to the minute moss—from the foaming billows of old ocean to the trickling silver thread of a purling streamlet—from the many-varied and ever-shifting clouds to the calm repose of the tranquil landscape—subjects ever new and ever different may be selected, which, faithfully copied, will yield pictures of rare beauty and excellence;—and yet there remains untried another phase by which that beauty and excellence may increase manifold. Let their utterance be not that of a mere mechanical reproduction, but let mind—that noblest of all God's works—exercise imagination—that noblest of all mental endowments—and guide by its superior agency the imitating pencil,—then will all the beauties and excellencies of nature shine forth on the glowing canvas, more beauteous and more excellent, the specialities neither totally merged into common loveliness, nor isolated into individual distinctiveness, but harmonized and intensified into a perfect and concordant whole. Like the new charm which words acquire, when musically uttered, is that gained in painting by the agency of imagination.

Painters are pencil poets. Without poetry, their efforts, however true to fact, have no just claim to the rank of paintings. They lack the very essential of art. Painters must be poets, and, like poets, they must possess by birth the poetical faculty. No amount of practice at the mechanical elaboration of copies will ever produce in the ungifted the spirit of poesy. Seeing that such is the case, how can the principles of that school of painters be correct, which bases its labours upon the assumption that the truest art is that of the best copyist? The principles of the Pre-Raphaelites seem to us so absurd and unreasonable, that we await with some curiosity the arguments that its supporters will bring forward in this debate. Our remarks have been confined to one aspect of the question, but that which, in our opinion, is the vital point of the doctrine under discussion. We feel confident that the candid reader will agree with us in deeming the principles of the Pre-Raphaelite school of painters to be incorrect.

E. M., JUN.

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The sense of our ignorance, or at least of our limited knowledge, may be itself a preservative against scepticism; for it should teach us to confine our conclusions within the limits of that knowledge; and to make the evidence that we can comprehend the ground of our belief of what we cannot.—*W. Danby.*

There are some conclusions that solve everything without explaining anything. Such is our reference to supreme will and power, to supply our want of efficient causes, and our inability to reconcile apparent contrarieties.—*Ibid.*

## Politics.

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### IS THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN ITS EXISTENCE AND OPERATIONS, BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—III.

OUR country is, in its requirements as in its antecedents, peculiarly separate from other countries; therefore, we cannot fairly reason by comparison. Commerce has been and is distinctively in the hands of the people, and commerce has been and is the heart and soul of our international prosperity. The devotees of one god cannot be the priests of another; and the people of England, deep in commercial pursuits, cannot painstakingly develop and foster political law. A legislative body, therefore, is a necessity; and of a necessity, too, must that body be, to a great extent, above the chance of revolution. Therefore have we a House of Peers, which acts as the conservator and guardian of our national politics. Removed from the tumult and constant mutation of the Commons, it is, and always has been, the haven of our political principles. Therefore, in its *existence*, it is beneficial to our country, as a city of refuge is a benefit to the falsely accused, or a fortress a benefit to a beleaguered army.

The people of England in the aggregate,—we speak honestly, and from unbiased observation,—are not acute, not even reasoning politicians; but are the easily blindfolded followers of either political clowns or political sages—the sage and the clown changing places, in the people's judgment, as measures sweetly delusive or honestly offensive are proposed or carried. Our voters are readily cajoled into capricious extremes. To-day the people hate, and to-morrow love, a Peel; to-day bless, and to-morrow will not bless—a jaunty Palmerston. They vote a true man or a hypocrite to Parliament, giving preference always to the one who would undertake to “make a coat to fit the moon in all her changes.”

Such being the case, is it not advisable that true men, lovers of their country—clever, eloquent, manly—should be, as opportunity offers, removed from the chance of displacement by the whim of a constituency, and elevated to a seat of dignity and authority in the councils of the State? Such are our recent elevations to the Peerage, whatever in a corrupt age may *have been* the case. Our opponents should not harp on the one string of “favouritism,” and aver that the House of Lords is a house of inadequates. Many men are now in the House who have got there by hard work. Such a mode is becoming *the* one by which peerages, as well as all other honours, shall only be attainable. In its judicial character, as fairly shown by B. S., the House of Lords is of inestimable value to the country.

In its attachment to, almost assimilation with, the Crown, it is the mainstay of our system of monarchy—a system unassailable, and altogether upraised above malice and reproach. In its integrity, removed by wealth, education, and a high sense of honour, above the taint of corruption, it is, on the whole, an example to the nation of manliness and of truth. Is it possible, then, that a body of men whose existence is not in any way detrimental to private interest, and whose operations are acknowledged to be necessary, can be voted by thinking, reasoning, honest men, an evil to their country?

It is curious to observe how men, who study the nature of politics, necessarily change their belief as their knowledge increases. Young men are generally rabid Democrats; gradually, as they become awake to the actual in life, they grow tolerant; and by-and-bye we see them, ripe in years and in judgment, advocates of liberty *as a science*, not as a dream.

True liberty consists in obedience—not obedience to tyrants, but to MEN;—and for men of position, intellect, and wealth to have a voice in swaying the desires of the multitude, is nothing but honourable and just.

It seems very like fox and grapes style for “Brutus” to talk of what the Lords *have*—salaries, honours, emoluments. Such railery is as far from argument as is often declamation from truth. “Brutus” does not reason, but declaims against R. R., who has reasoned, and reasoned well. “Brutus” defeats himself. He says, “Nearly half the members of the Commons are the nominees or relatives of the Lords. In the counties the voter never dreams of exercising his judgment in opposition to his landlord.” Enough! If our Lower House holds men who have been criminally allowed *by the people* to enter that House—if Esau thus, for the sake of a good farm or a five-pound note, sells his birthright, then let us away from confiding wholly in such people or their sham representatives, and let us look up to an assembly, met, not after passionate struggle, or low, bending, hypocritical submission, but met in the conscious pride of independence and integrity.

Cicero says, that of all madmen they are the maddest, who, in a free state, so conduct themselves as to be feared. The Lords do not bend to the whims of our momentary passions. They have acted latterly with much decision, but with much coolness and business-like method. On the other hand, the people force their representatives in the Commons into accordance with their not unfrequently irrational desires. The Commons fear the people, and are fooled by the people. Who can deny this? It is, therefore, doubly necessary that there should both exist and act an assembly above influence, above fear, and above suspicion.

L'Ouvrier, in his halfway arguments against the Lords, does nothing more than give us the cream of our good friend John Bright's arguments, imitated in chalk and water. How it would be possible to have an Upper House on different principles and of a different status to our House of Lords, is evident, doubtless, to him,

but not at all patent to us. He speaks of the fetters which, in our present system, destroy the efficiency of King, Lords, and Commons. What are the fetters? and what is the good of which we are deprived? America is the only parallel which *can* be placed beside us, and its constitution is feverish; instance its triennial madness. What system, then, can be laid down as *better* than our present one? None has as yet been propounded; and until some such system has been proved, as well as theorized, our conclusion must be, that that part of the whole, known as the House of Lords, is, both in its existence and operations, beneficial to the country.

IONA.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—III.

WITH pleasure we resume our task; the more so, because in these pages the virulence of party spirit has no place. It is a conflict of opinion, without bitterness, in which we by different processes seek the best form of truth and justice.

Although our thesis assumes a direct opposition to the *statu quo*, we are anxious not to be misunderstood, for nothing can be further from our intention than to advocate such violent changes as should result in anarchy and revolution; but rather to assist in the further development of the fundamental principle of our glorious constitution,—its inherent power of progressive development towards perfection. The student of English history will not fail to have observed this phase of our political existence, running, like a silver thread of beauty, through all the life-facts of our fatherland.

The historic page presents a constant conflict between progressive liberty, conservatism, and retrogression towards absolutism. It is not to our present purpose we should determine what proportions of our political organization have been derived to us from the various stocks which have formed the great English nation of to-day; it is sufficient for us to know that from the Saxon Witenagemot, the Michel Synod, the great council of the Norman monarchs, and from the cabinet councils of modern times, combined with the Lords and Commons,—all in their legitimate action prove that all constituted authorities legislate and rule by and for the great body of the people, who are emphatically designated, *the sovereign people*. Than this, no fact or principle, whether considered as a matter of history, or a question of philosophy, is more palpably prominent to the inquirer in the regions of politics. In the Witenagemot, the people were called to give advice, and pecuniary and military assistance to their chief executive; in the Michel Synod, the landed proprietors were called to render the same services for themselves, their neighbours, and their servants, clearly establishing the principle of representation. The great council of the Norman kings still further led forth this principle of representation, distinctly calling, by name and by choice, great and good men to advise and help the king. The existence of the courts for the county, the hundred, and the tything, exhibit this principle most emphatically.

It was not long ere the ability of all men called or appointed to this royal council, weakened by intestine struggles and improvidence, became less competent to bear the charges incumbent upon those attending the court and council; hence the representatives and the represented were frequently found praying to be released from what to them, in those impoverished times, was a great burden. A matter of no small importance this, as showing a turning point in the principle upon which subsequent organizations of the council of the king were formed. By these means, the great and wealthy proprietors were called and appeared in the councils for themselves, and the less wealthy proprietors of land appeared by representation, being chosen by their counties, their burghs and corporate bodies empowered by charter to advise the king. Such, then, is the outline of those circumstances by which two separate houses were formed into one parliament, constituting the great council of the royal power,—ruling so happily the greatest empire which this fair earth has ever witnessed upon her thronged surface. Space permits not our entering upon the details of all these circumstances; we therefore refer the student for fuller detail, and the most exact information, to the following works:—Creasy, “On the Constitution;” Brougham’s “Political Philosophy;” Lieber’s “Civil Liberty and Self-Government;” Hallam’s “Constitutional History;” Palgrave’s “English Commonwealth;” Guizot’s “History of Representative Government;” and Constant’s “Cours de Politique Constitutionnelle.”

From the foregoing remarks, it will be apparent that to return to a representative House of Lords would only be a return to the original on which it has been founded; would be conservatism of the truest, most perfect type, as it would tend to give all the power of governing all; to give all a voice in making the laws by which all are governed; and, further, would most justly and in reality give to all a power in the judicial capacity of the House of Lords, with the least possible inconvenience to the administration of equal justice to all the integral portions of this commonwealth, and thereby ensuring that great principle of Magna Charta, “that justice shall neither be bought nor sold,” being more uprightly and truthfully carried out in its integrity.

Exception cannot be taken to this on the ground that the House of Lords has enjoyed the hereditary privilege to legislate and exercise the highest legal power through so many ages, that it would be inflicting a wrong on them now to take this power from that House; because we should reply, we do not advocate any change in the functions of the House of Lords, but simply question its existence, as at present constituted, by wishing its constitution to be more accordant with its original intention, and present requirements, *viz.*—that it should be representative of the people; and, in the second place, we should reply,—The House of Lords, as at present constituted, has no claim to ancient rights and privileges in this sense, since about four-fifths of its present members

are *parvenus* of the last century and a half, and only a few solitary cases can be dated back further than the great Revolution of 1688. We thus object to the existence of the House of Lords, because it is hereditary, which is contrary to its original constitution, and to the present requirements of the nation.

The operations of the House of Lords are to be considered as a present fact. Great honour is doubtless due to those great men of past times who, in their struggles to preserve their own freedom, and perpetuate their own power in the State, have of necessity done much to ameliorate the condition, both civil and religious, of their humbler fellows,—the back-bone and sinews of the State. Two facts tend materially to make the present House of Lords injurious in its operations. First,—it is hereditary; second,—its members are so far removed by their wealth above and beyond their fellow-countrymen, that they are naturally and necessarily incompetent to comprehend and feel the wants and necessities of the great bulk of the people. Hence their legislation and judicial action is of necessity contrary to the well-being of the community; self, not the common good of all, being their dominant motive to action. We do not assign these remarks as applicable to any *single individual* in the Upper House, but affirm the principle as true of the system by which the House is constituted. Facts are not wanting in illustration of this, *e. g.*—the Reform Bill of 1832; the Paper Duty, of recent date; and many others, familiar to every reader of history.

With R. R., we agree that two houses differently constituted, and a royal executive having a voice in the legislative power of the State, have proved, under the happy circumstances of national existence, the best form of government this earth has seen,—the best form, as conducing to the greatest amount of liberty to the subject, with the greatest amount of security to property. Although we give a great share of the honour to our admirable constitution, as producing these beneficial results, we are far from considering this as the sole cause of all our happiness and prosperity. Doubtless much of this success is to be attributed to the climate of the country, to the temperament of the people, to their origin, to the mixture of so many and so various races, so intimately interwoven in every home and family.

If we do convince the readers of the *British Controversialist* that our proposition is true, we do not necessarily prove that an aristocracy is not beneficial to the country, as R. R. would have us believe. Indeed we do not see the propriety of his remarks on this point at all, nor their applicability to the point at issue; for if we prove that A and B are equal, and admit that X and Y are equal also, we do not prove that A and X are equal, or that B and Y are the same thing. Thus an aristocracy may be beneficial to the country, and yet have no special place or power in the legislative functions of the State. Again, an hereditary legislature may exist, and yet be separate and distinct from the aristocracy. Still further, a wealthy aristocracy may be, *per se*, beneficial to the country, but

such an aristocracy may have legislative functions, and yet it may perform those functions uniformly to the injury of the country; the ideas and subjects, for which these terms stand, are separate and distinct; therefore either may exist without the other, there being no natural or necessary connection between the one and the other.

The progressive extension of the suffrage for the election of members to the House of Commons is held by R. B. to be a valid argument in favour of the House of Lords. On the contrary, we contend that the progressive extension of the present system of electoral franchise will, of necessity, produce such a system of antagonism amongst all classes, if the House of Lords is continued in its present condition and operations, as must, of necessity, cause the utter annihilation of the House of Lords; because the conservatism of that House has become perfect obstructiveness, and of necessity alienates the friends of order and progressive liberty; this ultimately assumes the shape of popular antagonism, which, at its culminating point, is irresistible for evil, sweeping away, as with an overwhelming torrent, the obstruction to its progress, and, mayhap, therewith many time-honoured and much-loved institutions of our fatherland.

True conservatism is timely reformation, and adaptation of things to suit the progressing condition of mental, moral, and material civilization in the commonwealth.

That conservatism which is ironbound to class and self, is fettered with the millstone about its neck, and is cast into the sea of anarchy and revolution, surely and certainly as the fates. Bourbonistic conservatism is the type, a revolutionized Italy is the result; let those who would lose by such a result read the page of current history now unfolding, aright, and discharge those duties their high station imposes upon them, in the light of God's truth and of God's providential dealings with the nations of the earth. Timely concessions in favour of liberty confer happiness upon all, and consolidate the security of all; but liberty withheld, right and justice refused, place thorns in the coronet of aristocracy, and diffuse misery and death among the myriads of *proletaires*.

The peerage, as a means by which royalty confers honour upon the meritorious, is not of necessity connected with the legislative and judicial functions of the House of Peers. A peer is a peer without legislative and judicial functions as well as with them; and this is recognised in the existence of those Irish and Scotch peers who have no seat in the legislature; therefore the honour is equally great, independent of the legislative and judicial duties of the House itself.

The existence of prelatical peers is an anomaly in our legislature, which we could scarcely expect to be extenuated in these pages; but it seems R. B. has temerity equal even to that. What possible connection a christian minister, in his clerical character, can have with the hereditary legislation of this or any other country, we cannot conceive. The duty of the christian minister is to convert

souls, and establish them in their faith; but that they should, *ex officio*, be members of the hereditary legislature, is a remnant of the dark ages of intolerance, bigotry, and persecution, when men believed, prayed, and praised God according to the *dictum* of the law, in fear of the dungeon and the faggot. This certainly is one of the dark spots upon the Christianity of the nineteenth century. May we hope that His law may be more truly learned and acted upon by us in the future, and may that impressive declaration of His sink deep into all our hearts, "My kingdom is not of this world."

We would inform R. R. that we are not opposed to aristocratic societies, nor to a House of Peers; but to the existence and operations of the present House of Peers, as now constituted. He confuses all possible combinations of aristocratic societies and Houses of Peers with the present one. We can conceive of a possible House of Peers, representing the property and education of the country, with some approximation to perfection; and we believe this to be possible only by means of election. Commoners should, as now, be eligible for election to the House of Commons; but Peers only should be eligible for election to the House of Lords. Thus the honour of the aristocracy would be intact, and only the best be chosen to legislate and judge; while those popularly designated "imbeciles," "incurables," "obstructives," would be pursuing their various hobbies, perhaps in a harmless manner, in some secluded spot, remarkable for the wealth of its owner, rather than for the heavy charges it is called upon to sustain while maintaining him at a distance, discharging the onerous duties of the House of Incurables.

Our space forbids we should expose the frivolities and fallacies of B. S. on the present occasion; we therefore reserve the castigation he so justly merits until our reply at the close of this debate. Meanwhile, we trust he will make good use of the grace afforded him, and repent of all his sins, both of omission and commission too; remembering, friend B. S., that

"Thou mayst repent,  
And one bad act, by many deeds well done,  
Mayst cover."

L'OUVRIER.

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## Social Economy.

UGHT THE EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN AGRICULTURAL, MANUFACTURING, AND COMMERCIAL PURSUITS, TO BE ENCOURAGED?

AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—III.

MR. EDITOR,—Although, as a female, I am not accustomed to argue in these pages with those specimens of humanity calling  
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themselves men, who have adopted the opposite side of this question, I may claim, from your known impartiality, an indulgent hearing, while pleading for the "softer sex," their ability, their independence, and their dignity.

Those who have that unmanliness, that pettiness of nature, to wish women excluded from the many sources of employment fitted to her nature and capabilities, should be banished, to enjoy their propensity for bachelorhood in some uninhabited island, or be doomed to be buried alive in some dreary hermitage, far away from the civilizing influences of female society. The kindness of your heart, and the many courtesies manifested towards the ladies through the pages of this Serial, incline me to believe that you will look with favour upon the affirmative of this question, if your inflexible sense of justice will not allow you to become an advocate of our cause while it is under debate. I will put the matter to you, sir, seriously, as a married gentleman, one, of course, who loves womankind, and actively favours every means of raising, ennobling, and beautifying the fair flowers of humanity.—do you not think it is necessary that a commission of lunacy should sit upon the negative writers on this question? They may possess *corpore sano*, but they are certainly deficient in *mens sana*; the former they certainly have derived from their mothers' care; the latter being a matter of personal culture, there is no wonder they are deficient in that quality.

Dear me! I can scarcely conceive it possible that anything calling itself a man could ever think it gallant or valiant to crush the fragile form of woman, blight her hopes, or deprive her of any source of honest toil—of independent labour. But the many conceited walking tailors' dummies one meets with in every crowded city, most likely, would be mean enough for anything now-a-days. It is a pity they don't know what we women think of them; they would not strut with so much pride and vain-glory if they did. Well, it is to be hoped they may grow wiser as they grow older. There is surely plenty of room for it.

You will please understand, sir, I am not one of those who are sneeringly called "strong-minded women;" but I am one of those who can look a question of social life calmly in the face in a common sense way. I would not wish women to occupy the place nature designed for man. I am no Amazon; the senate, the bar, the army, and the church are not fit and proper places for a female to be employed in; but watchmaking, engraving, art-painting, writing, both in law and in commerce, composing type, making jewellery, in most of its branches, fine art manufactures generally, and the thousand and one light employments and trades necessary to the highly artificial society in which we live, are all more suitable to the delicacy, taste, and finer skill of the female, than the rough boorishness of the masculine community. Who will for one moment say that the use of the needle is proper employment for man? the *man milliner* should be a memory of the past, not a fact

of to-day. As far as I can understand, few have the temerity to argue that this class of trades is suitable to men; but men being educated to them, and so much and so many dependent upon their labour, great difficulty is necessarily presented to any one innovating upon the established order of things. Vested interests are constant difficulties to be met with in the progress of social reformers.

Oh! how possible it is for the great to fall. Only to think that "L'Ouvrier," that old friend and defender of the ladies, to whom we have looked with confidence many years, from habit, as our natural advocate and pleader in all social questions,—that he should forsake us, and make common cause with the weak, the vain, and the frivolous of his sex, in their attempts to deprive us of rights and to degrade us! Well, there is no trusting man at all; at least, woman can find no constancy equal to her own among masculine natures. The poetical allusions of "L'Ouvrier" to the peculiar importance of this question, and to the many virtues of the female character; as exhibited in her daily walk and conversation, are just what we could expect from our old friend. And so far we think him to be himself, to be giving free expression to his own feelings; but a change comes over the spirit of the dream, and he adroitly slips into the track of our adversaries. He says: "Trade employments for females are fraught with many evils of a serious nature." True; and so is life; but we do not, therefore, say that females should be deprived of life. Such a course would extirpate the entire species; but is a no less clear logical conclusion, sir, in the one case than in the other. If an evil exists, must we commit another evil? or correct the evil complained of, by removing the evil itself, not by committing another evil in addition thereto?

That females are employed at too early an age, and are too much exhausted, physically and mentally, by the labours to which they are now applied, is a truth undoubtedly; but here "L'Ouvrier" falls into the same error again. I would reply, Correct the evil by removing it; do not annihilate the good with which it is associated, and which is abused by the very presence of that evil being associated with it. It is a mere obliquity of mental vision to confound the good with the evil, and banish both together, while it is possible to separate them, and retain the good. Social life of necessity aggregates numbers of both sexes together; but we should not destroy social life, with all its comforts, conveniences, and advantages, because human depravity distils moral poisons where only mutual help, joy, and happiness, are designed by an all-wise Providence. The love of dress, pride of self, sinful pleasures, and man's flattery, are not only found to affect the poor artisan female, but equally apply to every position in which the feebler sex is found; therefore, that cannot be a valid reason for objecting to the employment of females in commercial labour.

Then "L'Ouvrier's" application of the pet principle of political economy—the supply and the demand theory—to this case just amounts to nothing. If there was no demand for female labour,

the supply would be directed into other channels by a necessity of nature, since all must live; and if one means of earning a livelihood failed, another must be sought; and if men were really displaced by women in any field of labour, and more profitable employment could not be found by the men elsewhere, then men and women would of necessity compete with each other in the same field of labour, and the race would be to the strongest, while the weak would go to the wall; and you know, sir, who would be the sufferers in such a contest.

"A Factory Clerk" very wisely introduces his remarks by a practical application of the logic of exclusion, by which he cuts off the agricultural and commercial phases of this question, and narrows his ground of debate to the phase presented by its manufacturing relations.

I would agree with him that female employment in manufactures should not be preferred to male employment as a rule, for domestic duties are her special vocation;\* but this is a fair admission, on his

\* With reference to the discharge of domestic duties by young females, and their proper home education for such duties, I cannot do better than append a few extracts from the experience of Miss Martineau. She formed a school, four years ago, at Norwich, for the education of young females upon a wise plan, to fit them for the duties which their station in life devolved upon them. With what success her efforts were crowned, we shall see from her own words: "She had heard it said that the girls of the present day were over-educated, and rendered unfit or unwilling, on leaving school, to perform the every-day duties of home, and also that the race of good servants was becoming extinct. Her object was not, however, to form a training school for servants, but to give the opportunity for gaining a good education, 'with the addition of plain sewing, mending, and cutting out; and also (what every mother was made to understand when putting her child to school) such practical acquaintance with housework, that every girl might know how a house should be kept, and should acquire habits which would hereafter make all the difference between a tidy and happy home or the reverse.' Here was the very thing the mothers of poor families say they want; and as every sensible person, whatever their condition may be, knows is really required. Society does not want fancy work, nor crinolining, nor hairdressing, nor penny romance reading, nor flirting, but a knowledge of home duties, in the children of the poor. Miss Martineau most wisely and generously endeavoured to impart that knowledge in her school. And now, sir, your readers shall hear what this worthy lady tells of her experience. "I was not prepared to find," she says, "that the class of parents I had to do with would apparently accept the education, but make every excuse to evade the industrial work, or keep their daughters away when it was to be done, and threaten to remove them if the household duties were required of them. In corroboration of this latter fact, I may observe that twenty-three girls have been taken away from the school expressly because they would not do the household work. This practice has now gone to such a length, that my object has been defeated. I have therefore determined to close the school. Whether," continues Miss Martineau, "in the present day the girls are allowed to determine for themselves what they shall or shall not do, or whether the parents are too proud to recognize such industrial work as a duty belonging to their children, it is not for me to decide. I can only act upon the result. I repeat, I should willingly have

part, that it is right she should be employed so under some circumstances. This is the utmost I would contend for; and I am sure all sober thinkers entertain the same opinion with myself—woman was made as a “helpmeet for man” not as his dependent, his slave.

That the pecuniary inducement to send children, whether boys or girls, to work at too early an age operates against the proper education of such children is an evil, I admit; but the evil is possible to be corrected without depriving females of an honest source of income. The same line of argument would also apply to the males. It is, by this line of argument, an evil to employ men in manufactures, because they are sent too young to their labour, in order that their parents may derive additional comforts from the “ninepence or shilling” per week their boy may earn by his labour. There is a homely saying in our country, “What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander;” but in “A Factory Clerk’s” locality, may be, feathered geese are so few that he cannot see or feel the force of such an apophthegm; but you, sir, being, as all editors are, ubiquitous, know all these things most familiarly.

Then as to the tendency to be free from restraint, induced by the feeling of independence, and all the consequent evils. All these are evils in the social system, and result from the imperfect moral education of the female, not from the employment itself. Now, I would ask “A Factory Clerk” what there is, in any or all of the duties devolving upon a female in the factory with which he is associated, to unfit her for cooking her husband’s food, washing his linen, and making his home comfortable, if she has received a proper measure of home education, and is not allured by her male associates to go beyond the bounds of decorum in her intercourse with the world? Of course, no woman will argue—at least, I shall not—that married women ought to be employed in trade labour of any kind; because every man is bound to provide a home and due sustenance, with a fair prospect of its continuance, before he undertakes the responsibilities of a husband: thus you will perceive I push “A Factory Clerk’s” logic of exclusion a step further than he does, and narrow the question to unmarried females. And, in con-

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continued the plan, had I not met with discouragement and opposition from the parents. I wished also to have given some practical lessons in cooking and domestic economy, and offered three dinners a week for 10d., but was told the parents could not afford this, their small share of the cost of food. Had the amount spent on crinoline, crochet, or fancy work been thus applied, a lasting benefit would have resulted. I still look with pleasure on some bright exceptions to the general failure, and can only sincerely hope that the lessons received will be remembered.” I feel assured in my own mind, sir, that the evils resulting to society from the unwise repugnance to domestic duties, both by mothers and daughters, in the education of the daughters themselves, and the foolish preference made by both for commercial labour, that the daughters may indulge in finery, and bring more money home to their parents, are far greater than from every other source connected with our social system.—D. M.

clusion, I would say, that with a proper home education, moral, intellectual, and physical—with a due measure of labour, both as to quantity, time, and intensity—female employment is a benefit to the individual, an advantage to commerce, and promotes the national welfare; and that it is the duty of every right-minded man and woman to do their duty, by encouraging it for good, and restraining the evils which false views, false education, bad habits, and sinful propensities have added to the good all the sons and daughters of our native land have derived from it.

I hope, Mr. Editor, you will kindly excuse my incoherence in these too lengthy remarks, and attribute my errors to my over-zeal, not to a deficiency of feeling for my fellow-workers, nor to any disrespect for those good-hearted men who wish the fair sex well, but have such a rough way of showing it, that their love can scarcely be distinguished from hatred. I only wish they could see a true picture of themselves from the female point of view; I am sure they would never need to be asked to alter their mode of manifesting their love by

DINAH MORRIS.

*Snowfields.*

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—III.

THE question on which we are invited to give an opinion must have a special interest to all our readers. As a social question, every member of society will be anxious to see it fairly and truthfully discussed; and, doubtless, some additional zest will be given to the writers, *pro and con.*, from a feeling that the persons most deeply concerned are watching the tournament with anxious interest.

There is very much to be said on both sides of this question; but when all is said, I have a confident hope that, on careful consideration, ours will be pronounced the side on which the truth will be found. Our leader has been accused of narrowing the limits of the question by confining his attention principally to *married women*; whereupon his accuser refers only to the larger mass of females who are found "between the door of the school-house and the hymeneal altar of the church," and narrows the limits of our question in another direction. We cannot think, as our opponents seem to do, that there is no difference between the powers of the sexes, and that God meant "the weaker vessel" (as Scripture terms woman) to buffet with every commercial storm, and successfully cope with any stratagem and trick in business.

From the first step in civilization, woman has been looked upon as the more delicate being, and has consequently been treated, in all countries where civilization has made any progress, with marked consideration and attention. If our opponents will grant to us what has ever been considered an axiom, *viz.*, that woman is "the weaker vessel," we can go on to affirm that it is improper for women to enter into competition with the stronger sex for employment, which the stronger sex can do better than they. The eloquence of the gentlemen on the affirmative side has failed in its desired effect,

for we consider those women who have excelled in the arts of government and war, to be what history has considered them—exceptions, not to custom only, but even to *nature*.

The two occupations in which most young females at present employ themselves are the educational and the dressmaking businesses,—both notorious for hard work and poor pay. Why the position of governess should be held in such contempt, we cannot understand. What right has a parent to treat that person with indifference or scorn, to whom he entrusts the education of his own children? Our leader is further accused of inconsistency of reasoning, because he does not advocate the closing of all, except home occupations, against woman. “*L’Ouvrier*,” although he has not expressed himself so, doubtless sees the difference between the powers of both sexes, and knows that *some* employments are suitable for females, and others are *not*. The business wherein young men are seen measuring tape, and counting buttons, is one which we would advocate for females. We see no reason, however, for accusing “drapers’ assistants” of “prostituting the powers of their minds and intellects,” or of sitting down “lazily” to their career. Could every young man choose for himself, doubtless very few would run to the counter for employment; but as long as we are so much the creatures of circumstances, so long will our opponents’ feelings be disgusted by seeing a strong arm measuring tape and selling calico.

We are advised to place young women in printing offices, counting houses, railway offices, and telegraph offices. There must be bounds set somewhere, or else, were the principle of the affirmative side to be carried out, we should have our young women driving us about in Hansom cabs; and the conductor’s step on an omnibus would be mounted by a young woman. How well a young woman would look, and how comfortable she must feel, in a printing office, surrounded with “pigs” and “devils!” What a nice position for a young woman to be in, at a railway office (“in which affability of manners, and smartness of action, are essential”), where she is liable to be winked at knowingly, or stared at lasciviously, by any mustachioed bravado, or whiskerless swell, who chose to do so!

It is said that heads of mercantile establishments “could look after the interests, wants, and proceedings” of the females in their employ, if female labour were more generally encouraged. We do not think they could. And what would there be in the occupation of females that could enable masters to be so attentive? Do *young men* require no regard for their “interests, wants, and proceedings” in the city of cities? Such a recommendation shows that females are the weaker; that they require more care, &c.; and half our point is therefore gained. They ought not to be exposed to those temptations and contaminations, which are so hard to be withstood.

And what are our females to do in agriculture? It would scarcely be right to make them follow the plough, or tread a hay-stack. Yet this is the principle of our opponents:—our women

ought to be at liberty to compete with men. There are certain branches of agriculture in which women, married and single, *are* employed. Here are some of the effects:—In one agricultural part, the mothers, who have to go to their work, give their children laudanum to make them sleep till they return! In agricultural districts generally, the children do not finish their education; the girls mingle in the fields with boys, and immoralities are learnt when the depraved heart is most susceptible to impressions. The promiscuous mingling of the sexes is hurtful to the moral tone of society at large. On this point we are permitted to quote the testimony of an intelligent and thoughtful correspondent, who says:—

“Instances are numerous in which girls are at the age of nine years sent into the fields to weed, gather stones, and drop the seed into the ground. This assertion I can substantiate by facts in my own neighbourhood. At the above-mentioned employments many girls remain until they either marry (which many do at the age of seventeen or eighteen), or fall into flagrant sin. They are thus withdrawn from domestic service, in which they would be fitted for their future position, to follow employments on which numerous evils are attendant.

“These evils are apparent. Even X. Y. Z., in his affirmative article on the subject, admits them. He says, ‘Let efforts be made to destroy the noxious influences connected with the employment of great numbers of both sexes together.’ He here admits that the employment of great numbers of both sexes together has noxious influences. Truly, it has. A slight amount of observation is sufficient to show this. The persons employed are, for the most part, those whose minds are the least cultivated and refined, and who are the most open to the influences referred to. A great door of temptation is open. Lewd and obscene conversation works on the corrupt principles of the human heart, and leads, in numerous cases, to lewd practices. When these lewd practices have become manifested by incontrovertible evidence, it is plain that, in the majority of instances, a degree of shamelessness is arrived at concerning the commission of a certain sin which is truly lamentable. Even where this degree of guilt is not reached, loose habits are generally formed, so that woman, instead of being the ornament of her race, becomes its disgrace.

“The following extract from that able historian, Alison, is worthy of the attention of the British public:—‘If the purity of domestic manners be, as it undoubtedly is, the great source both of public grandeur and private happiness, a powerful antidote to the numerous evils by which they are oppressed has in every age been found from this cause in the East. Notwithstanding the immense advantages which Europe has long enjoyed from the energy of its character, the freedom of its institutions, and the superiority of its knowledge, it may be doubted whether the sacred fountain of domestic life has been preserved so pure among the poor and needy of its crowded kingdoms, as in the seclusion of the East.

The unrestrained social intercourse of the sexes; the incessant activity which prevails; the close proximity in which the poor men and women in great cities are accumulated together; the general licence of manners which has flowed from the liberty that prevails, and the passion for ardent spirits which is so common among the working classes, have produced a far greater degree of general vice and misery in Europe than has ever obtained, at least among the middle and lower ranks, in the East.

"The enormous mass of female profligacy which overspreads all our great towns is there almost unknown. From the seclusion of the harem have, in the middle classes, flowed purer manners and a more elevated character than has resulted from the constant intermixture of the sexes, and the vehement passions to which it gives rise."

"Again, by the employment of females in the manner which we oppose, the male sex is thrown out of employment for which it is better fitted. And what is one great inducement to employ female labour? Undoubtedly its cheapness. In the cases which I have referred to, in my own neighbourhood, the girls are paid fivepence and sixpence per day; while in the neighbourhood of Ely, what is called the gang system is largely adopted. A man, called a ganger, has under him thirty or forty boys, girls, and women, the boys and girls being of all ages between twelve and twenty. These go to their labour in company; they weed together; they return home together. They receive fourpence per day for their work. The system is on the increase, and its effects are most demoralizing and injurious, both individually and nationally."

We would here conjure up the ghost of that argument used by "old stagers," and make it serve a purpose. Railway travelling, steam, and telegraphs were quite new to every one; and it is not to be wondered at, if people could not see the advantages to be derived from the novelties. Steam-engines were meant to supersede manual labour; no wonder, then, if mechanics and labourers feared for their livelihood. But by increasing the number of females in business of any kind the number of men employed must be fewer, since female workmanship is performed by manual labour, and not, as in the case of steam inventions, by a superior power. It is easy to sit down and write, "If experience is worth anything, then it would teach us that if the employment of females, in some positions now filled by young men, would tend to deprive those men of occupation in that particular line, they are freed for other and perchance more useful labours elsewhere." Perchance, indeed! Is not the market of young men, open to any employment, already full to overflowing? In every trade, business, or profession, are there not hundreds who apply for a vacant situation, when they know of it? And yet we have gentlemen who advocate the sending out of more candidates still.

We think we have left untouched that which we look upon as the chief argument in our favour, viz., the market, the exchange, the



office, and the counting-house are not such proper spheres for the exercise of woman's softer powers as a home, a sick bed, and a cradle are. The employment of woman in business ought to be discouraged, because she can have no idea of how to manage a home, when she has spent the most susceptible period of her life among strangers, and scenes of bustling excitement. We do not think that "when marriage has withdrawn such young women from their employments, and placed them in the homes of their husbands," instinct will teach them the proper ingredients of cakes and puddings; nor will any innate faculty dictate to their bewildered brain when a slow fire should be used, or when a quick one! These things and others must be learned in the home circle, under the paternal roof, or else an uncomfortable home will be the result. We further think that no man of the middle and lower classes, in his proper senses, will wish to marry a woman who has never received a woman's education; nor is it possible that the insane idea will become popular of a young woman, spending a couple of years in a printing or telegraph office, afterwards making a model wife.

It may be the dictates of custom—it may be the teachings of Scripture—it may be the lesson of ancient teachers—it may be the sentiment of modern writers—it may be our instinct,—but from whatever source it comes, we have an unconquerable aversion to seeing women mixing promiscuously with men in the pursuits of commerce, manufactures, or agriculture. It has an evil influence on the morals of both sexes; it unfits woman for carrying out her great business of life; it will increase that lack of employment for men which already exists.

There must be exceptions to our rule, for some females have no home where to learn their duties; for these there is but one way open, viz., to adopt a calling in which only women are employed. May the day be yet far distant when mothers, sisters, and wives have to meet the angry clashings of an unfeeling world, and to brave the storms of commercial parasites.

BETA.

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## The Essayist.

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ROBERT BLOOMFIELD.

SCARCELY ever is genius paid its worth. The toils, the pains, the heart-throbbings of the benefactors of society are but scantily rewarded. Galileo died reprehended for daring to expound the laws of our solar system in a manner consistent with reason. The intentions and thoughts of the founders of railways were looked upon as mere exhalations of brains in a disordered state. Milton

was only paid ten pounds for the sublimest effusion that ever issued from man's soul. Burns was thought nothing of until he died.

Society has progressed, it is true; times have changed; the stream of life has only issued from among the sands through which it percolated silently, to rumble over a rocky bed. Man's mind is the same—brimful of prejudice. Tennyson's "Maud" is placed on the highest pinnacle of fame; Bailey's "Festus" must fight its own way, scorning the rebuffs of man's fickleness. While the world is engrossed by a species of Longfellowolatry, Kingsley may whistle to the winds. All petty authors must live demigods in the temple of obscurity.

It is a great thing to be a poet; therefore are they scarce. Shakespere was enough for one era; Milton for another. Little is required to make a *rhymist*; therefore are they many. Proper accent, beautiful rhythm, and consonant jingling, sweet, pleasing, and harmonious to the ear, do not constitute poetry. Poetry marches its way right up to the portals of the soul, which, at its all-powerful *sesame*, open wide, and willingly receive its ideal pictures of realities. Poetry does not require the reader to be a poet before he can understand. To admire the architecture of the universe, "the music of the spheres," the awful yet beautiful sublimity of terrestrial nature, does not necessitate man to be infinite. There is poetry in the dashing of the swollen torrent over the precipice; in the tinkling rill, as it meanders slowly through the valley; in the soaring of the eagle, higher, yet higher, beyond the boundary of man's vision; in the hopping of the wren from twig to twig; in the intricate formation of the lord of creation; in the wheeling of the minutest animalculæ in a drop of water. In all nature there is poetry; and its beauty, grandeur, and harmony are manifested to us as the glorious works of Divinity.

Our poet is not perfect; his inspiration is fallible. The author of the "Farmer's Boy" is the same with the author of the "Fakenham Ghost." We do not claim for the "Farmer's Boy" a superiority over Thomson's "Seasons," but the rhyme of the one is equal to the blank verse of the other. Naturally, it would be expected the "Farmer's Boy" could be nothing more than a versification of the "Seasons." Each poet trod the same path, and described the same scenes; but in Thomson there is nothing Bloomfield-like, neither in Bloomfield is there anything Thomson-like. Notwithstanding, the "Farmer's Boy" is noted for a peculiar inherent beauty, of which the "Seasons" is destitute.

Johnson, in his "Lives of the Poets," says: "The great defect of the 'Seasons' is want of method; but for this I know not that there was any remedy. Of many appearances subsisting all at once, no rule can be given why one should be mentioned before another; yet the memory wants the help of order, and the curiosity is not excited by suspense or expectation." Throughout the "Farmer's Boy" there reigns perfect order.

Thomson passes from the description of one scene to another

with a sudden bound, at once overwhelming the reader's understanding; and, "if the understanding be compelled to take a leap, and imagination and feeling do not follow the composition with equal alacrity," all harmony is at once destroyed. Bloomfield, on the contrary, transplants himself into his reader's position, which enables him to wrap his descriptions in a pleasing simplicity.

Thomson sometimes is too copious, abounding in rotundity. Take his commencement of Spring:—

"See where surly Winter passes off,  
Far to the north, and calls his ruffian blasts.  
His blasts obey; and quit the howling hill,  
The shattered forest, and the ravaged vale;  
While softer gales succeed, at whose kind touch,  
Dissolving snows, in livid torrents lost,  
The mountains lift their green heads to the sky."

Compare it with Bloomfield's:—

"Fled now the sullen murmurs of the north,  
The splendid raiment of the Spring peeps forth;  
Her universal green, and the clear sky,  
Delight still more and more the gazing eye."

What turgidness and harshness in the former! What terseness, combined with tenderness and pathos, in the latter! Compare, again, Thomson's effect of Spring, in which he goes through a long-winded description of nature in the "Flowers," with Bloomfield's:—

"Wide o'er the fields, in rising moisture strong,  
Shoots up the simple flower, or creeps along  
The mellowed soil; imbibing fairer hues,  
Or sweets from fragrant showers and evening dews."

Thomson's ceaseless sameness has a destructive influence on his beautiful imagery. Bloomfield's pithy expressions set off his ideas with considerable advantage.

Our object in these remarks is not in the least to depreciate Thomson. That were unavailing, were we to attempt it. We seek rather to point out the particular characteristics of the two poets.

"A poet of original genius," says Dr. Blair, in his "Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian," "is always distinguished by his talent for description. A second-rate writer discerns nothing new or peculiar in the object he means to describe. His conceptions of it are vague and loose; his expressions feeble; and, of course, the object is presented to us indistinctly and as through a cloud. But a true poet makes us imagine that we see it before our eyes; he catches the distinguishing features; he gives it the colours of life and reality; he places it in such a light that a painter could copy after him. This happy talent is chiefly owing to a lively imagination, which first receives a strong impression of the object; and then, by a proper selection of capital picturesque circumstances

employed in describing it, transmits that impression in its full force to the imagination of others." Pre-eminently is Bloomfield distinguished for his lively imagination. His poetry, when incinerated in Horace's crucible, runs out, not one iota damaged. Could anything less be expected from one whose soul was glowing with the loftiest and sublimest conceptions? In the conciseness and simplicity of his descriptions pompousness is excluded. His sentiments are set off with no "red morocco and burnt cork sublimity."

Take that portion of his "Winter" where Giles is described issuing from the fireside to "tell" his little flock:—

"Glad if the full orb'd moon salute his eyes,  
And through th' unbroken stillness of the night  
Shed on his path her beams of cheering light,  
With saunt'ring step he climbs the distant stile,  
Whilst all around him wears a placid smile;  
There views the white rob'd clouds in clusters driven,  
And all the glorious pageantry of heaven.  
Low, on the utmost bound'ry of the sight,  
The rising vapours catch the silver light;  
Thence Fancy measures, as they parting fly,  
Which first will throw its shadow on the eye,  
Passing the source of light; and thence away,  
Succeeded quick by brighter still than they.  
Far yet above these wafted clouds are seen  
(In a remoter sky, still more serene)  
Others, detach'd in ranges through the air,  
Spotless as snow, and countless as they're fair,  
Scatter'd immensely wide from east to west,  
The beauteous semblance of a flock at rest.  
These, to the raptur'd mind, aloud proclaim  
Their mighty Shepherd's everlasting name.  
Whilst thus the loiterer's utmost stretch of soul  
Climbs the still clouds, or passes those that roll,  
And loos'd Imagination soaring goes  
High o'er his home, and all his little woes,  
Time glides away."

This is just what it ought to be. Had the poet displayed more or less imagination, its beauty had been lost. How explicit the expression—"the glorious pageantry of heaven." In it are embodied all the particularities of Addison's celebrated Hymn of Praise, yet with no derogation of beauty. But enough of the "Farmer's Boy." It must be its "own trumpeter." Let the readers of the *British Controversialist* make themselves acquainted with the shoemaker poet, and they will be well rewarded. Far more so than he was. He lived like a

"Lone soul, whom no one sees."

We close with two stanzas from his "Shooter's Hill," remarkable as showing that he was not blind to the gratitude paid to talent:—

"I lose to mark the flow'ret's eye,  
 To rest where pebbles form my bed,  
 Where shapes and colours scattered lie,  
 In varying millions round my head.  
 The soul rejoices when alone,  
 And feels her glorious empire free;  
 Sees God in every shining stone,  
 And revels in variety.

"Ah, me! perhaps within my sight;  
 Deep in the smiling dales below,  
*Gigantic talents, Heaven's pure light,*  
*And all the rays of genius glow*  
*In some lone soul, whom no one sees*  
 With power and will to say, 'Arise,'  
 Or chase away the slow disease,  
 And Want's foul picture from his eyes."

*Haverfordwest.*

ALEPH.

### SAMUEL ROGERS.

SAMUEL ROGERS, who, at a very advanced age, was recently added to the list of our departed poets, was the son of a banker in London, and was through life a member of the banking firm. In the same year as Burns first published his poems, by subscription, Rogers issued the "Ode to Superstition," and, we think, in the same volume, other minor poems—paying a sum of money to enable his publisher to give them to the world. Subsequently, he published the "Pleasures of Memory," a poem in two parts, and afterwards "Italy," a series of poetic sketches, he having first visited that land. The "Pleasures of Memory" took nine years, and "Italy" sixteen years to complete; and whether the writer only wrote at distant intervals, or employed himself frequently in careful elaboration, we can readily understand that we have very mature productions, whatever be their poetical value. £10,000 was, we believe, expended by the banking firm to bring out "Italy." The outward advantages which our poet has had have been great. His fame was established from the first; in consequence of the circumstance that when he appeared there was a lapse between one race of poets and another—the fires of Burns and Wordsworth were only beginning to glimmer. He was brought up from the first in opulence, lived in a splendid mansion, formed friendships with the great of the earth, and with poets in general, and he exercised a generous hospitality. His has been a life comparatively free from care, unclouded and bronze-coloured. Yet this may have tended to unnerve his arm, and have prevented him from exerting himself, either by digging deeply into his own mind, and leading him to sympathize more profoundly with human care and sorrow, and so reach to the conception of poetry, not merely as the ornate painting of scenes for the eye to admire, but something to instruct the mind,

and 'make the heart vibrate with generous emotions,—and, at the same time, taking away the drawing-room appearance which his works possess.

The work, the "Pleasures of Memory," is a series of pictures or illustrations, in one poem, of that mental function. The most of these illustrations are exceedingly general, and sometimes vague. The second part contains, near the close, a tale, though we think a poor one, and the poem concludes with various particulars regarding Memory, crowded together; and thus showing that the subject has not been sufficiently handled, and probably that it remains for some future poet to do justice to it, as Campbell has done to "Hope." While the more disagreeable features of Memory are not unnoticed, the general impression is one, not, perhaps, improperly, of a pleasing kind. Memory is silvered over with a mooned mist, and as we gaze back upon it, many a fair, happy scene, is coloured before us with pensive hues, which belong alone to it, like the appearance of the fading evening, in comparison with Hope's brilliancy of day. In these pictures there is a wild beauty, and often a sweet, though humble fancy,—and a few of these may be here introduced:—

"Mark yon old mansion, frowning through the trees,  
Whose hollow turret woos the whistling breeze;  
That casement, circl'd with ivy's brownest shade,  
First to these eyes the light of heaven convey'd:  
The mouldering gateway strews the grass-grown court,  
Once the calm scene of many a simple sport,  
When nature pleas'd—for life itself was new,  
And the heart promis'd what the fancy drew."

"'Twas here, at eve, we form'd our faery ring,  
And fancy flutter'd on her wildest wing;  
And still, with heraldry's rich hues imprest,  
On the dim window glows the pictur'd crest."

"The clock still points its moral to the heart:  
That faithful monitor 'twas heaven to hear,  
When soft it spoke a promis'd pleasure near;  
And has its sober hand, its simple chime,  
Forgot to trace the feather'd feet of time?"

"Childhood's lov'd group revisits every scene,  
The tangled wood-walk, and the tufted green;  
Indulgent memory wakes, and, lo! they live,  
Clothed with far softer hues than sight can give."

"To thee belong  
The sage's precept, and the poet's song.  
What softened views thy magic glass reveals,  
When o'er the landscape Time's weak twilight steals!"

"Sweet memory! wafled by thy gentle gale,  
Oft up the stream of time I turn my sail,  
To view the faery haunts of long lost hours,  
Blest with far greener shades, far fresher flowers."

## GREENWICH AND CHELSEA HOSPITALS.

"Hail, noblest structures, *imaged in the wave!*  
 A nation's grateful tribute to the brave;  
 Hail! blest retreats from war and shipwreck, hail!  
*That oft arrest the wandering stranger's sail.*

"Long have ye heard the narratives of age,  
 The battle's havoc, and the tempest's rage;  
 Long have ye known Reflection's genial ray  
*Gild the calm close of Valour's various day."*

After all, there is a good deal of imperfection, both in single lines and in a few of the illustrations used by Rogers, in the poem referred to; for instance, where, referring to the pigeon, he informs us that, though rocks were piled on rocks, and mountains on mountains, this would not prevent the bird's return; or the following passages—poverty-stricken, certainly—but on a par with not a little in the poem:—

"Oft, fancy-led, at evening's *fearful hour,*  
 With startled step we scal'd the lonely tower,  
*O'er infant innocence to hang and weep,*  
*Murder'd by ruffian hands, when smiling in its sleep."*

"*These muskets, cas'd with venerable rust,*  
*Welcom'd the wild bee home, on wearied wing,*  
*Laden with sweets, the choicest of the Spring."*

The style of the poem is that of Goldsmith; and from him, Rogers, also, very absurdly *quotes*; yet the verse has, in general, great smoothness, and the language is well adapted to the subject, as may be observed from the passages we have introduced; and it will be also seen that much of their beauty consists in a *turn of expression*, or peculiarity of language, which lights up the whole picture. But referring more especially to this point, we quote the following lines:—

"Not till the rushing winds forget to rave,  
*Is heaven's sweet smile reflected on the wave;*  
 When sober judgment has his throne resign'd,  
*She smiles away the terrors of the mind;*  
*Each osier isle, inverted o'er the wave,*  
*Through morn's grey mist its melting colours gave."*

The "Ode to Superstition" is a very poor affair, but the few minor poems which accompany it are extremely beautiful, or, rather, some of them are very pretty;—they paint a small scene with much elaboration, and fine colouring, and with exquisite taste, or bring out very well a pleasing sentiment or idea; and, indeed, our only regret is that these poems are so few in number; for a considerable number more, we would willingly have sacrificed "Italy," however gorgeous and ornate that work is; though, of

course, we could not place the writer among the higher class of poets. We quote the lines "On a Tear," which, we need not say, are unique in fancy, and beautiful in idea; and also those on a butterfly:—

"Oh, that the chemist's magic art  
Could crystallize this sacred treasure:  
Long should it glitter near my heart,—  
A sacred source of pensive pleasure.

"The little brilliant, ere it fell,  
Its lustre caught from Chloe's eye;  
Then, trembling, left its coral cell,—  
The spring of sensibility.

"Sweet drop of pure and pearly light,  
In thee the rays of virtue shine;  
More calmly clear, more mildly bright,  
Than any gem that gilds the mine.

"Benign restorer of the soul,  
Who ever fly'st to bring relief,  
When first she feels the rude control  
Of love or pity, joy or grief.

"The sage's and the poet's theme,  
In every clime, in every age,—  
Thou charm'st in fancy's idle dream,—  
In reason's philosophic page.

"That very law which moulds a tear,  
And bids it trickle from its source,—  
That law preserves the earthly sphere,  
And guides the planets in their course."

#### TO A BUTTERFLY.

"Child of the sun! pursue thy rapturous flight!  
Mingling with her thou lov'st in fields of light;  
And where the flowers of Paradise unfold,  
Quaff fragrant nectar from their cups of gold;  
There shall thy wings, rich as an evening sky,  
Expand and shut with silent ecstasy:  
Yet wert thou once a worm, a thing that crept  
On the bare earth, then wrought a home and slept.  
And such is man; soon from his cell of clay  
To burst a seraph in the blaze of day."

"Italy" consists of a series of short poems in blank verse, illustrative of Italian scenes and events, displaying the graces of ornate diction, elaborate painting, and classic refinement and enthusiasm; and it may be called the author's greatest work. The style is 1861.



loftier than that of the "Pleasures of Memory;" the poet leaves Goldsmith, and evidently acknowledges Wordsworth as his master. It has a great deal more richness and colouring than Wordsworth's blank verse in general, and displays more of the gems of classic lore; but it wants his philosophic depth and imaginative originality. Beyond the many beautiful pictures and ornate hues the work has little to recommend it; a vein of original thinking it has not, nor does it thrill the human sympathies. A few passages we now quote:—

"There is a glorious city in the sea;  
The sea is in the broad and narrow streets,  
Ebbing and flowing, and the salt sea-weeds  
Cling to the marble of her palaces.  
No track of men, no footsteps to and fro,  
Lead to her gates. The path lies o'er the sea,  
Invisible; and from the land we went,  
As to a floating city, steering in,  
And gliding up her streets as in a dream,  
So smoothly, silently. By many a dome,  
Mosque-like, and many a stately portico—  
The statues ranged along an azure sky;  
By many a pile in more than Eastern pride,  
Of old the residence of merchant-kings;  
The fronts of some, though Time had shatter'd them,  
Still glowing with the richest hues of art,  
As though the wealth within them had run o'er.

\* \* \* \* \*

It was a well  
Of whitest marble, white as from the quarry,  
And richly wrought with many a high relief;  
Greek sculpture, in some earlier day, perhaps,  
A tomb, and honour'd with a hero's ashes.  
The water from the rock filled and o'erflowed,  
Then dashed away, playing the prodigal;  
And soon was lost, stealing unseen, unheard.

\* \* \* \* \*

No noise is heard,  
Save where the rugged bear and the gaunt wolf  
Howl in the upper regions; or a fish  
*Leaps in the gulf beneath.*

\* \* \* \* \*

When one by one the fishing boats come forth,  
Each with its glittering lantern at the prow,  
And when the nets are thrown, *the evening hymn*  
*Steals o'er the trembling waters.*

\* \* \* \* \*

The lute or mandoline, accompanied  
*By many a voice yet sweeter than their own.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Her short trance,  
Short as it was, had, like a charmed cup,  
Restored his spirits.

\* \* \* \* \*

At length the sun  
Departed, *setting in a sea of gold.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*Strange perfumes rose, as to each,  
From flowers that ministered like unseen spirits."*

It may be mentioned, that various lines of Rogers—whose poetry has, as we may have observed, a good deal of the aphoristic character—have found their way into our current literature; as, for instance, the last verse of the poem on the tear, and the concluding lines of the address to the butterfly, and the following, from "Italy :"—

"Each cliff, and headland, and green promontory,  
Graven, to their eyes, with records of the past,  
That prompt to hero-worship."

We have incidentally given our view of Rogers' poetry, in referring to his particular works. He certainly is not entitled to a high rank as a poet; he wants depth, earnestness, and force; and we doubt whether his poem, the "Pleasures of Memory," can long survive, except, perhaps, as an humble companion to the "Pleasures of Hope;" and we have similar doubts regarding his other writings, from their general want of human interest; and yet, this not being made up to the few by metaphysical refinements, or originality of thought, his poetry displays beauty of language, richness of description, and fine taste; and while he may not be classed among the greatest, he cannot be placed merely among the minor poets of our country. His is a small shrine, very apt to be forgotten amidst the jewelled glory which blazes upon us from so many a quarter in the temple of English poetry; a shrine which, when we visit it, we have no feeling of worship, but only of admiration; but one decorated with richly chased ornaments, surrounded by elaborate paintings, all mellowed by the golden light of the beautiful, and filled with a fragrance which, as it steals over the soul, touches it with the enchantment of a dream.

T. U.

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THERE is a troublesome humour some men have, that if they may not lead, they will not follow; but had rather a thing were never done, than not done their own way, though otherwise very desirable. This comes of an over-falness of ourselves, and shows we are more concerned for praise, than the success of what we think a good thing.—*Dr. T. Fuller.*

## The Reviewer.

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*The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt.* London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

Few more acceptable republications could have been selected to appear in "a new and cheaper edition, revised by the author; with further revision and an introduction by his eldest son," Thornton Hunt (born 1810), author in 1840 of "The Foster Brothers," a novel, &c., than this "Autobiography of Leigh Hunt: price half-a-crown."

The chief events of the life of this poet and essayist are well known. His Barbadoese and American parentage, and his almost London birth at Southgate, in Middlesex, in 1784. His father was the Rev. J. Hunt, tutor to Lord Chandos, after whose nephew and heir, Mr. Leigh, the author of "The Seer" was named; and his mother was Mary Shewell, the daughter of a Philadelphian merchant, whose sister became the wife of West, the painter. He was educated in Christ's Hospital from his seventh till his fifteenth year. Thereafter he went to "that gloomiest of all darkness palpable," a lawyer's office, for his brother Stephen was an attorney. Then he became a clerk in the War Office, theatrical critic for *The News*, conducted by his brother John. In 1802, his father had proudly published, by subscription, Leigh Hunt's "Juvenilia." In 1808, *The Examiner* was set afoot; and in 1809, Hunt married a smart young milliner, Mary Ann Kent, and in 1811 was prosecuted by the Attorney-General, defended by Brougham, and escaped, but only for a time. In 1812, he was tried again, and was sentenced to spend two years in Horsemonger Lane Gaol, and became a notoriety. Byron and Moore, Hazlitt and Lamb, Pitman and Cowden Clarke, Mitchell and Barnes (of the *Times*), old school-fellows, visited him in prison, and Shelley became his "friend of friends" then. "The Story of Rimini" was published in 1816. He started the *Indicator*, and issued "Foliage," and the "Feast of the Poets," afterwards. In 1822, he went to Italy to co-operate with Lord Byron on the *Liberal*, which did not sell, and was not conducted liberally. He saw the cremation and interment of Shelley. He started the *Companion*. Wrote "Sir Ralph Esher," and conducted *The (Daily) Tatler*, 1830—33, in which latter year he republished his poetical works by subscription. He co-operated on the *True Sun* with Blanchard and Jerrold, contributed to the *Edinburgh* and *Westminster Reviews*, edited *The London Journal* and *The Monthly Repository*, to which Mill, Fox, Home, Landor, &c., were contributors, and composed "Captain Pen and

Captain Sword" (1835). "The Legend of Florence" (1840); "A Play and the Palfrey," a narrative poem; three other Plays, yet unpublished, also proceeded from his pen. Than those choice selections and genially appreciative criticisms in "Imagination and Fancy," "Wit and Humour," "The Jar of Honey," "The Book for a Corner," were spun off from the acute poetic brain of the author. His "Table-talk" is ingenious and pleasing, and the "Men, Women, and Books," to whom he introduces us, delight us at once.

The "Stories from the Italian Poets," which brought a taste for Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, Pulci, &c., into the power of the mere English reader, and the biographies of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanburgh, and Farquhar,—light, garrulous, desultory, and manneristic, were produced as tasks, and bear the marks of "making a case" in them. "The Town," a most delicious book of gossipry, we also owe to him, as well as the "Old Court Suburb," which is almost as captivating. Even "The Religion of the Heart," coming as it does from Leigh Hunt, we read, think over, shake our head, and forgive. The benefit performances in which Dickens, Forster, and Jerrold, took part,—his pension, granted in 1847,—his manifold contributions to the periodical press, and especially his closing papers in the *Spectator*, then edited by his son, Thornton Hunt,—and lastly his death, August 28th, 1859,—all these things are known to the public. But in this Autobiography the charm of Leigh Hunt's very spirit lives,—not as the Skimpole of Dickens, but as a sort of Spenserianized Lamb. The impalpable impersonality, and yet the inconsiderate selfishness of the fictitious caricature, are not the true essentials of the man, but they are the imaginative ongraftings of a fictionist. The simplicity and kindliness of Leigh Hunt were proverbs. The outspoken honesty of the man has been everywhere acknowledged, and in this book we find it pre-eminently manifested. It is unequivocally characteristic, and is filled with notices of men in whom the world's interest is not likely soon to die,—Keats, Shelley, Byron, Lamb, Hook, Matthews, Carlyle, and many others, are pictured or mentioned. Then we have notices of the American War of Independence; of the politics of the early part of this century; of life in Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Paris, &c.; and we have that ever-interesting detail of Christ's Hospital school-life which Lamb, Coleridge, and Leigh Hunt, have enshrined in memories much more firmly than even "Tom Brown's School Days." Leigh Hunt was kindly by nature, clever, sketchy, poetical, political, full of reading, vain, talkative, full of the power of enjoyment, though often lacking the opportunity. We shall not attempt in a few words to characterize his genius,—the unworn attractiveness he gives to everything he says, the cheering and beautiful, benign and genial, kindly and refreshing, candid and liberal objective enjoyability he makes everything assume; we shall only say that this is, on the whole, not a book to be read only, but to be enjoyed and delighted in.

*The Rhetoric of Conversation.* By C. W. HERVEY. Edited, with Introduction, by the Rev. STEPHEN JENNER, M.A. London: Richard Bentley.

THIS is a reprint of a work originally published in America; but it is greatly enlarged and enriched by the judicious and sententious remarks of the English editor. It is, as it professes to be, "an Original Monograph on Conversation," and contains as much instruction on the art and ethics of talking as the most ambitious aspirant after colloquial excellence could reasonably desire. The author divides his work into four parts, treating respectively of the "Laws of Conversation;" the "Vices of Conversation;" "Helps to Conversation;" and the "Uses of Conversation;" and the whole is followed by that very rare thing, an *interesting* appendix, in which we have a *résumé* of the history of "Conversation Clubs." The work may be read with much pleasure and profit, and contains many hints worthy of being stored in the memory, and applied to the guidance of both tongue and heart.

The following extract, from the chapter on "Discussions," we commend to the notice of our readers:—

"Discussers should begin by ascertaining whether they can agree on some fundamental principle, or on any conditions as to the kind of testimony to be admitted; as, whether the sacred Scriptures, or the writings of the Fathers, or decrees of Councils, or tradition, is to be allowed as proof.

"When they have agreed to take some common ground, let them inquire how near they can approach each other. Let them lessen the distance between them by mutual concession, ascertaining the points of agreement rather than of difference. They should not suppose, because they differ upon one point, they must needs differ upon all. Those who are ignorant of one another's opinions generally suppose themselves to disagree far more than they do in reality.

"As another preliminary, the meaning to be attached to the words and phrases used should be settled between the opponent and the respondent. Doubtful or ambiguous words or terms should be defined or rejected. In many cases, where the meaning of the question is determined and understood, little, if anything, will remain to be done; whereas those who hastily enter upon the discussion of a question which they do not understand, each, perhaps, inwardly blessing his own superior acumen, and emulous of victory, after having lost breath and argument, conclude to go back to ascertain the meaning of the question, and find, to their inexpressible mortification, that they have been engaged in a mere logomachy—not a moral, but a verbal, contest; that some ambiguous word, viewed from different points, was the sole cause of so much strife.

"Besides settling the signification of words and phrases, the exact point of inquiry should be fixed. It should be mutually understood whether the question is to be discussed in a limited or a general sense; and when the question is qualified, there should be a strict and honourable adherence to it. A neglect to define positions, occasions confusion and ill-will. Some, who leave the original ground, and retreat to a different question, resort to this method of showing their inability to defend their post, and of begging a truce. He who takes a side which he at length finds not to be tenable, should frankly confess his inability to maintain it. Let him not think it an exposure of his own weakness; it will be received as the indication both of his candour and of his discrimination. If he still persists

in arguing a question which the company deem settled, he exposes himself to the imputation either of disingenuousness or of obtuseness. He who can cheerfully and unreservedly own himself confuted, has won a more glorious victory than his confuter.

"There is nothing helps to confirm men in errors like the fear that the renunciation of them will be received with upbraidings by their own party, and with exultation by their opposite party. Were the erring kindly and respectfully welcomed back to truth, they would oftener return. Where there is a whole party ready to break out into a contemptuous laugh at a man's recantation, he is strongly tempted to withhold it. We should conquer without seeming to do so, and account it enough that the opponent feels, without confessing, his defeat; but rather divert him from it, by passing to another subject, even though it should be less important. When Augustus, king of Poland, was brought into the tent of Charles XIII. of Sweden, who had just deprived him of his crown, Charles turned the conversation wholly on his jack-boots, telling Augustus that he had not laid them aside for six years, except when he went to bed. Let this incident teach the victorious debater how to save his vanquished opponent from needless mortification."

The work will be a suitable one for the libraries of all our Literary Societies.

*The New Reformation, and its Principles.* Tract No. 1. London: printed for the New Reformation Society. By G. H. NICHOLS. 1861.

It would appear from this publication that a number of persons have banded themselves together to promote a movement which has for its object the reformation of the Church by Act of Parliament. The constitution of the Church, we are told, comprises the Thirty-nine Articles, the Prayer Book, and the Canons; and "in beginning with the reform of the Articles," "the remedy will be applied at the source from which all the evils which afflict the Church springs." The principles of the Society are (1) the recognition of the authority and inspiration of the Scripture,"—by which is meant the New Testament only, it having "annulled" the Old; (2) "the Divinity of Christ," He being regarded as a "manifestation" of God the Father; His atonement, as commonly understood, being a misconception; and conversion being only a modification of character produced by the *natural* operation of the Gospel. These, and similar principles, are to be embodied in the Church Reform Bill; immediately after the passing of which "by the Crown and Parliament, the Society will take up the subject of reforms in the Prayer Book, Services, and Canons;" but as this event is probably not very near, we may delay further notice of the subject for the present.

*The Thorn in the Flesh: or a New Explanation of 2 Cor. xii. 7.*  
H. J. Tresidder, Ave Maria Lane. 1860.

THE object of this pamphlet is to show that the thorn was "an unprepossessing appearance in the flesh, a drawback, a stumbling-block of offence in the looks" of St. Paul. This view is grounded

on an assumed error on the part of ancient transcribers, and on the change of *Saul* into *Paul*,—"a nickname," denoting "the mean-looking, short, or little." Had a little consideration been given to the fact that, whatever may have constituted the affliction, it was something remediable, and for the removal of which the sufferer "besought the Lord thrice," the author, it appears to us, would have offered some other explanation than the one he has published. The conclusion arrived at makes the apostle simply ridiculous. If by accident or affliction a man's person is disfigured, it is natural to suppose he would wish to be restored; but it makes the great apostle, intellectually and morally, as mean and insignificant as he is supposed to have been in physical appearance, to argue that the burden of his prayer was to be made *taller and better looking* for the gospel's sake. However desirable it may be to have a commanding *physique*, no sane mind could imagine that God would answer the prayer for an addition of six inches to his height; and yet, if this "new explanation" could be established, we should be forced to the conclusion that St. Paul, at one time, indulged in so puerile an expectation.

*Bible Difficulties Explained.* By J. G. HEWLETT, D.D. London: H. J. Tresidder, Ave Maria Lane.

WE have much pleasure in cordially recommending this little book to the attention of our readers, assured that they will find in it much valuable instruction. The author has long ago earned for himself high reputation as a biblical writer, and the present volume is well calculated to add to his usefulness in this department.

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The knowledge of languages, sciences, histories, &c., is not innate to us; it doth not of itself spring up in our minds; it is not anyways incident by chance, or infused by grace (except rarely by miracle); common observation doth not produce it; it cannot be purchased at any rate, except for that by which, it was said of old, the gods sell all things, that is, for pains; without which the best wit and the greatest capacity may not render a man learned, as the best soil will not yield good fruit or grain, if they be not planted nor sown therein.—*Dr. Barrow.*

Those who have read of everything, are thought to understand everything too; but it is not always so. Reading furnishes the mind only with materials of knowledge; it is thinking that makes what we read ours. We are of the ruminating kind, and it is not enough to cram ourselves with a great load of collections; unless we chew them over again, they will not give us strength and nourishment.—*John Locke.*

## Poetic Section.

## ORIGINAL POETRY.

## TO-MORROW.

By the star portals of the night I kneel,  
And yearn to look beyond the gates of morn;  
But mortal heart and finite thought must rest,  
And dreams must die before the day is born.

By the successes of to-day I stand,  
And smile a blessing on the future years;  
The happy heart sings its own siren song,  
Whilst Hope makes diamonds of our very tears.

Sometimes in prison gloom of doubt I weep,  
Draping all heaven with fear-enwoven weeds;  
Yet always toward the light my soul will creep,  
And hie wherever the first sunbeam leads.

The morrow of our hope, or love, or fear,  
The soul's to-morrow, who dare prophesy?  
A broken heart, a crown, a fallen tear—  
A throb of woe, a thrill of ecstasy.

By the dread portals of Life's night I kneel,  
And pray the angel he the stone may move;  
And let the scales fall, and I trembling read  
The seal of all the future, "God is Love."

Love lights the pathway of each pure intent  
With an eternal heaven-embracing now.  
Love knows no dark to-morrow; but, heaven sent,  
Alone, wears heaven's I AM upon her brow.

F. G.

## COME AGAIN.

Will the generous heart of childhood—  
Happy heart! so free from pain;  
Will the merry, laughing spring-tide,  
Can dawn music come again?

Will the hopes that hallowed sadness—  
Friendships free from self or pain,  
And the brother-loving gladness—  
Can the once lost come again?

Will the unsuspecting converse  
That could but of self complain,  
Seeking not to mask one motive,—  
May the true heart come again?

Yes; though shadows haunt the bygone,  
Though on every hope a stain,

And though Love be gone a pilgrim,  
All the good shall come again.

Come, when twilight stars are telling  
Of the God-love that would fain  
Fold the world in sinless silence,  
Come, and soothe our souls again.

Come, when passion's fires are paling;  
Come, when pride is on the wane;  
When our souls cease their upbraiding  
Come and sing the old songs again.

Aye! though Life parts not her shadow,  
Pain of heart, and rack of brain,  
Moments come with angel pleadings,  
Come and make us young again.

BLANCHE.



## WEARY.

I sit musing at eventide, work-weary,  
 Thought comes and nestles to my side,  
 And whispers, Wilt thou here abide,  
 Wedded to all the dreary past?  
 Or, wilt thou soar on Hope's light wing  
 Above the prison-house of Pride,—  
 Above Regret's envenomed sting  
 And seek for joys that ever last,  
 And never any sorrow bring?  
 I answer back, "My heart is sad,  
 Leave me, O Thought, else am I mad,  
 World weary."

I lie restless upon my couch, so weary—  
 Memory unbars the doors of Death;  
 And with a deep-drawn sighing breath,  
 Into the crypt with her I go.  
 She whispers, "See here lies a love  
 Crown'd with a hope,—a dead rose-  
 wreath;  
 And yonder, in a ghastly row,  
 Lie false vows, grinning even now."

I cry, Enough! Let us above  
 Into the light of life, and pray  
 That some sunbeam may make the day  
 Less dreary.

I stand girded, and mailed, and fierce,  
 war-weary;  
 Men all as proud, men full as strong,  
 Pierce me with taunts; they do me  
 wrong;  
 And I, man-like, with fighting faint,  
 And kneeling grapple with despair,  
 Till, ringing like an echo song,  
 I hear Hope's never-ending plaint:  
 Hope, earth's best, sweetest, holiest  
 saint!  
 And straightway hies away sad Care.  
 And Angels once more fill the air;  
 And now I tread the golden stair,  
 No more weary.

Jan. 17, 1861.

IONA.

## FORGET-ME-NOT.

GOD speaks in symbols to the human soul;  
 Nature is but the type of His forethought;  
 Even as within the lake's calm depth is caught  
 The picture of the all-surrounding whole,  
 Which glows above, or margins its fair banks,  
 In reproductive faithfulness and truth—  
 So ought our minds, enraptured with the ruth  
 And love of God—despite the sadsome danks  
 Of sin and sorrow that may intervene  
 Between our souls and the suggestiveness  
 Of Nature's primal show of loveliness—  
 Hold Him as ours. Hence scattered o'er each scene,  
 Howe'er secluded and untrimmed the spot,  
 God sets before our eyes His sweet *Forget-me-Not*.

N.

## FORGETTING.

In the far twilight of our childhood's prime  
 Live the pale shadows of the loves of home:  
 Whilst on the highway over the chasmed time  
 That arches then with now, stand roadside marks,—  
 The milestones of the years. Come, we will read:—  
 One runs, Here died childlike simplicity.  
 One, Here my failing heart first leaned on Faith.  
 One, Here I won o'er self a victory.  
 One, Here the rain-drops quite obscured the sun.  
 Here Death first robbed my heart of earth-content,  
 And taught me nobler hopes, and dearer loves.  
 Ah, well! I wot what has been is with God;  
 I know not if 'tis best to smile or weep.  
 But yet I would not blot one record out,

Or lose remembrance of one woe or joy;  
 Or miss one weed, or one poor faded flower.  
 I never would forget.

With the mystic breathing of to-day's great sea,  
 So rippled on its face, beneath so still,  
 We sink or rise, are calm or are disturbed:  
 And tears and smiles are ever side by side.  
 And friends and foes change places day by day,—  
 Life seems each hour to have more riot in it:  
 The storms rage louder as we near the shore;  
 But under all lies the eternal calm.  
 Sometimes our hopes pulse high with holy joy;  
 Sometimes throb low with sorrow or despair;  
 Sometimes Love saddens into sighing. Still,  
 Though the morn is dark, and all the day is drear,  
 Though bleak the highway, are the lanes not green?  
 We will light the evening fires of heaven-sent hopes.  
 Nor ever dare forget.

In the unsullied future, that to some  
 Is fair as heaven, and to some dark as hell,  
 Lies our true life. It is not meet for us  
 To weigh to-morrow. Now alone is ours.  
 Great sorrows, or great joys, may wait for me,  
 And I may fall or may hold firm; GOD knows.  
 I will endeavour. If a good aim fails  
 I shall not faint. Does not our own fair world  
 Live on her dead, yet smile? Is not to-day  
 Built on the hearts of yesterday? The sweet  
 Flowers send their tribute incense up to heaven,  
 Altho' earth holds a lien upon their hearts.  
 Thus may we smile, and look toward the light,  
 And breathe unhesitating thanks to God,  
 And ever hope and aim, 'mid all life's change,  
 That we may do no deed, and think no thought,  
 That we would fain forget,

PANIOTA.

## I'M NOT ALONE.

THOUGH from my native land away,  
 And most on earth I love to own,  
 I still with confidence can say,  
 "I'm not alone."

When darkness steals the light of day,  
 And joyous birds have homeward  
 flown,  
 All varied Nature seems to say,  
 "Thou'rt not alone."

Though persecution's sword be drawn;  
 And slander in the breeze be blown;  
 And I to all forlorn appear;  
 I'm not alone.

Though troubles rise on every hand;  
 And treacherous friends my name  
 disown:  
 Unmoved amid them all, I stand;  
 I'm not alone.

I neither wisdom have, nor might,  
 But this I to my Saviour own,  
 Who gives me strength and heavenly  
 light:—  
 I'm not alone.

I will not fear, then, what men say;  
 But go unto my Father's throne,—  
 His mighty arm shall be my stay:—  
 I'm not alone.

THEOPHYLACT.

## The Topic.

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### OUGHT THE FUGITIVE SLAVE, ANDERSON, TO BE SURRENDERED TO THE AUTHORITIES OF THE UNITED STATES?

THE following statement of the facts of this case are from the pen of a resident in Canada, and will doubtless be perused with interest by our readers, and assist them in forming an intelligent opinion upon this question:—

So far back as the year 1853, a coloured man, by name Anderson, was the slave of another man, named Burton, in the State of Missouri. Anderson was about that time recently married, and his wife and child were likewise the property of Burton. For reasons not stated, Burton became anxious, in 1853, to sell Anderson, and he sold him to one McDonald, thirty-two miles off, retaining in his own hands Anderson's wife and child. Anderson mourned over this, and determined to escape to Canada. But, ere he did so, he was resolved to see or communicate with his wife, that he might urge her to escape also. This necessitated his going back, and lingering in the neighbourhood of Burton, his former master. While thus arranging for his wife's flight, and after he had seen her, a planter, named Digges, met Anderson on his field at noon. Some questions were asked, and Digges demanded a pass, suspecting Anderson to be a fugitive. Of course Anderson had no pass; whereupon Digges ordered his slaves to take Anderson into custody, he having at the demand for a pass fled in fear. The chase was a long one. It would appear, however, that Anderson never really distanced his pursuers. It also appears that he ran in a circle. Digges saw this, and crossed the circle to intercept him at a certain point. At this point they accordingly met, Digges having a small stick in his hand, and Anderson a large open knife. The result was, that the slave stabbed Digges once in the heart, and again, when he had fallen, in the back. The pursuit was then at an end. Anderson escaped to Canada; and Digges was carried away to die. The wife and child also escaped, and for seven years they lived decently together in Canada. But negroes are apt to boast; and Anderson boasted of his prowess in killing Digges—a fact which was communicated by another coloured man to the authorities in the United States, who in due form demanded the rendition of Anderson on a charge of murder. On this charge he was apprehended in the spring of 1860. A Mr. Matthews, a justice of the peace, apprehended the runaway, and would, had he been able, have gladly given him up. Public feeling was, however, roused, and delays were interposed, until the case was brought before the Court of Queen's Bench on the 15th of last December. Three judges sat on the case, and two of them were in favour of surrendering the fugitive. The whole matter was made very properly to turn upon the meaning of clause 10 of the Ashburton Treaty:—

"It is agreed that her Britannic Majesty and the United States shall, upon mutual requisitions by them or their ministers, officers, or authorities respectively made, deliver up to justice all persons who, being charged with the crime of murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper, committed within the jurisdiction of either, shall seek an asylum or be found within the territories of the other:—Provided, that this shall only be done upon such evidence of criminality as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the crime or offence had there been committed; and the respective judges and other magistrates of the two Governments shall have power, jurisdiction, and authority, upon complaint

made under oath; to issue a warrant for the apprehension of the fugitive or person so charged, that he may be brought before such judges or other magistrates respectively, to the end that the evidence of criminality may be heard and considered; and if, on such hearing, the evidence be sufficient to sustain the charge, it shall be the duty of the examining judge or magistrates to certify the same to the proper executive authority, that a warrant may issue for the surrender of such fugitive. The expense of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by the party who makes the requisition and receives the fugitive."

#### AFFIRMATIVE.

If Anderson had been a free citizen of the United States of America, and in resisting an attempt to reduce him to slavery had killed Digges, he would have been unquestionably guilty of murder; and if, after this, he had fled to Canada, we should all have felt justified in surrendering him to the hands of American justice. Why, then, be more indulgent to a slave than a free man?—J. A.

A person arresting a fugitive slave in Missouri is performing a legal act, and to kill any one making such an attempt is as much murder as it would be to slay a policeman in England while attempting to capture a thief.—X.

Suppose we had a mode of arrest in England unknown to America, and a person were to murder the officer making such an arrest, would the American courts be at liberty to refuse the surrender of such a person on the ground that, the arrest being illegal according to their law, the person demanded was only defending his proper freedom, and should not, therefore, be given up?—B.

Being guilty of the crime of murder, Anderson ought to be handed over to the authorities where that crime was committed. It matters not whether he be a free man or a slave, he must, as a natural consequence, be punished for the crime of taking away the life of his fellow-man. The high legal authorities of Canada have, as an unprejudiced body, ordered him to be given up; and though our feelings would prompt us to say he shall not be surrendered, we must see that the ends of justice must be accomplished, and the laws carried out effectually.—F. B. S.

Right can never be dependent upon accidents. Wilful murder is a crime; howsoever and by whomsoever committed; and that is rightly punishable by the State in which the crime has been done. This country ought, therefore, to restore the fugitive—not from slavery, but from justice—to be dealt with by and according to the law of that State.—LEX.

Sentiment has a strange power to blind the reason; and it is scarcely to be wondered at if we find it, just now, closing the eyes of justice to a sense of right. An international treaty has been made, and it ought to be kept, and kept all the more stringently, because of the peculiar weakness we feel, on this side of the Atlantic, towards every one who bears the brand of *slave*. To assert, in the face of the world, the irresponsibility of slaves, is an awful mistake; and when this is asserted in the very law courts, and maintained by the government, of Great Britain, it becomes the concern of the world. Servile insurrections are worse even than civil war. And if it be boasted abroad that Britain will spread her *egis* over master-murdering slaves, it can scarcely be innocent of exciting to slaughter. Therefore, let the man be sent to pay the debt of justice, if he owes one.—TIMOTHY.

I hate slavery of all kinds, even slavery to the ideas of the Wilberforceans, and hence I think, if this matter of Anderson is to be brought under the consideration of the British public, we ought to avoid all reference to the slave question, and have the trial of the fugitive carried out without regard to the peculiar anti-slavery views entertained in our country. If there is no stipulation or reservation in the treaty by

which his extradition is demanded, there ought to be none foisted into it now. If it is a recognized crime in the State where the deed was committed, and it is proven that Anderson was the offender, then we must recognize it as a crime also. We have no right to interpolate our reading of the treaty as the right one, in order, by a side safety-valve, to let off the steam of the anti-slavery party. Let us see the law of his own State fairly and honestly put into operation; but do not let us be drifted into a quarrel of principles with a country so interlinked with ours, until we have a better case to show than this, and then let us do right, in the faith that God will defend it.—N. S. R.

#### NEGATIVE.

A chattel cannot be a criminal. The responsibilities of a man are only commensurate with his rights. If he is not free, he cannot be judged as a free-man; and if he is unfit for liberty, he must be unfit for being treated according to the laws made for the regulation of the conduct, and for the government of men. Therefore he ought not to be given up.—HAMPDEN.

Freedom is the right—the property—of man, if he be free from proven criminality. The protection of property with life, and at the risk of life for life, is a duty. The robber strove to steal the liberty of Anderson, and he resisted unto blood. He has not broken any statute law that can make his act criminal; and therefore he ought to be protected against the men-thieves of the United States.—T. B.

If he ought to be surrendered, a law court should give the interpretation on which the transaction is made to rest; and until that has been done, he should be kept safe.—GOG.

The slave Anderson, like other slaves, has claimed the benefit of having come into a territory where the blessing of freedom belongs to all. He fought for, and won the thing of greatest price to man on earth—liberty. He ought to be preserved from the dastardly hellhounds who seek revenge, under a false

pretence of asking justice. Justice upon him to whom they denied justice! The thing is absurd.—S. S. S.

By a true man liberty is not only considered a birthright, but it is also esteemed the very sweetness of life itself. And when, in the act of grasping at this birthright, or in the act of launching out into this elysium of sweetness, should any man dare to put forth his hand, and arrest the aspirant after liberty and its blessings, let such a degraded thing be brushed out of existence. Anderson is one of those true men; and as England is the home of the brave and the free, let him stay at home.—LUTHER.

Slavery is, in our opinion, the greatest curse which oppresses the "land of the west." It outrages every feeling of humanity, and has given rise to innumerable scenes of heartrending cruelty. We think that any opportunity which occurs, so that the strong feeling against slavery may be unmistakably shown, should be seized upon with avidity. But there are other than general reasons why the fugitive slave, Anderson, should not be given up. Our readers will be aware that the State of Missouri provides the most severe punishment for a slave who has been guilty of homicide. In this case, no ingenuity would be spared in inventing torture sufficiently excruciating to gratify the morbid craving for revenge, by which Anderson's enemies are actuated. We urge, therefore, the plea of humanity in this instance; and we would express a hope that this poor fugitive slave may not be given up to the authorities of the United States.—T. L. P.

In killing the man who desired to return him to slavery, to be punished, and perhaps horribly murdered, Anderson only acted in self-defence; and therefore, according to the treaty, and the English law by which he will be tried, ought not to be given up to the American authorities.—SAGAMORE.

In the first place, considering the question in a legal sense, it appears that before Anderson can be surrendered to

the authorities of the United States, they must prove that he was guilty of a murder according to the law of England. Now, as English law does not recognise the right of one man to make a slave of another, and the circumstances of the case being so peculiar, it may be assumed as a certainty that Anderson could not be proved guilty of murder according to that law; and, consequently, they could not legally enforce his surrender. In the next place, looking at it in the light of reason and feeling, supposing that some defect in the law could be found, or that its tenour could be so construed or twisted, whereby the authorities of the United States could establish a legal right for his surrender; in that case, taking the peculiar circumstances of the poor slave into consideration, I submit that it would be obnoxious to enlightened justice and humanity to surrender him for punishment into the hands of those who, in all things else, ignore his rights, and recognize him only when their own cruelty makes him rebel against the unlawful authority which they exercise over the unfortunate victim of their inhuman practice and dealing; and that recognition is but made in order that they may punish the poor slave for doing that which is the consequence of the acts of his self-constituted judges.—J. C.

The contributors to this section of the Magazine are called upon to pronounce an opinion on a subject of vital importance, and one that demands the closest attention of our judicial power, namely, the demanded surrender of John Anderson, the slave now awaiting the arrival of the writ of *habeas corpus*, to bring hither his body, and complete the restoration of his freedom, to accomplish which he braved so much. The crime (if we may denominate it a crime), with which he stands charged at the instance of the American government, does not constitute, under the circumstances alleged, an offence that imposes any obligation upon the offender further than its being morally right

or wrong. Anderson, conscious of his degraded position in the scale of humanity, conceived a plan to effect his manumission; and before that object was attained, he was discovered and hotly pursued, and he turned upon his headmost pursuer, and slew him. For this deed, and to inflict punishment, the American government demanded him under the Extradition Act; but, without lowering the lofty dignity of England, this demand cannot be complied with. The Extradition Bill declares "that the fugitives must be tried by the laws of the country where they are found." Macaulay says: "Take the case of a slave who had committed murder in his own defence. Suppose a man scourged him, pursued him. The slave has surely a right to resist, and, in his defence, to kill his assailant. By the laws of England that would be justifiable homicide. By the law of Georgia it would be murder." These are the views I endorse to justify my position on the negative side, protesting against the fugitive's surrender to tormentors.—S. F. T.

Lord Palmerston, in a recent debate in the House of Commons, remarked, that as he was convinced no English jury would find Anderson guilty of murder, the claim made by the United States was not likely to be substantiated. In this opinion I entirely concur; and no words of mine could better express the views which I entertain. Without any hesitation, I say that the man ought not to be surrendered.—R.D.R.

Both the moral law and the civil law acquit Anderson of the crime with which the United States' authorities charge him. He is not guilty of murder, for the law defines murder to be "killing with malice aforethought, either expressed or implied." His act was one of self-preservation, an unpremeditated deed against a cruel and unrelenting slaveholder. The only charge we can impute to him is that of "excusable homicide;" not indeed "by misadventure," but "upon a principle of self-preservation."—HARWOOD.

## The Inquirer.

### QUESTIONS TO WHICH ANSWERS ARE SOLICITED.

139. Would some of your correspondents kindly inform me what was the origin of the designation *Blue Stockings*, as applied to literary ladies?—M. A.

140. Would any of your readers kindly inform me what was the origin of the term "Quakers," as applied to the Society of Friends?—W. B. D.

141. What is the origin of the term "hackneyed"?—E. F.

142. I am about to commence studying the German language without a master, would any of your readers kindly inform me which is the best Grammar?—E. F.

143. I have read somewhere that one of the most illustrious Romans, having lost a daughter by death, his friend, also a very celebrated Roman, wrote a letter of condolence to the bereaved father, in which he said, "If there be a hereafter, your daughter was so very good while living, that you may be assured she is at peace now." I cannot say that I have given the right words, but they were something to that effect. Can any reader of the *British Controversialist* inform me who these two persons were, what was the daughter's name, and when did she die? Also, where I can look for more information? I had an impression that Cicero and his daughter Tullia were here meant, and that the said letter was written by one of Cicero's friends when Tullia died; but I cannot find the quotation in any of the letters given in Middleton's "Life," which relate to this mournful event in Cicero's history.—F. S.

144. I should feel much obliged if any of your correspondents would kindly inform me of one of the best treatises on the practical part of Parallelograms of Forces.—W. J.

### ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

139. *The origin of the term Blue Stocking*, as applied to literary ladies, is thus stated by a recent writer. In close correspondence with the "Literary Club," was the famous "Blue Stocking Club," which met on the same day that the Literary Club dined together at the Turk's Head, or some other tavern. In the evening the members of the Literary Club were invited to Mrs. Montague's, Mrs. Vesey's, Mrs. Garrick's, or Mrs. Boscawen's, or wherever else the Blue Stocking Club assembled. The origin of the name of the Club was this:—one of the most eminent members of this Society was Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet, the author of a posthumous essay on Conversation, which is to be found in the first volume of "Dodley's Collection." His dress was remarkably plain, and he always wore blue stockings. He was an excellent converser, and his absence was felt to be so great a loss, that it used to be said, "We can do nothing without the Blue Stockings," and thus, by way of pleasantry, this title was established. A Frenchman of distinction, whose name is hid in the deepest obscurity, supposing this to be the real name of the party, innocently called it *Bas Bleu*, the corresponding appellation in his own language, and now given to women of literary pursuits. These gatherings were composed of persons of distinguished rank, talent, and respectability, who met for conversation, and were different in no respect from other parties, but that the company did not dance, and did not play at cards. Hannah More has given some account of this Club in her "*Bas Bleu*," a poem, in which several members of the Literary Club are introduced, as Johnson, under the name of Cato; Garrick, under the name of Roscius; and Burke, under that of Hortensius.—X.

120. *The Number of distinct Species of Animals*, at present existing on the globe, has been calculated, by an able naturalist, on tolerably satisfactory data, to considerably exceed half a million; about nineteen-twentieths of the whole being insects.—X.

122. *Admission to the Library of the British Museum.*—Your correspondent, "J. Sergeant" may obtain a recommendation, which will entitle him to revel amid the boundless literary stores contained in the magnificent library of the British Museum, by application to any clergyman, barrister, or M.P., with whom he is acquainted. In this library your correspondent will find every facility and comfort requisite for the successful carrying on of literary labours.—T. S. P.

126. *The Origin of the Kilt.*—The following circumstantial account of the origin of the Philibeg has been stated, by an eminent Scottish antiquary, to me to be both accurate and authentic:—"In or about 1727, a Liverpool company, attracted by the mineral resources of the district, and the abundant supply of fuel afforded by the natural birch woods of Glengarry, founded an establishment for smelting ore, near the bridge of Garry, and cut a small canal from Loch Oich to Loch Lochie, to facilitate the conveyance of the metal to the sea. It was at this time that the hitherto invincible repugnance of the male Highlanders to any kind of manual labour was greatly overcome by the direct necessity caused by the impoverishing oppression exercised by the army of occupation under General Wade. So, a number of Highlanders were employed by the English company; but these men, unable to move their limbs when swathed in the many folds of the belted plaid, threw off their plaids, their only article of dress, and worked *in puris naturalibus*. Rawlinson, the manager of the works, an Englishman, and member of the Society of Friends, was distressed and disgusted—decent man!—by seeing himself daily surrounded by naked men, but could find

no help for it. The manager resided about halfway between Inverness and Maryburgh, both places being then garrisoned by Wade's soldiers. One evening, an English army tailor, named Parkinson, who had just arrived from London, on business connected with clothing of the troops, when passing between the two garrisons, was caught in a shower, and took shelter in Rawlinson's house. After the first greetings, the tailor, being unacquainted with the customs of the country, expressed his surprise that a Highlander, who had also sought shelter, did not put off his cloak. Rawlinson shocked his guest by replying that the Highlander's cloak,—in reality a belted plaid,—was the only garment he had on; that if he was in his own hut, amongst his family, he would take it off *instantly*, but, in deference to certain Southern prejudices, he kept it on in an Englishman's house. Rawlinson further stated how greatly he was shocked by seeing the naked Highlanders at work, and entreated Parkinson's professional assistance towards devising a new garb for the men, in which they could work without outraging decency. The problem to be solved was, to make a dress, not higher in price than the belted plaid; that would retain the plaits so highly prized by the Highland dandy, and that would admit of the free use of the limbs when at work. The tailor solved the problem with his shears. He cut off the lower part of the plaid that belted round the loins, and formed permanent plaits in it with the needles,—and lo! the kilt!—while the upper part, forming the shoulder-plaid, could be fastened round the shoulders as before, in severe weather, or when the wearer was not working. Rawlinson, to set an example to his workmen, nobly stifled the peculiar notions of his sect, and was the first man to wear the kilt. The Highlanders at first looked coldly on it; but the chief of Glengarry adopting the novel garment, the kilt soon became general in the district, and from thence



spread to other parts of the Highlands. However, the belted plaid survived the period when the Highland dress was interdicted by law (from 1747 to 1782), and was worn by shepherds till the close of the last century, and known by its original name of *breacan feille*; while to the kilt was given the name *feile beg*, the little covering; and the shoulder-plaid was termed *am feile mor*, the greater covering." Yours, &c., S. N.

137. *Law Books*.—In the absence of any better information, perhaps the following will be of use to S. P. G. As a general rule, choose those works which have been latest published, for the law is a bird with a long bill which so frequently changes its nest, that if you look for it two seasons in the same place, it is a question if it will be found; in other words, alterations are so continually being made in the definition of various points of law, that it is advisable to have the latest ideas respecting them. As a commencement in the study of law, and more especially if those studies are commenced as a guide through the various pitfalls the fraudulent are always placing for the unwary to step into, I would recommend S. P. G. to purchase the whole of the series of those lately published, and now publishing, "Hand-books," of which Lord St. Leonards was the father, and which are intended for the use of tradesmen and others not in the profession, and simplified accordingly. These are sold at a moderate price, I believe from a shilling to half-a-crown, or three shillings and sixpence; and for a cheap county court practice that published by Billing, of Birmingham, at seven shillings and sixpence, is a good one; if a more expensive one is required, I would recommend the last edition of Archbold's. If S. P. G.

wishes to study the law in earnest, I would recommend, for CONVEYANCING, "Martin and Crabbe's Precedents;" for the COMMON LAW, "Archbold's Nisi Prius," "Roscoe on Evidence," *The Law Journal Reports*, published monthly, at 5s., "Archbold's New Practice of Attorneys," "Lush's Common Law;" for the law of LANDLORD AND TENANT, "Woodfall;" for CONTRACTS, "Addison." Great advantage will be derived from reading *The Advocate*, Chitty's "Burn's Justice," and "Chitty's Pleadings." I think S. P. G. ought to send the editor six and eightpence for this information; and if that gentleman be not in the profession he will, doubtless, with his usual courtesy and generosity, return the fee!—F. S. MILLS.

137. *Legal Studies*.—As an introduction to legal studies, S. P. G. should procure "The Articled Clerk's Hand-Book," which contains a course of study in all the branches of the law; author, R. Halliday: published at the "Law Times" Office, 19, Wellington-street North, Strand; price 5s. 6d.—W. B. N.

141. *The origin of the term Quakers*.—The Society of Friends were called Quakers because of a remark made by George Fox, their founder, when examined by a justice of the peace, that "quaking and trembling were necessary dispositions to hear the Word of God with profit." Subsequently to this, a mis-called "Justice," Gervas Bennett, hearing that Fox had made this remark, with some degree of profaneness, took occasion from the saying to style him and his disciples "Quakers." The name took with the people, and was generally adopted. Before this the followers of Fox were called "Professors of the Light," and "Followers of the Light."—X.

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THE discipline of the mind, by a right conduct in ordinary cases, is the best security against error and defect in those which are extraordinary.—*Dr. Parr.*

## The Societies' Section.

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*Cantley Young Men's Improvement Society*, was formed Dec. 5th, 1860, when Mr. Jabez Wilson was elected chairman; Mr. R. Haresnape, secretary; and Mr. Richard Shaw, treasurer. Two eloquent lectures have been delivered by Mr. R. Nunwick, on "The Improvement of the Mind," and on "Little Things—Great Results." The *British Controversialist* is taken in by the members, and is always hailed as a welcome visitor.

*Dundee Mutual Improvement Association*.—It is not our intention, in the present short paper, to sound the praises and dilate on the advantages of mutual improvement associations—to recount the illustrious names whose genius and talents have been nurtured and expanded through their beneficent influence,—but simply to call the attention of those who sympathize with these associations, to one or two plans which have proved of great value to one of the most popular associations in Dundee, in augmenting the number of members; in securing regular attendance; in inspiring them with fresh ardour; and in conferring upon them much valuable knowledge, which they would not otherwise have possessed. In many of our literary associations, in large commercial or manufacturing towns, a manuscript magazine is circulated among the members. In many cases, the magazine is issued monthly, and contains three or four articles of tolerable length; and every member is allowed three days for perusal and criticism. But such a mass of writing presented for examination and criticism in so short a time, is a decided hindrance to the usefulness and success of the magazine. Under these circumstances, a plan was adopted in the Dundee Literary Association, and which has been found to work well. We issue a manuscript magazine every month,

containing only one short article on some leading topic. This is circulated among the members weekly, who peruse it, and append their own criticisms. The contributors of twelve articles, which extend over twelve months, are selected from the members, and their order of succession is decided by ballot. Our list is divided into a senior and junior section; the senior contributing for six months, and the junior for the next six months; and at the end of each half-year, a prize is presented, by the vote of the association, to the best contributor.

Another plan has been adopted by the association to facilitate the reading of expensive books. It was remarked that members, although connected with a library, being allowed but a short time for the perusal of volumes, only gained a superficial acquaintance with their contents; and that when they bought books, they were only such as were of small price, and often less value. A book club was therefore originated, members having the option of subscribing one penny and upwards weekly, the amount of their subscriptions being placed to their credit at the end of each year. There are booksellers in London who offer all classes of books at a discount of twopence in the shilling, and pay the carriage to any town in Britain, when the amount exceeds £5. Thus we are able to allow the subscriber of one penny weekly, a choice of any volume value five shillings; and a subscriber of twopence weekly, a choice of one or more books, to the amount of ten shillings. Thus, by an insignificant weekly subscription, members may possess, in a very short time, a small, select, and standard library. These schemes are in addition to those mentioned on the regular syllabus of the Dundee Literary Association, which comprise an essay weekly, with a de-

bate once a month, with occasional readings, recitations, and dialogues, besides admission to a series of winter lectures now being delivered in Dundee. —A. S. R.

*The Dundee Literary Association* held its third annual festival, in Lamb's Saloon, on the evening of Thursday, January 3rd, when a very numerous and intelligent company assembled, including a large proportion of the fair sex. Mr. P. H. Millar, President of the Association, was in the chair. The proceedings were opened with the Hundredth Psalm. After a service of tea, the president delivered his opening address, on "A Retrospective Glance at Literature," which was characterized by powerful eloquence and profundity of thought. An address on "The Triumphs of Genius in Modern Literature" was delivered by Mr. A. Stewart Rae. An essay on "The Dignity of Labour" was read by Mr. Bruce; and a humorous story, told by Mr. Peattie, amid repeated tokens of applause, concluded the first part of the programme. An interval, with service of fruit, followed. Part second opened, very appropriately, with an address to the ladies on "The Beauties of Poetry," by Mr. A. Jones. Mr. McIntosh spoke on the hero of Italy—Garibaldi. The addresses were interspersed with songs and recitations, and the usual votes of thanks concluded the proceedings of the evening.—A. S. R.

*Leeds.—Perseverance Discussion Society.*—The first annual dinner of this society took place on Thursday, the 10th of January inst., at Mr. Stanwin's, the Royal Hotel, Briggate. After ample justice had been done to the good things provided, Mr. T. Dalton, the secretary, was called upon by the chairman to read the report, which stated that the society now numbered eighteen members, that during the year (monthly meetings being held during the summer months), twenty-three discussions had taken place, three of which were adjourned, and concluded by urging upon the members the necessity of being true to their title. The

usual loyal and patriotic toasts having been drunk, Mr. J. Cheatler gave the toast of the evening, "Success to the Perseverance Discussion Society," which was drunk with due honour. The remainder of the evening was suitably enlivened by songs, recitations, &c. A galvanic battery, kindly lent by Mr. Wadsworth, one of the members, created no small degree of amusement, and added materially to the enjoyment of the evening.

*Stoke-on-Trent.—Gladstone Mutual Improvement Society.*—This society held its second meeting for the election of officers on Tuesday, the 15th of January, when the following secretary's report was read and adopted:—"This society was organized on the 13th Sept., 1860, and held its first meeting on the 17th of the same month. The number of enrolled members is eighteen. The average attendance at the meetings of the society has been twelve. The officers, who have had the management of the society for the past session, have been—president, S. Asbury, Esq.; treasurer, Mr. Bentley; and secretaries, Mr. Reeve and Mr. E. Asbury. Since the formation of the society fifteen meetings have been held, at each of which one or more recitations have been given, and an essay has been read, among which were one by Mr. J. Asbury, on 'Gladstone,' one by Mr. Reeve, on 'Decision of Character,' by Mr. Adams, on 'Educational Societies,' Mr. Drake, on 'Hope,' Mr. Hammersley, on 'Thomas Chatterton,' Mr. Thomas James, on 'Fear,' Mr. E. Asbury, on 'Garibaldi,' and Mr. J. James, on 'Faith.' We have had fourteen debates, the most spirited discussions taking place when the following questions were introduced: 'Ought the conduct of a man to be influenced by public opinion?' 'Railway travelling on the Sabbath,' 'Sectarianism,' and 'The character of Queen Elizabeth.' The society has gone on prosperously since its commencement, several additions have been made to the members, more interest is felt in the debates, and the essays, as literary works, are decidedly improving." E. A., Sec.

## LITERARY NOTES.

Mrs. C. F. Gore (born 1800), one of our most prolific novelists of fashionable life, died 29th January, at Linwood, Lyndhurst, in Hampshire. For some time prior to her death she was blind, and, in consequence of the failure of a notorious banking concern, suffered from pecuniary embarrassment.

Domesday Book, 1080, has been recovered in the Record Office, and is being photographed *in extenso*.

Sir E. B. Lytton is reported as being engaged on a novel, comprising scenes from Greek life, at Corfu.

Dr. Croly's personalty was sworn under £8,000.

Mr. Donat, editor of the *Observer* since 1810, has now retired from active service, at the age of 95.

G. H. Lewes is engaged just now in researches regarding "The Lives, Labours, and Discoveries of British Microscopists," which will soon be given to the public.

The Rev. J. G. MacVicar is employed in preparing an elaborate treatise on "Morphology."

Henri Murger, author of "Life in Bohemia," a French novelist and poet, died in great distress in Paris lately.

Herbert Spencer is at present publishing a series of interesting philosophical speculations, by subscription.

Professor McCosh, of Belfast, is preparing a work on "The Scottish Philosophy," from Carmichael to Hamilton, which promises to be of great interest.

The concluding portion of Dean Alford's edition of the (Greek) New Testament is, we have been told, in the press.

"The Encyclopædia Britannica" is now completed, by the issue of vol. xxi., and an index volume, price 8s. Ninety years ago—1771—the compilation of a somewhat unsteady Edinburgh printer, Wm. Smellie, it was first issued in four vols. quarto; in 1776, a second edition, in ten vols., was commenced; in 1797, the third edition, in eighteen vols., was completed; in 1810, a fourth; two

nominal editions succeeded this, and a supplement was added in 1824; in 1842, the seventh edition was completed, under the conductorship of MacVey, Napier, and Dr. Traill; the eighth, that now completed, was begun in 1856, and has been edited by Dr. T. Stewart Traill, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence and Police, Edinburgh.

Henry Lord Brougham is about to acknowledge, by republication, a History of England and France in the days of the Wars of the Roses, which he published anonymously during the days when *Punch* made a weekly attack on him. He is also, it is said, composing an Autobiography, which is sure to be *piquante*.

Biographies of Robert Stephenson, Sir M. I. Brunel, and Richard Porson, the Hellenist, are announced as *in preparation*.

Matthew Arnold, eldest son of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, and Professor of Poetry in Oxford, has recently published three lectures "On Translating Homer," and has *in the press* a work on "The Popular Education of France."

The editorship of the *Eclectic* has again changed hands, and Paxton Hood now occupies the place vacated by the Rev. J. B. Paton, M.A., of Sheffield.

We regret to have to announce the decease of Mr. Samuel Edwin Lawton, a frequent contributor to the pages of the *British Controversialist*.

"The Recreations of a Country Parson," *second series*, by the Rev. Andrew K. H. Boyd, minister of St. Bernard's Church, Edinburgh (ordained 1851), and son of the Rev. James Boyd, D.D., minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow (ordained 1818), have just been issued.

The third volume of Guizot's translation of Shakespere is *out*.

Edwin Atherstone, author of "The Last Days of Heroulanum," 1821; "The Fall of Nineveh," 1828, &c., has in MS. a poem entitled "Israel in Egypt," of which we have had the pleasure of perusing extracts.

A new weekly journal, advocating the abolition of the Pope's temporal power, is about to be established in Rome.

Mrs. Wightman, authoress of "Haste to the Rescue," has given the actual and prospective profits of her authorship (£550) to purchase the old Diocesan School at Shrewsbury, which is to be used hereafter as a working man's hall.

The late Andrew Dalzell, for thirty years—1776-1806—Professor of Greek in the Scottish metropolis, left a posthumous work, entitled "Annals of the University of Edinburgh," which is shortly to be published.

Cosmo Innes has, in the press, "Sketches of Early Scotch History." It will treat of the Church, the University, and the home life of that nation.

Mr. Theed's design for the Hallam memorial has been accepted.

Guizot's "Memoirs," vol. iv. is to be published in the spring.

Dr. Irving's posthumous MS. "History of Scottish Poetry," from Thomas of Erildoun to Temple of Castle Temple, near Lochwinnoch, is to be published.

A collection of ancient Gaelic poems, made by Rev. James Macgregor, Dean of Lismore between 1512-1529, is to be issued, under the editorial care of the Rev. Thomas MacLachlan, of the Gaelic Free Church, Edinburgh.

Mr. Turnbull has resigned his situation in the Record Office, owing to the persistent opposition of the Protestant Alliance, who represented it as dangerous to have a Catholic employed among the State papers of "the days of good Queen Bess."

1,102 newspapers are published—61 of them daily—in the United Kingdom, and 481 magazines and reviews.

A second edition of the poetical works of D. M. Moir (Delta) has just been issued, with a portrait, and a memoir by Thomas Aird.

Charles Mackay has ceased to be editor of the *London Review*.

P. F. Merlet, Professor of the French Language and Literature in the University of London since its foundation, and author of some of the best educational works for the study of that tongue, has resigned his chair.

M. P. Lorain has just translated into French, for Messrs. Hachette and Co., Dickens's "Little Dorrit."

"Dante's Life and Times" are to receive full elucidation in the first volume of the national edition of his works, to be published in 1862-5.

Schiller's "Laura" has been shown by Professor Haakh to have been, not Frau Vischer, but her niece, Wilhelmine Andrea. See what it is to have a hawk's eye.

Dr. Stanley's "History of the Eastern Church" is nearly ready.

The Life of Admiral Sir Charles Napier is in preparation, by Major-Gen. E. H. Napier.

James Hannay's Essays from the *Quarterly Review* are to be issued immediately.

A second volume of Bunsen's "Bibelwerke" is left fit for the printer's hands. Messrs. Longman are preparing the concluding volumes of his "Egypt."

Napoleon III. has raised the salary of the members of the French Academy of Science from 1,600 to 6,000 francs.

Mr. Theodore Martin, translator of Horace, is engaged on a version of "Catullus," with "Life and Notes."

A member of the family of Christopher North (Prof. John Wilson), we presume Prof. J. F. Ferrier, is announced as being engaged on a work we thought had been committed to the hands of Thomas Aird, viz., a biography of the Jupiter of Blackwood.

Hepworth Dixon's "Life of Bacon" is to appear in *La Presse* as a *feuilleton*, in a translation by Louis Blanc.

The speeches and addresses of the Right Rev. S. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, 1841-60, are to be issued in an edition authorized and superintended by himself.

The Correspondence of Napoleon I., vol. vi., is now published.

The author of "Guy Livingstone," J. H. Lawrence, is employed on a new novel.

One of the lady-companions of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, Miss Cornelia Wright, by an autobiography and journal, is to supply more information upon the court and times of George III. and the Regency.

Lord Granville's sister, Lady Georgiana Charlotte Fullerton, has just published in Paris, in French, a new novel, called "Rose Leblanc." An English edition will be issued shortly by Burns and Lambert. It is said to maintain the reputation of the authoress of "Ellen Middleton;" "Grantley Manor;" "Countess de Bonneval," &c.

The Messrs. Chambers, after careful inquiry, have learned that nearly ten million periodical works of an improving tendency are sold every month; while the sale of works of an infidel, immoral, or injurious nature is little more than 75,000.

J. W. Donaldson, D.D., one of England's ripest scholars, author of the "New Cratylus;" "Jasher," &c., the continuator of Muller's "History of the Literature of Ancient Greece," has just been drudged to death by the unremunerative labours of years, in attempting to improve and sustain the philological reputation of his country, before he had completed his fiftieth year.

An unpublished satire on the Duke of Marlborough, 500 unprinted letters, and various additional lines and readings, will be included in Elwin's "Life and Works of Alexander Pope."

A new novel, "by the author of Adam Bede," is to come out about the Easter holidays.

Eugene Scribe, the most prolific of French dramatic writers, died, at Paris, on 19th Feb.

Rev. Charles Merivale, B.D., author of "A History of the Romans under the Empire," has been chosen Hulsean Lecturer for the year.

The minister of Kildrummy, Rev. John Christie, in Banffshire, Scotland, has just issued "A Brief Outline of the

History of Christianity in Scotland, from its Introduction till 1690." This he has compiled, written, composed, imposed, impressed, and so printed and published *himself*.

Wm. Jenner, M.D., "Gulstonian Lecturer" (1853), and author of many medical papers and works, has been appointed Physician Extraordinary to the Queen.

"A Memoir (not Goldsmith's, we presume) of Beau Nash," the arbiter of fashion at Bath, 1711—1761, is soon to be issued.

"God's Revelation and Man's Trial," two Sermons bearing on "the new move at Oxford," are to be published by the Bishop of that University city.

Two vols. of a "History of French Literature," by M. Greuzet, are "just out" in Paris.

The Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford is at present expounding Plato's Republic.

The late Rev. Baden Powell's successor in the Savilian professorship of Geometry is J. H. S. Smith, of Balliol College.

The library—rare and extensive—of Humboldt, has been purchased by Mr. Stevens, of Trafalgar Square, London, and it is thought they will be dispersed under the hammer.

The Rev. Dr. J. A. Hessey, the Bampton Lecturer for 1860, on "Sunday, its Origin, History, and Present Obligation," is the son of the late Mr. James Hessey, bookseller, London.

A new "History of Modern Europe," by Thomas H. Dyer, including the results of the researches of the most eminent modern historians, readings of events culled from State papers and other documents in the archives of England and the Continent, is to be issued by Murray.

Dr. Wm. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," is now finished, and is about to be republished in a new edition in volumes.

A second vol. of Christie's *rehabilitation* of Lord Shaftesbury's character is announced.

Mr. Bentley announces a new volume of gossip by Dr. Doran, on Queen Adelaide.

"Orley Farm" is the title of Mr. Anthony Trollope's new novel, to be issued in twenty monthly parts, commencing in March, by Messrs. Chapman and Hall. Each part will contain two illustrations by Mr. Millais.

"PUNCH."—It is a curious fact, that the sale of *Punch* is immensely greater in Glasgow than in any other city in the kingdom, London excepted; affording a good set-off to Sydney Smith's dictum that it required a surgical operation to get a joke into a Scotchman's head.

The Messrs. Chambers's London trade has increased to such a degree, that Mr. Robert Chambers is about to transfer his residence from the Scotch to the English capital. What will Professor Blackie say to the great Scotch publisher's unpatriotic desertion of his native for a foreign country?

Messrs. Saunders, Otley, and Co. announce that they will publish "The Lives of the Speakers of the House of Commons," by William Nathaniel Massey, Esq., M.P., the author of the History of England, and chairman of Ways and Means; and "The American Church and the American Union," by the celebrated writer on the American Church, Henry Caswall, D.D., Prebend of Sarum. A new work by Lady Julia Lockwood they also announce as forthcoming.

A new Quarterly at half-a-crown is announced from Edinburgh. It is to be called "The Museum: a Quarterly Magazine of Education, Literature, and Science;" and will commence with April. The chief contributors are Mr. Edwin Chadwick, the Rev. J. Currie, Mr. W. Scott Dalgleish, the Rev. F. W. Farrar, Mr. Joshua G. Fitch, Mr. James Hannay, Dr. J. D. Morrell, Mr. J. Pillans, Rev. H. G. Robinson, and Dr. Schmitz.

The well-known publisher of Leipzig, Bernard Tauchnitz, has just received from the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg, as a reward for his English publications, the title of Baron for himself and his direct descendants. English Murrays, Long-

mans, &c., are contented with the simple prefix "Mr." Tauchnitz merits distinction; his collection of English classics has familiarized Continental readers with our best authors, to the advantage of these—perhaps sometimes to the disadvantage of the English publisher.

The *Glasgow Commonwealth*, a weekly newspaper, edited by Mr. Percy E. Dove, expired a fortnight ago. Its former editor, Mr. Peter Bayne, was passed on to the *Edinburgh Witness*, on the death of Mr. Hugh Miller.

"The Essays and Reviews" have reached a fifth edition this week, under the care of Messrs. Longman and Co. It is a mistake to call these Oxford essays, two out of the six essayists being Cambridge men, viz., the Rev. Dr. Rowland Williams, and Mr. C. W. Goodwin, M.A. And, moreover, Mr. Goodwin is not a clergyman, as generally supposed. For the time a few quiet scholars have set aside Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and Wilkie Collins at the libraries, and articles and sermons are multiplied concerning them. Mr. Freeman has just reprinted from the *Dial* a criticism upon them by the Rev. Dr. Cairns, of Berwick, entitled "Rationalism and English Christianity."

Messrs. James Hogg and Sons announce as preparing for publication a reprint of De Quincey "On Self-Education, with Hints on Style; and Dialogues on Political Economy." This work will also appear in two volumes, the first under the title of "Language, Rhetoric, and Style," with notes, critical and explanatory, and examination papers, by the Rev. A. J. D'Orsey, B.D., for the use of private students and candidates for the Oxford and Civil Service examinations, &c.; and the second, "Dialogues of Three Templars on Political Economy, chiefly in relation to the principles of Mr. Ricardo." For their announced use as text-books for colleges and higher schools, we can hardly imagine these volumes will meet with acceptance.

## Epoch Men.

### GREGORY VII.—CÆSARISM IN THE CHURCH.

"Under Gregory VII. the ideas, hitherto for the most part undeveloped, of the supremacy of the Pope over the Church, and of the Church over the State, first assumed the form of a perfectly organized system."—*J. C. L. Gieseler.*

"Gregory VII. became the founder of Papal pretensions, and of spiritual despotism."—*L. R. de Vericour.*

THE hurry of events continued. Hildebrand pursued his purpose with the swerveless intensity of conviction. The age required an inflexible and energetic spirit, filled brimful with a thought new to the world and history; and success had hitherto authenticated the mission of that Premier of the Church. To erect, amid the ceaseless turmoil of war, a durable power, capable of authoritatively acting as the champion and guardian of civilization, intelligence, and morality, against military licence and the tyranny of force—to rear, among and yet above the thrones of kings and emperors, a supreme regality, wielding a superintending and controlling sway over all life and all the issues of life, over potentates and people, lawgivers and laws, noble and serf, priest and proselyte—to establish an organization whose influences were woven into the innermost tissues of society, and whose ruler was armed with the might of a godlike irresistibility—whose foremost man held kings as thralls, and emperors as vassals—whose chief was empowered to direct, advise, reprimand, denounce, and even depose monarch or minister—seemed to him a noble and a holy aim. With the devoted absorption of a passion, he had given himself up to its accomplishment. The gleam upon the ultimate heights of effort was already becoming visible. The sword and sceptre were waning before the crosier. To halt now in his great life-task would have been traitorous alike to the past and to the future. Hesitance seemed to be a crime—the greatest crime he could commit. If he must tarnish the most fine gold of the papal tiara with intrigues, warfare, craft, and fraud, and mix its divine metal with a human alloy, the statesman's ready plea, necessity, formed an ample justification—

"The cause exacts it, and I may not shrink—  
That cause which makes of all this mortal world  
But one vast engine for its purposes;  
And still works on, and pauses not, nor spares,  
Though every strained and shrieking cable were  
Spun out of human fibre."

To bind together the whole priesthood in one inviolable unity, strong in its indivisibility—to abstract all family and national feeling  
1861.



from the soul—to sacerdotalize the clergy—to keep them a class apart and separate—to knit them together into one specific organization—to converge all their feelings, desires, ambitions, interests, and efforts towards one object, the permanization of the order to which they belonged—it was requisite that they should be individually brought into an exceptional position. In one way only could this be effectively attained—priests should be marriageless. A life of entire celibacy sunders at once the ties of kindred, those closely-intertwining fibres of the soul which join society into a mass. In becoming a priest, the novice required to unlink himself from the world, and to fasten himself into the ecclesiastical brotherhood; to relinquish all sonship, except to the Church; all fatherhood, except that of spiritual parentage; all bondage of the hearts vows, save to his order. Every avenue of pleasure, hope, profit, ambition, or success was sealed to the priest but one—unquestioning submission to the Church. Hereditary place and power were thus made to them impossible, and the Church became an oligarchy continually resistive of the overweening power of kings and nobles; an oligarchy in which, for the most part, talent secured eminence. Hence the ardent pertinacity with which Hildebrand insisted on priestly celibacy, and hence the vigour with which he directed his energy to the accomplishment of this hierarchical necessity.

Simony was scarcely less hurtful to the Church than marriage. The sale and purchase of preferment and power in the Church made its prelates little else than the tools of the sovereign who nominated their holder to office, the instruments by which his purposes were to be worked. There was no anchor of safety for the Church in a priesthood whose place and power depended on Imperial sanction. The cables were sure to slip under any strain. It must be felt by every priest and prelate that he was the servant of the Church alone; that he was situated where and as he was for its sake; and that in its danger his own fate was jeopardized. Celibacy and the Papal investiture of the members of the hierarchy were co-ordinate modes of effecting the sacerdotalism of the priesthood; of maintaining the clergy as a separate caste, having an interest in a vast spiritual organization and institution, which claimed pre-eminence in power, and held the kingdoms of the world in subserviency to its designs. Claiming to be a divinely substantiated authority, the Church necessarily held that all earthly dignity derived its legitimization from it, and was dependent upon and amenable to it. The balance of power Hildebrand held to be the will of the Church.

Purposes such as these, interfering with Imperial domination, social life, civic institutions, state policy, national feelings, family interests, and personal liberty, met indeed with little acceptance in the stormy youth of civilization; and required an unyielding austerity, a decisive energy, an intense zeal, and an overbearing persistency, to bring them into a workable condition. These qualities Hildebrand possessed; and that he exercised them, the narrative of his acts amply shows. This we now resume:—

Alexander II. deputed Hugo, cardinal of Silva-Candida, to go as his legate to Spain, to persuade the new king of Arragon and Castile, Sancho, to adopt the ritual of the Romish Church; while he, accompanied by Hildebrand, went to his native city, Milan, to quell a disturbance between its citizens and their ecclesiastical superiors. Hildebrand had stirred up the whole excitement and revolt, that he might press on the Pope to decisive action against simony and the marriage of priests, which he stigmatized as concubinage. Of simony the Milanese clergy proved their guiltlessness; and they defended their right to marry. Archbishop Guido, though himself unwedded, maintained the justice and legality of priestly marriages. Ariold, a tool of Hildebrand's, opposed him. Guido was excommunicated; and Ariold, in revenge, was drowned by the populace in the Lago Maggiore. Hildebrand sent an armed force against Guido, who was compelled to succumb. Henry IV. invested one Godfrey with the vacant dignity. Hildebrand opposed the Imperial nominee, and, by excommunication, procured his retirement, whereupon he reinstated Guido.

Hildebrand's watchful eye was everywhere. The Pope enjoyed the delights of life at Lucca; but he, intent on effecting his great scheme, pursued the war against the deposed Pope, Cadolaus; set Duke Godfrey to keep the Normans in check; gave the Bohemian king the right to wear a mitre; sent legates to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; kept a continual watch upon the German emperor; and fomented or originated quarrel, usurpation, and conquest everywhere. He unsettled all, that in the resettlement his schemes might have a place.

The Cerdic dynasty, which for five centuries had ruled in England, had at last run its course. Edward the Confessor was childless. Two claimants aimed at the sovereignty; Harold, the chosen of the English people, and William (afterwards the Conqueror), the nominee of Hildebrand, who secured the Pope's sanction to his attempt to acquire the throne of England. Harold was crowned in St. Paul's, London, on the day of Edward's death (5th January, 1066), with general acceptance; but on the 14th October of the same year he was, after a dauntless fight, slain at Senlac, near Hastings, in a war against the invasion of William. So perished

"The noblest and the last  
Of Saxon kings; save one, the noblest he—  
The last of all,"

and Duke William, under the banner of St. Peter, was hailed as conqueror and as king. He presented Harold's battle-flag, and a portion of the spoil, to his patron, the Pope; and was crowned on Christmas Day, 1066, in Westminster Abbey, by Aldred, archbishop of York. Hildebrand praised the Conqueror enthusiastically; but politically endeavoured to subjugate the clergy of England to the Romish Church. To effect this, he sent legates from Rome, who deposed curates, abbots, bishops, and archbishops, on the plea of

illegal ordination; but really with the intent of substituting clergy devoted to William's cause, and so to preserve by wrong what had been won by war. On the deposition of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, 1070, Lanfranc, at the urgent solicitation of Hildebrand, accepted the appointment, and did his best to Romanize the English Church. Hildebrand felt considerable complacency in reflecting on this signal victory of his astutely laid plans, for Lanfranc was one of the most notable controversialists of that age. On going to Rome to receive the pallium,—a short white cloak of lambs' wool, with a red cross over the shoulders and down the back, which was given by the Popes as the outward symbol of ecclesiastical dignity,—Alexander II. and his archdeacon conferred on Lanfranc double honours, and succeeded, for a time, in procuring homage to the Primate of the Catholic Church from a people who have been more remarkable for resistance than submission to the Pope. By force, fraud, connivance, or intrigue, Hildebrand generally gained his object: no difficulty could daunt, and no impediment arrest him in his course. His position about this time is indicated in these lines, from a satire by his friend, Petrus Damianus, viz.:—

"Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro;  
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ipse Deum."

This Damianus was a man of singular genius, ability, and power; of great activity of mind and vehemence of thought. He was almost the rival of Hildebrand, who, however, held him in leading strings. They had sworn to co-operate in making the papal throne the greatest of all earthly powers. They often quarrelled, but always became reconciled. In early life he had, in cloistered monkhood, as Dante says,

"Fed his soul with thoughts contemplative;"

but in his latter years he stood before kings. He was deputed by the ever vigilant Hildebrand to preside at the Council of Mayence, and to decide upon the proposed divorce of Henry IV. from his wife Bertha, who, after four years of married life, was childless. Damianus denied the suit, and Hildebrand declared marriage indissoluble from any cause except incestuous intercourse. The Archbishop of Ravenna, who had withstood the papal usurpations, died under the severest excommunications, and his people rose in revolt against this harsh treatment. Damianus was sent to appease the tumult, and to absolve the people from the anathemas under which they were laid. He successfully accomplished his duty, and then died. Hildebrand by this event was rivalless.

Of one tool, Annone, the abductor of Henry, he got rid by relegating him to his office of Bishop of Cologne, with such extraordinary powers as made him, in effect, the Pope of Germany. Hildebrand was as unscrupulous, when it suited his own ends, in giving as in taking.

About this time, too (1071), Hildebrand inaugurated the great

architectural reform at Rome, by repairing, restoring, and decorating the ancient churches, and building new ones. The Pope embraced the same idea, and built the cathedral of Lucca; and Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, erected there the earliest Gothic church. This the Pope consecrated as soon as completed: and then journeyed, for pleasure, along the borders of the Neapolitan territory, while Hildebrand set off, sword in hand, to oust the usurping Normans from the papal dominions. In this object, by the aid of the troops of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, Hildebrand was entirely successful, and compelled the checkmated invaders to retire from the Holy See. In return for the help Matilda gave him, he nominated Guibert, the Italian chancellor of Henry IV., to the archbishopric of Ravenna—a man at once ambitious and crafty, and therefore dangerous; but Hildebrand could not yet afford to despise the possessor of an army, and a lady devoted to his service. Things were now, however, ripening apace for a change.

Henry IV., released from ecclesiastical tutelage, became rampant against the aggressions of the Church. His despotic tendency developed itself in perverse opposition to the priesthood; and he exercised a haughty tyranny over his subjects. Hildebrand delightedly saw the workings of this alienating and impolitic absolutism, and hinted to his subjects the possibility of gaining redress by an appeal to Rome. The princes of Saxony complained to the Pope about his arrogance. Hildebrand persuaded Alexander to threaten the King. This made him furious. Wrath blinded him to consequences, and he cast aside the yoke of the Church. In actual stubbornness, he compelled the clergy of Saxony and Thuringia to pay him one-half of the tithes; and he repudiated the election of Anselmo, bishop of Lucca, which the Pope had confirmed. These resolves brought on a crisis. The passions which drove Henry blindly on to his purposes, roused the resentment of his Saxon subjects to inveteracy and revolt. The all-subduing schemes of Hildebrand had been successful everywhere. This reckless conduct on the part of Henry alone was wanting to give him cause of quarrel with apparent right upon his side. There was now no object to be gained by further delay. It was the last act in the drama, whose *dénouement* was to be the elevation of the Papacy to the pinnacle of earthly power, prerogative, and administration. At that hour, no one should occupy the supreme chair except him who possessed the inexorable will by which all things had been so arranged and subdued—the master-soul of the history of that age. The hour for striking the last blow, and of stepping upon a throne to which the world was subject, had now come, and on 21st April, 1073, Pope Alexander II. died—the instrument was cast from the hand that had wielded it.

Amid the palpitating of all hearts, intrigue and gold did their work. A shower of largesses fell throughout Rome; a tumult arose among the people; and the cardinals, in terror, chose the favourite of the mob—and their own master—Primate of the Church; and

"being assembled in the church of St. Peter in Vinculis," did, "in the year 1073 of the incarnation of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, on the 22nd of April, the day of the burial of Pope Alexander Second, of blessed memory," there and then "elect as shepherd and high Pontiff, and true Vicar of Christ, the archdeacon Hildebrand, a man of great learning and true piety; of prudence, justice, and constancy in religion; modest, sober, chaste; master in his own house; hospitable to the poor; and nobly brought up in the bosom of the holy Mother Church, from his tenderest years to his present age; learned; whom we wish, in truth, to preside, with the same power which Peter once exercised, over the Church of God." So runs the decree. Hildebrand, escorted by the soldiers of Tuscany, and greeted with the acclamations of the populace, accepted the tiara, and (to imply the legitimacy of the Pontiff—his friend and patron, Gregory VI.—whom Henry III. had exiled) he assumed as his pontifical title Gregory VII. The unflinching, earnest, and crafty labours of a lifetime of politic statesmanship and unscrupulous worldly obstinacy gained their reward; the long coveted purple swathed his form; and, "after having prepared everything to suit his wishes, he stepped into the papal chair the moment he was ready," determined no longer to allow the Church to be regarded as the handmaiden of the empires of the earth, and to claim for her the supreme right of being head over all—the sun in the firmament of potentates—the president in the great theocracy of the universe.

Henry was exceedingly wroth at this unauthorized election, and sent his faithful adherent, Count Eberhard, to protest against any election to which he was not a consenting party. Gregory pleaded that the Papacy had been forced upon him; and that he had delayed his consecration till he had received the approval of the Emperor, to whom he had sent an envoy. Henry, knowing his opponent's energy and power, and being then engaged in attempting to suppress the Saxon revolt, was contented with this acknowledgment of his Imperial claims, and sent a representative to assist at the consecration of Gregory VII., which took place 29th June, 1073.

Rome was again the centre of European politics. It had before conquered and reigned; it was now to over-rule—to diffuse the animation of its influence throughout the kingdoms of the earth, itself peerless, companionless, and irresistible. The very pulses of policy were in her acts. The theory of a theocracy is sublime; but with earthly agencies it is a visionary impracticality. The power of a universal spiritual supremacy, seconded in its ascendancy by the most eminent secular sovereignty, may be omnipotently but can scarcely be beneficially wielded. For the management of the secular concerns of his theocratic domination Gregory had sedulously prepared, and he had girt himself up to the height of his great purpose. He had Norman feudatories in the south; Tuscan auxiliaries in the north; France was submissive; England respectful, though resistant; Spain tacitly subject. He had brought about

revoltful complaints from Suabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia against his chief secular antagonist, Henry IV.; and he had subjugated, by a free bestowal of power and place, many of the Lombardese clergy. So far, intrigue had given his policy hopefulness. He saw his way clearly to the effectuation of his life-long aim, and instantly set about it.

In a few weeks subsequent to his consecration, Gregory summoned a council at the Lateran. It was a gigantic success. Never, since the palmy days of the old empire, had so many *grandeos* of Church and State assembled in council. His machinations were effectual. A decree was passed, forbidding marriage to priests, commanding the wedded to put away their wives, and ordaining that no layman should assist at, or regard as sacred, any act of worship performed by a married priest. Rebukes, menaces, excommunications, ruthless persecutions, compelled obedience to this austere edict. Simoniacal traffic in ecclesiastical dignities was also prohibited, under similar disabilities; and lay investiture was strictly forbidden. Churchmen were to be the lieges only of the papal sovereignty, and the right to benefices was to be valid on receipt of ordination from an ecclesiastical superior; so that the whole Church was brought under vassalage to the Pontiff.

Against Robert Guiscard, Gregory marched with 10,000 men, and he retreated in fear. He next projected an attack upon the Saracens, to win Jerusalem in a crusade, and to unite the Eastern and Western churches. With this ostensible object, he gathered an army of 50,000 men, and thus flattered his friends and terrified his enemies. The Church was filled with tumults. The Milanese clergy, the Gallic bishops, the synods of Erfurth and Lucca, resisted the anti-marital enactment—blood flowed, and internal disorder abounded. Groans and curses were heard everywhere, and every combustible material was aggravated into flame. France was threatened, England soothed, Venice flattered, Denmark patronized, Robert Guiscard anathematized, Russia temporized with, Hungary received a sovereign from Gregory, and Spain was taken under the care of the papal hierarch. To humiliate and depress all before the Church, was the one constant and unvarying aim of Gregory. In the determination to effect submission, he was inexorable. He was intent on regulating, at will, the polity of Europe.

The weakness of the empire was the opportunity of the Church. Otho of Nordheim, the Cromwell of Saxony, had defeated Henry, and his crown had been offered to Rudolph of Suabia. In his anxiety to subdue the revolt of the Saxons, Henry was willing to purchase the neutrality of Gregory at any price;—he paid too dear a one. He submitted, unremonstratingly, to every encroachment. This much was gained for the Popedom, but no counter-vailing help was vouchsafed. Indeed, Gregory knew that only while the combatants were actually engaged in hostilities to the death, could he hope to take his next move in the intricate game of papal diplomacy.

This move was another Lateran Council. There the investiture question was emphatically settled. Henry treated all resistance with contempt. Complaints hurried in to the Romish Vicar of Christ, regarding the crimes, public and private, of Henry, towards and among the Saxons, and Gregory summoned Henry to appear to answer to these charges. On Christmas Eve, 1075, an attempt was made to assassinate Gregory while he was on his way to worship at the shrine of the Holy Mary. Cencius, the assassin, confessed, and was (magnanimously?) forgiven. It was asserted that Cencius was Henry's tool. It is far more likely that it was a pre-arranged plot of Gregory's own. It imparted the bitterness of personality to the contest between the Vatican and the Empire. Gregory's citation was disregarded by Henry; but to the indictment of sacrilege, personal uncleanness, and assassination, made against him by the Pope, Henry answered by a countercharge of base birth, murder, simony, demon-worship, profligacy, and profanity, against Gregory; and on these counts carried a decision of the Synod of Worms against the Vicegerent of God. This decision was greedily countersigned by numerous sufferers from Gregory's recent anti-marital imperiousness.

In Lent, 1076, Gregory sat on his throne in the Vatican, among the clerical and lay supporters of his august claims. Before this new senate, Henry had been called to attend as a criminal. Roland, an ambassador from the Synod of Worms, appeared instead, and thus addressed the Pope:—"The sovereign and the prelates of Germany and Italy send through me this command,—Descend, without delay, from St. Peter's chair, and abandon thine usurpation over the Church. To such honour none can be admitted without Imperial sanction." Then, turning to the assembly, he said:—"To you, brethren, it is commanded that, at the Feast of Pentecost, ye appear before the King, and from him receive a Pope and father for the Church,—this same Gregory being a wolf only." The Prefect of Rome arrested the intruder, but Gregory saved him from the rage of the convention. Henry was thereafter solemnly and unanimously deposed, and his subjects released from their oaths and allegiance. Europe was astonished at the doctrine and its application. Hildebrand was too politic to take a false step. He knew the state of Saxony, Henry's weakness, and the general discontent of the subjects of the empire, and he had calculated on the awe with which such a decree would be received. Henry was deserted everywhere, and treated as an outcast. His soul was fevered with hate and vengeance. With the audacity of despair, he flung himself on the loyalty of his people, and the burghers and peasantry rallied to his standard. Henry's contumacy excited the ire of the Pope, and he issued a rescript for the election of a new emperor. In October, 1076, a Diet met at Tribur, or Oppenheim, at which it was resolved by the princes of the empire that if by Feb. 2nd, 1077, Henry did not present himself submissively before the Pontiff, confess his sins, and gain absolution, the election of a new king

should be immediately expedited. The Lombard bishops excommunicated Gregory, at the Council of Pavia. Henry resolved on appearing before the Pope in Italy, rather than in Germany—in private, rather than in public. He set out, accompanied by his faithful wife, Bertha, his son Conrad, and a few attendants, in November, and journeyed during winter, in most disastrous weather, from Spire, through by-paths over the summits of the Alps, and into the intricacies of the Apennines, that he might intercept Gregory on his way to the Diet of Augsburg. He found him at Canossa, in Apulia, the favourite residence of the Countess Matilda. Here a number of German bishops were doing penance in cells, on bread and water, for their insubordination to the Holy See; and hither, unarmed and unattended, came Henry as a suppliant to the spiritual despot. A cold January frost chilled the blood when Henry toiled up the rocky footway to Canossa's walls. As he approached, the outer gates of the fortress opened to him, but the door of the third entrance was moveless. In the bitter cold—less bitter than Gregory's tyranny—stiff, faint, and weary, Henry stood in the court for three days. At length, tamed for a time by hunger, cold, and degradation, on the fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the haughty and dominant Pontiff, to cry for mercy. What a thrill of ecstasy swept along the tense cordage of that old man's frame when at his feet—the feet of *another* carpenter's son—the hereditary lord of the mightiest empires in Christendom knelt, crushed and cowed, before him! It was a lifetime's recompence. Having exposed him to the contempt of men, Gregory restored Henry to the communion of the Church, but meanwhile held him bound to abstain from the exercise or enjoyment of any kingly prerogative. He took the consecrated bread of the Eucharist, and, protesting his own blamelessness, partook of it, saying, "May Almighty God, this very day, strike me with sudden death if I be really guilty!" and then challenged Henry to do likewise. Henry recoiled from the test, but was absolved. The iron had, however, entered Henry's soul; rage, shame, dishonour, stung him to effort, and he determined upon being once again "every inch a king." His illusory awe had departed, and with no enervation of will did he pursue his future designs.

The German princes, at Gregory's instigation, elected Rudolph as Emperor. Henry returned to maintain his rights, and, for three years, a devastating war was kept up, with alternating success. Gregory, glad to see Germany humbled, temporized between the parties, pretending mediation, but giving none, until, in 1080, at Mülhausen, the abtirement of the sword declared for Rudolph; and then he re-excommunicated Henry, and sent his opponent a crown with the inscription, "Peter gives this crown to Rudolph."

Henry, at a Council held in Brixen, again also deposed the Pope, and caused Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, to be chosen in his stead, with the title of Clement III. Two pontiffs and two emperors now contested for power. On the banks of Elster, Henry, in 1080,



encountered Rudolph, whose army was led by the illustrious Otho of Nordheim. Rudolph's cause unambiguously triumphed, but it was a bootless victory. On the field, Tasso's hero, Godfrey of Bouillon, thrust the spear of the imperial banner into Rudolph's side. His right hand was hacked off, and he died exclaiming, "That was the hand with which, uplifted, I swore fidelity to Henry." This was looked on as a judgment of God against him.

The victorious and exultant Henry marched to Rome three times in three successive years, besieged it, and reduced his implacable enemy, Gregory, to such straits, that he was compelled to shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, and to apply for help to William of England, who, however, excused himself. In these contests, cities were destroyed, lands devastated, churches spoiled, convents ravaged, and all the districts around Rome were subjected to grievous calamities. Though a new king of Germany was crowned and consecrated, Henry, with a bloodhound's pertinacity, remained in Italy, resolved to subdue the Pope. Pride and pity strove for the mastery in Gregory's heart, but his strong belief that

"'Tis not the iron arm—'tis the strong will  
Gains in that game wherein we mortals  
Play life against life,"

made him hold out, even when, on the 30th Nov., 1083, a Pontifical Synod strove to persuade him to recognize Henry, that there might be peace. He spoke eloquently, humbly, yet boldly, and refused. He dismissed the synod with his benediction, but resolved to bear the "hazard of the die," and "endure unto the end."

Fate did not now delay. On 21st March, 1084, Henry entered Rome in triumph. He took possession of the Lateran, the bridges, and the strongholds. Gregory fled to his fastness, St. Angelo. Henry was crowned in Rome by Guibert, who was also consecrated Pontiff there. The Cæsar of the Church alone was defiant; in the very crisis of his life foiled and baffled, he was yet unsubdued in spirit. He could not be the craven to supplicate mercy from Henry. A few hours, and St. Angelo must yield to inner discord and to outward siege. A shout arose. Robert Guiscard, now reconciled to Gregory, approached. Henry fled—his thirst for vengeance unslaked. Rome was burnt and sacked; but the Pontiff was released, though at the cost of two thirds of the pontifical city.

Gregory re-assumed his sway; called a new Council; re-fulminated against Guibert and Henry, and then left the scene of the late heart-rending devastation for Salerno, under the safe conduct of Guiscard. The civil wars having been brought to a truce, a pestilence supervened upon a famine. The ordination, Death, went out against Gregory. He sickened of the plague, and died on 25th May, 1085, with this epigram upon his lips,—“I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; and therefore I die in exile.” The cardinals and bishops who stood around his couch had prevailed upon him to pardon all his enemies, except Guibert and Henry. He had given

his mitre to Anselm of Lucca, and named his successor to the primacy. Enclosed in a marble urn, after a papal reign of nearly twelve years, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age, he was buried in the cathedral church of St. Matthew, at Salerno, and there he lay, memorialless, till John of Procida, the enactor of "The Sicilian Vespers," two centuries thereafter, built over his urn a magnificent chapel named St. Michael. Gregory was canonized in 1584; a statue of him was erected at Salerno, 1610; and his name was razed from the catalogue of saints by Napoleon I. It has since been re-inscribed.

Thus passed away a man of singular courage, zeal, and genius; the vanquisher of feudalism and imperialism; the creator of that triple-crowned dominion which claimed power in heaven, on earth, and in hell. A great, world-centralizing spirit, who was quickened with a Divine thought of strange significance, but who, in the sublime yearnings of a mighty purpose, forgot that it is not given to man "to do evil that good may come." In the very means adopted to attain his great end, the seeds of failure were implanted. In the celibacy of the clergy, and the power of Excommunication and Indulgence, the Reformation lay like a germ. In the flourishing outgrowth of the Church, and in the supereminent claims over all sovereignties on which Gregory staked the very being of the Church of Christ, there were embedded the causes which, in our own day—eight centuries after—have led to many changes in European life,—the unity of Italy, the fall of the Pope's temporal power, the patriotic grandeur of Garibaldi. So true is it that God's purposes underlie and yet control all human action; that "the lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord." Those who comprehend the true philosophy of history, have no fear for the future; they know that

"The hour shall come,  
When they who think to bind the ethereal spirit,  
Who, like the eagle, cowering o'er his prey,  
Watch, with quick eye, and strike, and strike again,  
If but a sinew vibrate, shall confess  
Their wisdom folly. Even now the flame  
Bursts forth, where once it burnt so gloriously,  
And, dying, left a splendour like the day;  
That, like the day, diffused itself, and still  
Blesses the earth:—the light of genius, virtue,  
Greatness in thought and act, contempt of death,  
God-like example."

Dante, Wycliffe, Luther, Loyola, Calvin, Pascal, Wolsey, Philip II., and even Garibaldi, are, in a great measure, inexplicable enigmas of life, unless we know and recognize the life-work of the first wearer of the triune diadem, Gregory VII., and acknowledge his place in history as an *Epoch Man*.

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## Philosophy.

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### ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRE-RAPHAELITE SCHOOL OF PAINTERS CORRECT?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

MR. EDITOR,—I have read with pleasure the opening articles on this question; and, although no painter, nor yet a competent judge of the merits of painting, knowing that the opinions of bystanders, if not valuable, are often interesting, I have had the temerity to take up my pen in favour of the much-abused principles of the Pre-Raphaelite school.

The talented advocate of the contrary principle has alluded, in a somewhat taunting way, to the youth and inexperience of its disciples. Because their productions have existed but a few years, is it reasonable to conclude that their principles are incorrect? On the other hand, what proof of the truthfulness of the antagonistic system is there in the fact that it is the "growth of ages"? "the accumulated experience of centuries"? Were the principles revived and preached by Martin Luther worthy of contempt and scorn, because the "poor monk" dared to set himself above the schoolmen, and preach doctrines dangerous to the stability of the Roman Catholic Church—that "growth of ages"? We have an answer to this question in the millions of those who now profess the novel principles of the monk, and for which many have laid down their lives, and endured sore perils and persecutions. This, we think, is an analogous case. The very designation of this school of painters seems to imply that its principle was reduced to practice before the time of Raphael, and that its modern disciples are merely endeavouring to revive it. If that be the case, E. M., Jun., must be on insecure ground when he speaks of it as being but "the birth of modern times;" and, though he professes not to despise the theory, yet, in an apparently sarcastic and condescending manner, he says he would "give it kindly hearing, on account of its youth and inexperience." The principle of the Pre-Raphaelite school is, we believe, to imitate nature as she is; but E. M., Jun., would have us conclude that, because its followers are over exact, in this a *principle* is involved. If a painter of the opposite school, in endeavouring to represent the ideal of nature, were to perform his work so clumsily as to render it displeasing, we think he would hardly admit that his principle was affected; then why with the Pre-Raphaelites? Surely E. M., Jun., must have forgotten the meaning of "libel," when he charges them with libelling nature by endeavouring faithfully to pourtray her!

We are told that the camera will soon supersede painting, if mere

copying be an art; and, to some extent, we are prepared to grant this. For representations of places and things, it is superseding *all* painting, when a faithful copy is required. What is the utility of a picture which cannot be relied on for its truthfulness,—in which we are at a loss to know what is truth, and what is fiction? It is only valuable as a specimen of painting,—nothing more. But, in depicting scenes from history, &c., the camera is useless, and then, when a disciple of the Pre-Raphaelite school steps in, well up in all the circumstances connected with an event, and gives us a faithful and impartial picture, how much more valuable and interesting it is, than one in which reality (except, perhaps, in the most prominent features) gives place to ideality!

That Pre-Raphaelitism is a system of copying, we admit. All painting is an imitation, more or less perfect, of nature; one system endeavouring to depict nature naturally, giving us all her beauties, showing us all her so-called defects, and exhibiting the hand of Providence over all; the other system setting itself up without authority, and telling us that nature is not perfect,—not what she ought to be; forgetting that, if that were the case, she certainly would not be what she is. But, is there no art required in copying nature faithfully? A Pre-Raphaelite artist must possess a keen eye, and a quick perception, to enable him to note all the varied features and peculiarities in the face of nature; while, on the other hand, the ordinary artist has but to give imagination her perfect sway, and he will probably succeed in covering nature's supposed defects, and, consequently, falsifying her. Let us try, if possible, to illustrate our position; take, for instance, the Last Supper. What a field for a Pre-Raphaelite scholar! Here will his experience and study of nature display themselves, in delineating the features of all present. The sorrowful shade over every countenance; the excitable, impulsive, and almost officious zeal of Peter; the crafty deportment of Judas; and the different characteristics of the rest, which would leave their impress on each; might be a subject worthy of the artist's consideration. How much more pleasing and valuable to have it done naturally, than left to the imagination of an idealist to falsify, for the sake of proving nature's imperfections. All the parables of our Lord (which are but pictures of life) are taken from nature as she *is*, not as she *ought to be*.

There was a time when all portraits were painted in oil colours, and every blemish carefully excluded; now, happily, such paintings are superseded by those produced by the camera; and why? Because of their comparative cheapness, our opponents would probably answer. Not altogether; but because they are more natural and life-like. When Paterfamilias takes his smiling little ones to the photographer, how anxiously is each likeness scrutinized, and the question put, "Is it like?" Thus, we see that the nation's taste is changing, the people wisely preferring that which is natural to that which is ideal. Attempting to describe a heavenly host, or to illustrate heathen mythology, will be the forte of the

imaginative painter. There he may exert his imagination to the utmost; he may clothe nature in her most gorgeous raiment, and exclude the slightest supposed defect; and yet he will fall short of what the reality is, or was supposed to be.

In conclusion, we would say, that, notwithstanding all that has been brought to bear against the Pre-Raphaelite theory, the system which attempts to represent nature faithfully and honestly as she is, rather than the other, which endeavours to show what the artist fancies nature should be, must, we think, be deemed correct in principle, and worthy of general approval. AN OUTSIDER.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

THE great teacher, if not the popular preacher of Pre-Raphaelitism, is the earnest and eloquent Ruskin, who thus defines the principles he expounds and defends:—"Pre-Raphaelitism has but one principle, that of absolute, uncompromising truth, in all it does, obtained by working everything, down to the most minute detail, *from nature, and from nature only.*" (Edin. Lect.) The terms, as thus defined, are understandable by the most ordinary comprehension; and, therefore, when the otherwise ambiguous term, Pre-Raphaelitism, occurs, no difficulty will be experienced as to its meaning. That which will present a greater difficulty will be the acceptance of the principle itself, which involves, in the severity of its rule, the disavowal from the list of *true* works of art—of those products of the pen and pencil which we have learned to consider as the perfection of art and the truest emanations of genius. It does not, of course, necessarily follow that, because any work has the sanction of ages, that it must therefore be true. It does follow, however, that before we reject the conclusions of the wisdom and experience which have been endorsed by the wise of past ages, that that which is presented as a substitute should not only be well defined, but well defended—not eloquently, merely, for that Ruskin can do for Pre-Raphaelitism, or any other *ism* that may engage his attention, as perhaps no man living can—but defended with reason which is so reasonable, that *common sense*, or ordinary apprehension, will own its power. There occurred, during the delivery of Ruskin's lectures at Manchester, a singular instance of this influence. He had been speaking of the labour involved in the production of paintings, and then spoke of their price—naming that which he considered a fair maximum rate *per inch* for the best paintings by *any master*! It says much for the forbearance of the audience that they did not, on that occasion, openly deride the almost insane proposition. Why, can not, and *are* not, the same amount of labour and genius devoted to the production of a miniature, or cabinet picture, measuring only a few inches, as another master will devote to the production of a large picture, measuring as many yards? Where, then, would be the justice of paying the one pounds and the other pence? This is utter nonsense. The value of a picture, like any other article, is what it will *fetch* in the market. What an enormous advance is Mr. Flatou about to

give Mr. Frith for his "Life at a Railway Station" (£9,187 10s.), upon Mr. Ruskin's maximum rate! And yet it is computed that the purchaser will make £3,000 by the speculation!

Opinions of this sort, come they from what source they may, should be charily received; and when we are asked to adopt Pre-Raphaelitism, and discard our previously entertained conceptions of what is true as to paintings and pictures,—reverse, indeed, our entire notions of art,—we have a right to demand the *why*?—to ask for a clear, complete, and unanswerable reason, as the basis of such a suggested revolution of opinion. We demand, first, to know what becomes of imagination, because imagination deals with things not in nature, and which nature has never yet revealed. On this principle, the "Paradise Lost" is not a work of art; and those sublime productions of Martin, using Ruskin's oft-repeated term, are "non-sense pictures." The things in heaven and earth, which never entered into Horatio's philosophy, must never enter into the painter's brain; his mind's eye, "in a fine frenzy rolling," must never take in the glorious conceptions which delight the poet's muse, much less convey them to the canvas, because his business is to copy "from nature, and from nature only."

But even in *copying* from nature,—the production of a landscape, for instance,—do we gain by "working everything down to the most minute detail"? What is a picture?—is it not an artistic delusion?—a thing to please the senses, but a deception notwithstanding—by which the onlooker, assisted by his *imagination*, may call up scenes familiar, or scenes not yet seen? That which the painter may well deem the culmination of his art, is to achieve this the most successfully. He knows, when we look upon a beautiful landscape, that we take in the view *broadly*. We do not go into details—so many pieces of stone at our feet, so many trees, with their branches bent in a certain direction; the hills, indicating by unmistakable marks the ore hid in their bosoms, and the character of the stone and marl laying on their summits. If the painter's business was to supply us with diagrams, then the better plan would be to cut a landscape into parts, as we do the maps of a country, with an index in the corner, indicating the nature of the soil; the minerals, if any, and where found; and the owners of the farms embraced in the view, the names of the landlords and tenants, and the rents paid. Painting is not a science, however—it is an art. It makes its appeal to sight, feeling, and, above all, to the imaginative faculty. If the painter concerns himself with the elaborate reproduction of any object, that object being minor in the painting or landscape, he loses the effect which he so much desires. The eye and the attention may be exhausted by the effect in detail which has been made, but the *ensemble* of the work, the desired result as to general effect, is marred, if not altogether lost. It is true that the hair upon our heads is made up of single hairs, but is that any reason why the painter should attempt (and it will only be an attempt, after all his labour) to depict each hair separately? The effect of such a tedious

and thankless process would be the production of that which has no counterpart on the earth or under the earth; the production, in short, of "nonsense pictures"—ample specimens of which the Pre-Raphaelite painters have furnished us with. It is not, we repeat, cataloguing we want, but spirit and poetry in the object or landscape depicted. What have been our thoughts, on going through local picture exhibitions, when the portrait of some "well-to-do," vulgar-minded woman, meets the eye—specially noticeable for the abundance of ornamentation crowded on her person; the painting of which said ornaments, we may well believe, concerned her far more than the securing a truthful expression of her features? Look, now, at a portrait from the easel of Sir Joshua Reynolds or Sir Thomas Lawrence. The latter, in his most finished productions, was careful to subordinate the details—in fact, in many instances, merely to *indicate* them. And yet what pictures more strikingly convey the *spirituel* of the person limned? This, indeed, is what Ruskin tells us Turner has done in his pictures:—

"He has dwelt and communed with Nature all the days of his life; he knows her now too well; he cannot palter over the material littlenesses of her outward form; he must give her soul, or he has done nothing, and he cannot do this with the flax, the earth, and the oil." (Modern Painters.) But if that is so, what becomes of Pre-Raphaelitism? It is its business to "palter over the material littlenesses of nature;" to "work everything down to the most minute detail, from nature, and from nature only." Clearly, in this instance, the teaching is above the teacher.

Ruskin tells us, again, that "there is, indeed, nothing in Turner—not one dot or line, whose meaning can be understood without knowledge, because he never aims at sensual impressions, but at the deep final truth, which only meditation can discover, and only experience recognize." (Modern Painters.) But the landscape can be understood without knowledge, because it gives "sensual impressions;" and any "final truth" in the picture, having its origin in the *imagination* of the painter, was certainly not in the original landscape. And yet Turner is the great apostle of Pre-Raphaelitism!

Where was the "final truth" in the much-lauded Pre-Raphaelite picture that was exhibited in the Exhibition of the Royal Academy of 1849? The onlooker, if his attention was not specially drawn to it, might have passed it without remark or notice; or, if noticed at all, it would have been classed as a very *early* picture by some juvenile artist. (All *children*, by the way, are Pre-Raphaelites; their pen-and-ink sketches are *early* Pre-Raphaelite pictures.) The subject was a carpenter's shop; its treatment was cold, hard, dry, and repulsive: every object in the shop was painted with singular scrupulosity—the shavings, the boards, the tools, and the bench—all with the hard, uninteresting fidelity of a catalogue. Some hungry-looking children were playing around the bench; one of them had got hurt with a brad-awl; a

little, ugly-looking woman was doctoring the wound, by the aid of a basin of water; which incident the Pre-Raphaelite painter presented as the interpretation of the words, "Wounded in the house of my friends!" Be that as it may as regards the Saviour—for the incident is a supposed one in His early life—the visitor to the Exhibition must have felt *himself wounded* by having some of his holiest feelings so coarsely outraged—his mind, indeed, withdrawn from the contemplation of Christ's mission as the "final truth" of the sorrowful words. He might well ask himself if *that* was a sort of thing to be gained by the new order of painting? and if it was for such productions, that neither pleased the eye nor informed the understanding, that "Vanderveelde and Claude were at once to be weeded out," and all previous paintings to be considered "rubbish of the schools"?—for, according to Ruskin, in his "Pre-Raphaelitism," "the things that had been called paintings were mere ink and charcoal, and all precedent and all authority must be cast away at once, and trodden under foot."

Pre-Raphaelitism, in its interpretations of poetry, of religion, of architecture, of politics, of morals,—for with all these things it concerns itself,—will be found, in our opinion at least, equally absurd. Take, for instance, the dictum of Ruskin relative to the office of imagination; apply it to poetry, and mark the result. "From nature only," says he, "or, when imagination is necessarily resorted to, by always endeavouring to conceive a fact as it really was likely to have happened, rather than as it most prettily might have happened." (Edin. Lect.) And away go the best poets and their works as so much lumber, because they have dealt with things not realizable in fact; their imaginations have gone out after objects so purely ideal, that up to this present, at least, have found no reflex in actual life. The rule, as applied to painting, would banish those magnificent creations of "The Last Judgment," that have excited the wonder and the awe of tens of thousands. It would strip our picture galleries of their chief glory, and reduce the art of painting to a bare and bald enumeration of daily life, in which the *ideal* would be suffered to take no part.

Surely it is not for such results, for works so meagre and profitless, that we can forego that which we still consider to be the products of genius—as *wise* as they were wonderful. The question still remains,—What do we *gain* by Pre-Raphaelitism, be its principles true or false? Of course, *truth* now and always is the desideratum; but, in art, what is truth? That is true art surely which enlarges my life, expands my intellect, extends my ideas. I am warranted, therefore, in examining the claims of the principles of Pre-Raphaelitism, to ask with Jeremy Bentham—"What will it bring and fetch?"

J. JOHNSON.



## History.

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### WAS THE SECESSION OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND JUSTIFIABLE?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

WE assume that few Englishmen, at age about the year 1842, were uninterested spectators of that great struggle for civil and religious liberty in Scotland, which terminated in the establishment of the Free Church. The leading facts and the general course of events must even now be fresh upon the minds of the existing generation. To be in a position to estimate correctly the principles which ended in the disruption of the Establishment, we must, however, take into consideration the events which date from the commencement of the *eighteenth* century. We cannot, therefore, hope, in the article which opens the discussion, to do more than give a rapid review of a movement the origin of which may be traced even to the glorious Revolution of 1688.

The Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, in 1707, guaranteed to Presbyterians the existence and independence of their church. It was provided that "the Presbyterian government shall be the only government of the church within the kingdom of Scotland," and this, "without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto in any sort, for ever." This clause in the Treaty of Union gave the Scottish church the full and inalienable possession in perpetuity of her time-honoured rights and privileges. The Jacobite party had long regarded Scotland as the only promising door through which the Stuart Pretender, and with him Popery and civil despotism, could be reinstated in England. To weaken and enslave the Scottish church was accordingly the first object of their intrigues. Episcopacy in England was then the champion of unconstitutional government, and Presbyterianism in Scotland the bulwark of civil and religious liberty. If prelacy could take root and develop itself in the North, the Stuart and the Pope might reconquer Great Britain. To effect this subversion of the British liberties, it was necessary to begin with the restoration of *patronage* in the Scottish establishment. There were in all 972 presentations, out of which number only twenty-four were in the gift of persons not under the influence of the crown, the aristocracy, and the Episcopalian party. In 1712 the Jacobins contrived to introduce a bill in the House of Commons to restore patronage in the Scottish church. The advocates of liberty were astounded at the success of this measure. It virtually placed a Presbyterian church under the domination of Episcopalians. In many cases it gave prelates and their tools the power to appoint Presbyterian ministers. At the

period of the Revolution of 1688, some 300 hirelings had crept into the Scottish establishment. They retained their hatred of evangelical religion and civil freedom. Patronage was the sheet-anchor of their existence as a body, and its restoration was the ground of their hopes of continuance.

There can be but one opinion of the course taken by the legislature. The very party which, in 1707, had solemnly bound themselves to the clause in the Treaty of Union, providing that "The Protestant religion, as presently professed within this kingdom, with the worship, *discipline*, and *government* of this (Presbyterian) church, should be effectually and unalterably secured," in 1712 revolutionized that "discipline and government," and violated the basis of union between the two kingdoms. The immorality of this act was flagrant. It was an intolerable act of tyranny, worthy of Popish intriguers, to "deprive Christians, and a free people, of all interest in the choice of those to whom they" were required, under the system of patronage, "to entrust the cure of their souls." Such was the language of the General Assembly, who in vain protested, year after year, against such usurpation of their constitutional rights, and against this flagrant breach of the national faith. Supported by the 300 intruders in league with the Pretender, the legislature gave no heed to the protests of the advocates of freedom. During the first ten years, however, no patron dared to exercise the right of patronage in the face of the patriotic party. Gradually the tools of the Jacobites acquired power, till they formed the party subsequently known as the Moderates. During thirty years they ruled the Church of Scotland. Their power rose, lived, and died with one individual—Robertson, the historian of the Reformation. The genius of this accomplished gentleman swayed the church; and, under its baneful influence, piety expired, and Presbyterians acquiesced in their wrongs.

Providence had good things in reserve for Scotland. Erskine at length appeared at Stirling, to rouse a portion of the community to a deep sense of the growing corruptions of the church. With three others, this first champion of liberty seceded, in 1732, from the Establishment, and formed a dissenting body, which ultimately comprised 400 congregations. In 1752, a dispute between the patron of Inverkeithing and the parishioners led to the second secession, which, in 1847, amalgamated with the followers of Erskine, and constituted the large community since known as the United Presbyterians. While liberty was thus forsaking the Establishment, within it absolutism, intrusion, and spiritual death, continued to reign till 1793, when Robertson expired. As the great leader of Moderatism ceased to influence the destinies of Scotland, Andrew Thomson, Thomas M'Crie, and Thomas Chalmers, rose into note. By his eloquence, zeal, piety, and tact in debate, Chalmers inaugurated a new era in the history of Scotland. The time of enfranchisement was still, however, distant. Moderatism grew up under lax piety and worldliness. Moderatism could be checked

and defeated only by the growth of a living and stirring religion. Under the example and labours of Chalmers and his associates, a large number of students imbibed the sentiments and acquired the power of evangelical religion. Not a few of the ministers, who had been presented by worldly patrons, were converted, and added to the powers opposed to the followers of Robertson. Other influences were in operation. The French Revolution, with all its horrors, scattered far and wide the seeds of liberty, which at this hour is hurling despots, popes, and cardinals from their thrones of iniquity. Happily for us, the good without the evils of that terrible movement was seen in the Reform Bill of 1832. Patrons, with a short-sighted policy, adopted a new course in Scotland. Hoping to ally the liberal party, some of them actually presented evangelical pastors, who aided in diminishing the power of the Moderates. The progress of events within and without the Establishment was towards both civil and religious freedom. From 1712 to 1784, the church had continued her protests against the Act of Patronage bequeathed by Queen Anne. Under Robertson, almost the last sparks of liberty were extinguished. Under Chalmers, the spirit of freedom began to revive. In 1833, the General Assembly, roused by the energy of their great leader, demanded a veto upon the presentees of the patrons. Since patronage could not be abolished, a check upon its abuse was a just but moderate assertion of the rights of the church. The motion was lost, but the small majority of twelve prepared the nation without surprise to hear in the next year that Lord Moncrieff's Veto Act had been carried in the General Assembly by a majority of forty-six.

The battle-field was now slightly changed. Hitherto the struggle was to abolish patronage. The attempt had repeatedly failed. The aim of the advocates of freedom was henceforth to reduce the evils it naturally inflicted to its narrowest possible limits.

In order to understand the merits of the question before us, it is advisable that the readers of the *British Controversialist* should clearly perceive the nature of the Veto Act. The spirit of this Act was, as stated by Lord Moncrieff, "that it is a fundamental law of this church that no pastor shall be intruded, contrary to the wish of the people." The design of Lord Moncrieff was to give reality to the legal and acknowledged right of a parish to "call" their pastor. To "invite and call" a minister to "take charge and oversight of their parish," upon the occurrence of a vacancy, was one of the rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Union, but which, under patronage, had become practically a dead letter. In some instances the "call" was a solemn farce, and a scandal to religion. The following notorious examples will illustrate the nature of the abuses which precipitated the disruption:—

In 1834, Lord Kinnoull presented a minister to the parish of Auchterarder. Out of 330 heads of families who were invited to "call and invite," 280 signed a protest against Mr. Young, the presentee. Out of a population of 3,182 persons, two householders

alone signed the call. His lordship's factor, who, as a non-resident, had no right to interfere, was the only other person who signed the document in favour of the presentee. In 1837, Lord Fife presented to the parish of Marnock a Mr. Edwards, who, while an assistant to the late minister, had, during three years, rendered himself distasteful to the parishioners. The six elders constituting the session, and 254 heads of families, signed a protest against the presentation, and of the remaining thirty-nine entitled to invite the minister, only one signed the call. This man was the innkeeper of Aberchirder! The patron had the prudence to withdraw Mr. Edwards, and substitute a Mr. Henry. The Presbytery of Strathbogie supported Mr. Edwards, but the Synod of the General Assembly decided against him. Mr. Edwards appealed to the Court of Session, which supported him, and compelled the Presbytery to complete the settlement of a man who was no longer even a nominee of the legal patron, and in defiance of the authority of a *superior court*.

The struggle between the secular and the ecclesiastical powers, thus inaugurated, led to the disruption of the Establishment. The contest was now carried on both in the north and south of Britain, and soon acquired national dimensions. Mr. Edwards entered an action for damages and expenses to the amount of £11,000. The Presbytery of Strathbogie, in defiance of the indictment passed upon them by a majority of 121 against 14 in the Commission of the General Assembly, resisted the seven ministers authorized to occupy their pulpits, and, under the usurped powers of the civil court, proceeded to induct Mr. Edwards. Four hundred and fifty communicants signed a solemn protest against the intrusion. Every parishioner took up his bible and psalm-book, and left the church. The seven suspended ministers, constituting the Presbytery of Strathbogie, ordained the factious pastor in a desolate and desecrated church, and, under the protection of a body of police, ignominiously passed through an indignant crowd of bystanders. A few months later the first of nearly a thousand free churches was built by the injured parishioners.

The usurpers triumphed,—only to fall. Intense excitement agitated the whole land. In 1838, Dr. Buchanan carried a protest, by a majority of forty-one, in the General Assembly. In a monster petition, 260,000 Scotchmen demanded the restoration of their violated constitution. Lord Aberdeen attempted to introduce a bill which the General Assembly rejected in 1840, on the ground that it would have legalized the usurpation and intrusion of the civil court. Perceiving the bias of the legislature to be in their favour, the Moderates took the extraordinary step of demanding the recognition, that they, the minority, constituted the Church of Scotland. This arrogant claim roused the indignation of Scotland. More than three thousand persons, including twelve hundred ministers and elders, flocked to the West Church in Edinburgh, and pledged themselves to maintain inviolate the independence of the church. In the following year, the General Assembly met for the last time,

and, by memorializing the Queen, made their last appeal to earthly tribunals.

All eyes were now fixed upon the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament. The House of Lords decided against freedom and independence. Under the guidance of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Brougham, they decided that a presbytery, refusing to ordain a minister under the authority of a civil court, were liable to an action for damages, and thus supported the cause of an Edwards at the expense of a nation. The decision virtually put an end to all ecclesiastical government. It reversed the ancient order in the church, if it did not ruin the spiritual power of the ecclesiastical courts. Five hundred ministers met in convocation, and under their leaders, Chalmers, Candlish, and Cunningham, pledged themselves to maintain the independence of their church at all costs and sacrifice. After a week's deliberation, they agreed upon a memorial to the Government, and an address to the people of Scotland. The Government of Sir Robert Peel refused to recognize "The Claim of Rights." They rejected the address concerning patronage. Despite the arguments of the ablest lawyers of Scotland, and the most eminent of the Scottish clergy, Sir James Graham maintained that the famous Veto Act of Lord Moncrieff was an infringement of the civil law. There were two courses opened to the ministry, the adoption of either of which might have deferred, if not altogether have prevented, the disruption. In the "Address to the People," a willingness to modify the Veto Act was expressed. This offer of reconciliation, on the basis of a compromise, or mutual concessions, Sir Robert Peel was short-sighted enough to reject. The other course, was to repeal the Act itself;—a plan proposed by some eminent men in Scotland. But the Government, ignorant of the nature of the approaching crisis, decided for the Court of Session, and set the General Assembly at defiance.

The Commission of the General Assembly entered upon an able refutation of the specious arguments of Sir James Graham, and petitioned the House of Commons, their last resort. The Hon. Fox Maule, Sir George Grey, forty-nine English members, and twenty-five out of the thirty-seven Scottish members, defended the claims of the injured church. But the great body of the English members, and the Irish representatives, neither understood the principles at stake, nor sympathized with the cause of Scottish freedom. A majority of one hundred and thirty-five crushed every hope of redress from the Imperial Legislature. The Cabinet of St. James', the House of Lords, and the House of Commons had, in succession, pronounced in favour of patrons and civil courts—of absolutism, usurpation, and intrusion. To submit in shame, and sacrifice conscience, or to secede from an Establishment which had become a pure instrument of the state and the aristocracy, was the only alternative.

A provisional committee had already been formed in Edinburgh, with branch associations all over the land. Some 150,000 circulars,

explaining the nature of the struggle which was about to close, were in the hands of every one, and had prepared the minds of the descendants of the Covenanters for the approaching crisis.

During three days preceding the General Assembly, which met on the 18th of May, 1842, a numerous body of ministers and elders deliberated upon the future course of the evangelical party. On the 18th of May, an imposing assembly met in St. Andrew's Church, in Edinburgh. After a period of solemn suspense, the Moderator, David Welsh, rose, and calmly pronounced the protest of the Church of Scotland against the usurpation of the civil courts, bowed for the last time before the Lord High Commissioner, and withdrew. The Government had been deceived into the opinion that not more than fifteen ministers would be bold, or rash enough, to abdicate all their temporal rights, and privileges, and emoluments. A vast crowd were awaiting, outside the building, with deep anxiety, the results of that memorable day. A noble band, which soon after swelled into four hundred and seventy-four ministers, followed David Welsh to the Hall of Tanfield, amid the enthusiastic greetings of an immense concourse of the sons of Scotland. The hall itself was crowded by more than three thousand persons, awaiting the arrival of the seceders, who had left behind them in St. Andrew's Church £100,000 per annum in lieu of their consciences. Amid sobs and tears, tenderly regarded by "a cloud of witnesses" in heaven, the first prayers and the first hymns of the noble Free Church of Scotland ascended to the Great Head of the Church. On the following day, the "Deed of Demission" was signed, and the noble band of ministers dispersed, to give up their manse, their stipend, their earthly all. Some two thousand elders, and the majority of church members, forsook an Establishment now desecrated and enslaved.

In an almost incredibly short period, the Free Churches rose to *eight hundred* in number, and, by the end of the third year, more than a million sterling was contributed by the voluntary efforts of the seceders.

This review of the origin, progress, and termination of one of the most glorious struggles for freedom and conscience on record is, we conceive, sufficient for the first Affirmative Article on the question before the readers of the *British Controversialist*. A simple statement of facts is enough to elucidate the principles at stake, and to vindicate the secession of the Free Church of Scotland.

RESKINE

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

IN order to afford a correct view of the present question, it will be necessary to take an historical glance at the movements of the two great parties in the Church of Scotland, for at least ten years prior to the disruption. For a great many years previously the moderate party, as it was called, had been dominant. This party adhered strictly to the conditions on which the Church was con-

nected with the State. They saw clearly the evils of an exclusively ecclesiastical rule. From the state of education, the people were unfitted to occupy a prominent position in the Presbyterian system of government, and to give them further power would only be to make them the dupes of ambitious ecclesiastics. The moderate party were on the most friendly terms with the people; and, happily, they preached doctrines more in harmony with christian charity than the harsh but seductive Calvinism of their opponents. In most human societies there is a conservative party, and also a liberal one—both of service in promoting the cause of civilization.

The Scotch Establishment, in 1833, had become inadequate to supply the spiritual wants of the people; hence an effort was made to obtain new endowments. A fierce controversy was carried on with the dissenters, and exaggerated views were put forth as to the spiritual independence of the Church connected with the State. The Reform Bill agitation helped to swell the ranks of the Non-Intrusionists. In the Assembly of 1832, a motion was made to give such effect to what is termed a "Call," in the settlement of ministers, as would enable the Church, by rules of its own, to set aside the presentation of the patron. This proposal was lost. Next year, a motion for a committee, with the same view, was rejected by a small majority, in favour of a declaratory enactment by the Moderates, which, within the limits of the law, made concessions to the people. In the Assembly of 1844, the ministers of chapels of ease were agreed to be admitted as members of the Church courts, and to have *quoad sacra* parishes assigned them. From their admission, the popular party anticipated naturally fresh strength, and also that, as no funds could be obtained from Government, these ministers might be better able to cope with the spiritual destitution of the country. This was, on various grounds, clearly illegal, and was the first step in the course of resistance to the law which the same party afterwards uniformly pursued. The famous Veto Act was also passed at the same Assembly. By it, if at a "Call," the majority of the male heads of families, communicants of a parish, expressed their opposition to a presentee, without any reason assigned, he was to be rejected. This Act was opposed to what had long been understood as the law of the Church, by which the people were bound to specify reasons for rejecting a presentee, and which were to be judged of by the Presbytery. This had been recognized in the Directory of 1649 and 1690, and, in fact, as far back as 1592, and was part of the common law of the land. The patron had certain powers; so had the Presbytery, and also the people; but, by the Veto Act, the functions of the two first were made little other than a nullity. On the merits of the question, there were strong grounds for opposing the Veto. For instance—the fact that when a presentee is licensed, his qualifications must be established before the Presbytery; the little power of correct judgment on the part of the people, from merely hearing the trial

sermons; the consideration that the communicants were often a mere fraction of a congregation; and the difficulty of satisfying, perhaps, large minorities. The advocates of the Act maintained its legality, and hinged their support upon the ground of wishing to attach the population again to the Church, and to cripple the growth of dissent, and also for reasons which sometimes conflict with each other.

In the very same year, the Church, in consequence of the Veto Act, was brought into conflict with the civil courts. A Mr. Young had been presented, by the Earl of Kinnoul, to the parish of Auchterarder. The "Call" was but poorly signed; the Veto was applied, and the majority of the communicants being opposed to him, his presentation was rejected by the Presbytery. The patron raised an action of Declarator, seeking that the Court of Session should declare that the Presbytery were bound to receive the presentee on trials, and that they had acted illegally in rejecting him, in consequence of the Veto. Decree was ultimately given in this action in favour of the patron, and the decision was come to by a majority of eight against five of the judges. The essential principle of the judgment was, that the Acts of Parliament maintained the right of patronage, and that the Presbytery was bound to take the presentee on trials, and to decide on the reasons given by the dissentients. There was no distinct interference with matters purely ecclesiastical, as the Presbytery had no jurisdiction till the presentee was taken on trials. He might, in that event, be ultimately rejected, but in that case they would be protected by the Statute Law. The opposite contention amounted to this:—that the Church Courts could pass laws of their own accord, affecting the Church, which would have the authority of Acts of Parliament; but at no period in the history of the Church of Scotland had there been any such inherent right recognized, unless in harmony with civil rights, such as those of patronage. It was resolved to appeal to the House of Lords. The decision was pronounced in March, 1838, and in the Assembly of that year a solemn declaration of spiritual independence was adopted, at variance with the limitations and conditions under which the Church was united with the State; the Church considering herself as alone the interpreter of what was spiritual, and what was civil;—a doctrine Popish in its essence, and incompatible not merely with the idea of a Church established by law, but with the maintenance of any civil liberty whatever.

It will be seen that such views as were now propounded by the Non-Intrusionists, were gradually developed from time to time. The party have left the Church; and now we have the Cardross case. In what state they will leave the question of liberty of conscience in Scotland, no one can tell; but this we know—that their course naturally leads to Popery, without any of the softer features of Roman Catholicism.

At the Assembly of 1839, the judgment of the House of Lords, dismissing the appeal, was laid on the table; but the majority was



not deterred. It is curious to notice the variety of ways in which the Assembly and the law courts came into collision with each other. Mr. Young wanted now to be taken on trials, and raised and obtained decree in an action of interdict, and suspension of the sentence rejecting him. He was brought before the Assembly, but the inquisitors discharged him, being almost the only act of mercy in the revolutionary drama, where the knife of the ecclesiastical guillotine fell on many an innocent victim. Matters grew more complicated. In the Lethendy case, the presentee had been rejected under the Veto Act, and the Crown, who had the patronage, made another presentation. The first presentee appealed to the civil courts, and his plea was sustained; but still the current of presentation was persisted in, and for this, the Presbytery of the bounds—that of Dunkeld—was reprimanded before the Court of Session. Among the matters brought before this Assembly was a charge of heresy made against Mr. Wright, a member of the moderate party. His works had been long before the public, but no complaint was made till now; and, on frivolous pretences, he was ultimately deposed. The Non-Intrusionists were great advocates for purity of doctrine—which means little else than the harsh Calvinism of Geneva, unneutralized by the sentiments of justice and generosity natural to humanity,—and hence their hold on the people, who are great theologians, but weak pigmies in the practice of morality.

There were many indications throughout this controversy that no injustice would be spared towards an opponent who might be drawn within the toils of the dominant faction. Notwithstanding the decision of the House of Lords, while no opposition was made to Mr. Young obtaining the pecuniary emoluments of the benefice, it was resolved to maintain the Veto. It was also resolved to admit a body, called the Original Seceders, into the ranks of the Church, and that in violation of the law, and without even a thought of seeking the sanction of the legislature. In the phantasmagoria, the next scene is the picturesque Strathbogie. A very able gentleman, a Mr. Edwards, had been presented by the patron to the parish of Marnoch. He was opposed by the people, no doubt to some extent in consequence of the encouragement they received from the Church Courts. He died some time after, and there was a strong reaction in his favour; and it may be remarked, that in cases where a minister was at first most opposed, he has generally succeeded in outliving the idle clamours of the disaffected, and in gaining their affections. In this case, the majority of the Presbytery resolved to induct Mr. Edwards. At the Commission, in 1839, their decision was reversed, and they actually suspended the seven ministers, who were the majority of the Presbytery, from their office of ministers, and this for no other reason than that they had refused to disobey the law. Commissioners were appointed to carry the sentences into effect in the parishes of these ministers. Interdicts were obtained from the Courts of Session against the intrusion

of these commissioners with their ecclesiastical fulminations. The parishes were crowded with opposing clergymen and other members of the contending parties, and there was abundance of preaching, but charity was at a discount; and the shouts of angry ecclesiastics arose from the hill-side in mockery of the Covenanters of a former age. In the Assembly of 1840, a vigorous attempt was made by the moderate party to have the sentence against the Strathbogie ministers recalled, one of the grounds being that the Commission had exceeded its powers. It was felt that the fate of these ministers might be yet that of the whole minority. But the effort failed. After the Assembly of 1839, negotiations were entered into with Lord Melbourne's Government for the settlement of the matters in dispute, but they ultimately refused to interfere, on the ground that the Non-Intrusionists insisted on a recognition of the legality of the Veto Act, and the other procedure of the Church Courts. Lord Aberdeen next introduced a bill which, while it permitted objections to be stated to the presentee, also allowed presbyteries to consider not only these objections, but the whole circumstances of the parish. The Assembly refused, by a considerable majority, to sanction this Bill. It would have been well had it been acceded to at that time; while it preserved the constitution of the Church, it gave greater power to the people. It was passed by the Legislature after the disruption, and, while far from perfect, an improper settlement has since that time been scarcely known. The Assembly entered again on the Strathbogie question, and resolved to continue the sentence of suspension. It may be remarked that the whole tone of the Moderates throughout these controversies was such as became gentlemen and Christians. They did not press their views strongly, but did everything to conciliate. The speeches of Dr. Cook and the other members of the party exhibit a spirit which contrasts with the bitter words and harsh judgments of their opponents. Ineffectual attempts were next made by Mr. Campbell, of Monzie, and the Duke of Argyle, to settle the question in Parliament. All parties in the State concurred in viewing the claims of the majority as subversive of the terms on which the Church and the State could be allied. The case of Cambusnethan was next brought before the Assembly. The clergyman, Mr. Livingston, had been libelled and found guilty of theft by the Assembly, but he successfully got interdict against further proceedings. Much has been made of this by the Non-Intrusionists, but the right to interfere arose from the illegal constitution of the Assembly in admitting *quoad sacra* ministers as members. At the sitting of the Commission it was resolved to serve a libel on Mr. Edwards for prosecuting his civil rights. The Presbytery was directed by the Court of Session to indict him, and this they did. At the Commission in March, 1841, resolutions were agreed to expressing sympathy with the people of Marnoch. These Commissions were backed by the majority, and the minority, being rudely treated by them, gradually withdrew. At the Assembly of

that year a resolution was brought forward against patronage altogether. Thus rapid, mushroom-like growth, was the development of extravagant opinions among the Non-Intrusion party. This motion was rejected by a very slender majority.

The daring step was next taken of deposing the Strathbogie ministers. On that and on other occasions the language of the Non-Intrusionists was most unbecoming. The most sacred names were often used; the power of the keys, asserted by the Pope, was maintained; and the laws of the State, whose bread was eaten by these revolutionists, were trampled under foot. Measures were threatened against the Moderates, on account of their opinions. At the August meeting of the Commission of 1841, a resolution was passed, agreeing to proceed against a certain number of that party, who had held communion with the Strathbogie ministers after their deposition. Negotiations were now carried on with the different parties in the State. Proposals were made for a settlement, which would throw the whole power, subject to the right of presentation, into the hands of the Church Courts. These were, however, strongly repudiated. It was not to be wondered at, that there should be a great unwillingness to enlarge an ecclesiastical authority which, by constantly overstepping its bounds, had brought the Church to the brink of a revolution. There was another obstacle—the position of the Strathbogie ministers. It was not to be tolerated that they should be sacrificed. It was felt, also, that the Non-Intrusionists would not be contented; that they would continue to agitate. When men enter on a wrong course, events may often occur to lead them farther astray. There was another case, that of Culsalmond. The Presbytery resolved to obey the law, notwithstanding the dissent of a majority of the people, and the presentee was inducted in the midst of an excited mob. The March Commission of 1841 annulled the proceedings.

Events were now rapidly approaching the catastrophe. At the Assembly of 1842, both the minority and majority of the Presbytery of Strathbogie sent representatives. An interdict was procured against those of the minority taking their places. But they set the law at defiance. An onslaught was again made on the law of patronage; and the resolution against it was now carried. The Assembly would next abolish it altogether. There was much to be said in favour of this system unless the people were stirred up by ecclesiastical agitators; while it checked an indiscriminate choice, it practically gave them, in general, an acceptable minister. It placed the initiative in the hands of those who had to maintain him. The ministers who had held communion with their Strathbogie brethren were suspended; but the synod to which two of the ministers belonged refused to recognize the sentence. The whole Church was now falling into confusion. Against the constitution of the Presbyterian Church a special Commission was appointed, with reference to the prevalent difficulties, with power to supersede presbyteries in their various functions. Arising chiefly out of cases which had

already occurred, suspensions and depositions now followed in rapid succession against parties who had appealed to the law courts for protection. An action had been raised by the presentee in the Auchterarder case for damages, which were awarded. This decision was appealed to the House of Lords, who affirmed it. Preparations were now made for the great secession. A convocation was held. It was represented that the Government would yield; but this was a mistaken notion; and the Free Church was accordingly established.

That the Non-Intrusionists were wrong, is clearly apparent. They violated the laws by which the Church and the State were united. They sought to be the sole interpreters of what was spiritual, and what was not. They allowed the law courts to have nothing to say on these points. Their claims were intolerable in a State Church. They amounted simply to Popery recognized by the law, and yet as above the law. They are now a dissenting church; and in the Cardross case they seek to encroach on the liberty of the subject. In so old an establishment, changes may have been necessary; but they did not proceed to obtain them by constitutional means. Since the disruption much has been so procured, affecting the powers of the people; and greater changes are probably in prospect. There can be no question that the adjustment of the civil and spiritual authority in the Established Church has advantages of its own. The Free Church, ruled by a few leaders, is the most intolerant of all the dissenting bodies in Scotland; and with a bad grace, her bitterest hatred is against the old Establishment, to which she owes her *prestige*. The Non-Intrusionists set the forms of procedure aside when they wished to do a wrong. In the Cardross case, the Free Church has done the same. While the people have the right of election, the presbyteries in that Church assume the right of rejection; so that, in fact, they hold the liberties of the people in check. Probably many of our readers will recognize the value of Independence, or a moderate Episcopacy, which allows the right of private judgment, and a diversity of opinion, in preference to an ecclesiastical despotism, which justifies Milton's dictum, that "*new Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.*"

T. U.

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## Politics.

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### IS THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN ITS EXISTENCE AND OPERATIONS, BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—IV.

IN discussing this question we feel the advantage is all upon the affirmative side; therefore, whatever merit may appear in our remarks, our own self-diffidence would attribute such merit to the

inherent excellence of the subject, rather than to any efforts we can make.

The precedent which history has established, and the *éclat* with which the noble class has distinguished itself in the great epochs of our political progress, have firmly rooted the aristocracy in the habits of thought and feeling of the great bulk of the people, excepting only that contemptible minority which, prejudiced by the interested declamations of frothy demagogues, has grown into a state of moral and political scepticism of the most demoralizing and vicious character.

Of late years the hideousness of this scepticism and vice has been, in some measure, gilded over, because its advocacy has fallen into the hands of men otherwise good and estimable citizens,—men who appear to possess that obliquity of vision, both mental and moral, which changes all the virtues, excellences, and advantages derived from a nobility possessed of wealth and education, into so many hydra-headed evils to be anathematized as the sole cause of all the evil to which suffering humanity is subjected.

Far be it from us to attribute these failings with *malice prepense* to our opponents in this debate; yet we cannot dismiss from our mind the earnest conviction that they have been fascinated by the weird glair of these arch-sceptics; and have become the unconscious victims of a scepticism they little understand, either in its principles or ultimate results.

It is a prevailing characteristic of modern times to doubt, and especially of the young men of the present day to rejoice excessively at their own wisdom therein; if they can lay hold of a great doubt, they are so proud of their acquisition, that they go up and down in the world dunning and clamouring, raving and spouting, just e'en as much as that fabulous old hen who makes more noise over the one addled egg she is hatching, than fourscore thrifty hens with a round dozen of fruitful ova undergoing incubation beneath their widespread, stay-at-home wings. Against this species of sceptical stump oratory it is the duty of all wise men carefully to shut their ears; and the duty of those competent to do so, to provide the antidote. Happily, this is done to no mean extent by that great champion of England's rights and privileges, Lord Brougham, in his great work on political philosophy.

It is our privilege to suggest a few reasons in favour of the House of Lords. We shall do this as briefly as possible, by showing,—First, That the hereditary branch of the legislature claims the highest antiquity in our national history, dating as it does far back in the Norman and Saxon ages, and is known by various names as the King's council, through which he legislated for and governed the country.

Second. That every great event in our political history has found the Lords, or Barons, occupying a prominent and honourable position favourable to the extension of civil and religious liberty, and calculated to promote the comfort, prosperity, and happiness of

every class of the people, *e.g.*, Magna Charta, and its renewals under the immediately succeeding monarchs; the Revolution under Charles I.; during the Interregnum; at the time of the great Revolution of 1688; and in every event since that time likely to produce a salutary effect in promoting the welfare of the nation.

Third. The present character of our nobility upholds most worthily the *prestige* of the past. In public life they exhibit the most honourable and dignified morality; in private life they are kind, charitable, and seek freedom of intercourse within their respective sources of influence, in order to make their wealth and social position means whereby they can ameliorate woe, palliate suffering, reclaim the outcast, educate the young, encourage those of mature age, and confer happiness upon the hoary head descending to the grave.

Fourth. Their education and wealth peculiarly fit them to be hereditary legislators, because all the means and appliances to facilitate the proper qualification for such duties are at their command; and the immense stake they possess in the prosperity of the country ensures prudent and well-considered legislation, and opposes crude and hasty attempts to unsettle the existing state of things.

Fifth. Their position peculiarly fits them for attaining, in the diplomatic services of the State, a knowledge of the manners, customs, and laws regulating other states, which, on their return home to the discharge of legislative duties, enables them to bring a more enlarged experience to the subject than could otherwise be attained.

Sixth. The peerage, being a reward conferred by the Sovereign upon meritorious services rendered to the country, is not only an incentive to a noble ambition in every member of the commonwealth, but necessarily provides the best, most talented, most serviceable men to discharge the duties of the hereditary legislature.

Seventh. The existing arrangements, by which the judicial functions of the House of Lords are renewed and invigorated, secure the best talent, the most learned and the most experienced jurists, as an integral portion of its constituents.

Eighth. The political education of the younger sons and heirs of the nobility, which they get as members of the House of Commons, gives them experience, and prepares them better for the duties of the Upper House when they succeed to their titles and their seats: this, in fact, prepares them to become a part of that house in its peculiar character as a house of review upon the acts of the Commons, and the previous consideration also constitutes them, with great propriety, a court of review in all judicial matters, above all other courts in the realm.

Ninth. The position of the Lords, as a legislative body between the Sovereign and the people, restrains tyranny and oppression on the one hand, and prevents unbridled licence, anarchy, and revolution on the other.

Tenth. The interests of all the integral portions of the common-

wealth are so intimately interwoven with the legislative and judicial status of the House of Lords, that the power, influence, wealth, and constitutional permanence of that House, is a necessity of the most absolute nature, and consequently most beneficial to the country. The best statesmen are included in its ranks; the best lawyers have seats there; the Church sends its most worthy ornaments; the army and navy contribute their most talented and most gallant officers; and the diplomatic service includes its most distinguished nobles.

In this decade of reasons we have sought rather to make suggestions for others to follow to their consequences, in the full hope that good service is thereby rendered to a cause which ought to be dear to every Briton; not that addition can be made by us to the intrinsic importance of the subject itself, nor to the veneration with which this time-honoured branch of our constitution is regarded by our fellow-countrymen. We have not entered into detail in opposing the writers on the other side of this question, because we consider the mode adopted will convey more instruction and conviction to the reader, and also because the writers opening this debate will doubtless enter into a full criticism, both *pro* and *con.*, of all that is written by friends or foes.

This question may become a very prominent one in the future, particularly as political agitation has been so spoken of by statesmen of high repute in our Government as necessarily to encourage agitation,—in fact, to offer a premium for it. We hope, meanwhile, that every side of the question may be thoroughly examined by the young men of the present generation, in order that, should circumstances call their judgment into practical exercise in a possible crisis of their country's constitutional history, they may be prepared to judge soundly, correctly, safely; and having thus formed a mature judgment, with a quiet conscience be prepared manfully to discharge their duty to self, home, their country, and the State.

D. M.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—IV.

HOWEVER much B. S. may consider the article of his friend and colleague, R. R., clear and logical, I cannot think that either of those gentlemen has given satisfactory reasons "for the faith that is in him," and cannot myself come to any other conclusion than that both have utterly failed to establish their proposition. They have, indeed, shown, what was previously a well-known fact, viz.—that we are blessed with a mixed constitution. So far, so good; but that is not the question. One of the component parts of this mixed constitution I believe to be unwholesome; and, should this be found to be the case, that is sufficient to vitiate the beneficial operation of the whole.

Of course, we who uphold the negative side of this controversy are aware that we are in a very unpopular position. It is to be regretted that, in the English mind, there is too much veneration

for wealth and title, especially when coupled with antiquity ; indeed, so much so, that the possessor of these qualities is placed in authority, and treated with reverence, without any consideration being given to the inquiry whether or not the character is of such worth and virtue as to render the wearer a true aristocrat.

A considerable portion of R. R.'s paper is devoted to the enunciation of what has been so recently and ably exposed by Lord Brougham on the subject of mixed monarchies ; and, contrary to R. R.'s assertion, he must allow me to say, that it does not at all follow that those who support the negative would also support the proposition that no Upper Chamber is necessary. I, for one, think that an Upper Chamber is needful ; but that the present one is wholly unfit for use, and positively injurious when put to the use for which it was intended. I quite concur with R. R. that the will of the people, when determined, always prevails ; but this at once goes to the root of the argument, and proves that the House of Lords is in truth valueless, and a mere form.

R. R. tells us that, "among the advantages to be derived from the existence of an Upper House, composed of the aristocracy of the land, is the wisdom that may be expected from experience and education." We have, however, yet to learn that experience is a necessary result of being one of the "aristocracy of the land ;" for it may be asserted, with perfect safety, that no education can give this experience, save a practical one. We may reasonably expect wisdom from experience and education, but how can it result from an ancestor having been rich, and procured a title, by means, probably, not very creditable to himself ? R. R. certainly assumes more than he is justified in doing, when he asserts that it is admitted that the Peers did not exceed their legal power in rejecting the Paper Duty Bill. On the contrary, the division list on that debate shows that the greater number of the Law Lords, and those better capable of judging than the mere hereditary legislators, held the opposite opinion ; and the result is far from being the gratifying one which R. R. represents.

Looking at R. R.'s article, then, I think it may be fairly said that all that he proves is, that the House of Peers is an obstruction to the will of the people ; but he does not attempt to show that this continued obstruction produces beneficial results. The papers of both R. R. and B. S. contain the usual Conservative "articles of faith"—dread of the people—the working classes ; the dictum that property is the only thing that ought to have a voice in the governing of the nation ; and that the titled possessors of wealth must be the fittest to hold in their hands the destinies of the people.

Although most willing to do so, it would be impossible to enter into the whole of the numerous subjects introduced by B. S., and I must therefore be content to confine myself to a few of what I consider the most relevant. Upon the basis of history I confidently submit to the readers of this Magazine that the present British Constitution will not bear being taken back, as B. S. attempts, 1861.



some hundreds of years. Admitting that the House of Peers is a venerable institution, it does not therefore follow that its continued existence is desirable, or its operations beneficial. B. S. is wholly wrong when he states that "universal suffrage resulted in casting the liberties of France at the feet of imperial despotism." The history of France, and the unanimous voice of her great men, reject this monstrous idea. The truth is, that France is in the same position as any country overrun and conquered by the legions of a despot, and her liberties have been sacrificed to the gaoler who thus put the fetters upon her.

It is quite true that the best plan is "to convince the governing class, or classes, that humanity, wisdom, right, and justice, are the best policy;" but will B. S. point out how this is to be done? Have monarchs or nobles ever learnt the lesson, till self-interest has taught it, or superior power forced it upon them?

Every reader must be glad to concur with B. S. in the principle that fitness should be the standard, and not numbers. But are not the fittest people in England those who have made her what she is? And are not those the hard-working, patient, honest artisans? I must confess that I incline to the belief that the House of Peers has not done anything to exalt England, except from sheer necessity.

B. S.'s quotations from the history of France seem to be unfortunate. I ask him, Did not the patrician body of France, before the year 1789 (as all exclusive hereditary aristocracies must do) force the Revolution? and were they not, consequently, alone accountable for their own destruction? The patrician body of that time crushed the people, and starved them in contributing to their own voluptuous excesses. The fate which they met was a just retribution, and, from their own proceedings, quite inevitable.

Now, B. S. must well know that although the people have the power he names of forcing the Crown, when met in Parliament, yet there is nothing but an appeal to arms that can compel the monarch to call a Parliament, so that they may exercise this power. I confess I cannot envy the contented state of B. S., who, though acknowledging that the Constitution is imperfect, does not wish to attempt to improve it, for fear, perchance, that in so doing, it *might* be made worse! Had our ancestors acted thus, we should not now be discussing this question, for we should have had no Parliament at all, but have been found crouching at the feet of a tyrant king, like some of our Plantagenets. I contend, therefore, that we shall be but unworthy sons of brave sires, if we suffer such a pusillanimous reason to have the least weight with us. For the further consideration of this question, I think it will be well to look at the House of Lords in its legislative and judicial functions. But, first, let us see what is the constitution of the House.

A peer is an hereditary legislator. He makes laws, because one of his ancestors was a Peer; it being assumed that, as he is the present representative of a certain family, he is fit to be entrusted with

the use of a vast power. He has to furnish no proof of his capacity. He is the inheritor of a title, and that is his only qualification. I ask,—Is not this fact alone sufficient to render the operations of the whole body, to say the least, doubtful? It is said by my opponents, that the House is composed of the great landed proprietors, and that the country has the benefit of their experience. But what experience do they, or can they, gain? They are educated in the knowledge that a coronet and a fine fortune await them, and that nothing can prevent their becoming possessed of power. They know nothing of the classes for whom they are to legislate, and, generally, the belief is inculcated that the working class, *alias* the *lower classes*, are unfit to be trusted with any power; for as soon as influence be acquired by them, its use will be to overturn the monarchy and the hereditary legislature! But the great landed proprietors seldom trouble themselves to attend the House; and many of the Peers are the descendants of some royal favourites, whose only excellence lay in pandering to the appetites or will of a monarch; or, perchance, they succeed those who were raised to the peerage for no other purpose than to carry some kingly fancy.

Then there is the Bench of Bishops,—that thing of “adulterous, nay, of monstrous birth,—the spiritual peer!” Three peers form a House. Thus an old bishop, a brainless lord, and a sporting noble, may decide upon the destinies of a whole nation. Should this state of things be allowed? The barbarous law of primogeniture is the very essence of the Peer;—a law unfit to exist in any civilized community, and for the existence of which the Peers alone are accountable.

One other great difference there is between the House of Lords and the Representative House,—they have the privilege—and it has sealed the fate of many a good measure—of *voting by proxy*; that is, while they may be taking their pleasure on the Continent, or recruiting their shattered fortunes, or gambling away what little remains at some German spa, they can still decide (although without knowing anything about it) on the fate of a whole nation. Is not this evil of such an alarming character, that the enlightened nineteenth century ought to fix indelibly upon it the sign of speedy destruction, and the stigma of universal abhorrence?

If any measure be introduced opposed to the old conservative spirit of the House of Lords, it can be cast out by the Peers. The last session showed this. The Paper Duty Bill was brought up, having been passed by the Commons, and approved by the nation, and to interfere with which was clearly beyond the range of the Peers’ operations; but, nevertheless, an opposition chief determined to make a party affair of it. The bill was thrown out; and thus, as both Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone declared, a most gigantic innovation on the Constitution committed. Every one knew that the bill must be cast out; the rusty machinery of the House was greased, and put in motion; Peers summoned from all parts of the country for this express purpose; proxies used, and all

the other outrageous privileges of the House exerted for this one object. The division list showed the names of Peers whose very existence was unknown, and who, as soon as they had been used, sank back into the ghost-like obscurity from which they had been dragged.

The very nature of the Peers is irresponsible. They are bound by no ties to the people; no pledges are exacted from them before they begin their career; they never consult the nation. No wonder, then, that they have not progressed with the times; their inclination is, still as it was 300 years ago; and neither the Crown nor the people can exercise any control over them, except by physical force. This, surely, should not be. Now, let me ask,—Have they not persistently opposed every useful measure? The Reform Bill of 1832; the Emancipation of the Jews; the Abolition of Church Rates; the Paper Duty Bill; the Bill for Legalizing the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister; and that which is so much needed at the present time—another Reform Bill;—all have been rejected and obstructed by this irresponsible, hereditary House.

Had I space, I could show what I have asserted in each particular instance. The reform of the House of Lords demands instant attention. It is true that some of the members are excellent and learned men, but they are principally those who have been raised to the peerage by merit, and not by the law of primogeniture. One other evil still exists:—not only have the Peers their own exclusive chamber, but they force their sons and relations into the House of Commons for some pocket borough, and thus obtain an undue share of influence in the people's House.

I think that enough has been stated to prove that the existence and operations of the Peers, as legislators, cannot, from their very constitution, if for no other reasons, be beneficial to the country. I will now, as briefly as possible, endeavour to point out the many anomalies existing in their judicial functions. And we must bear in mind that this is the highest office of the House; for, from their judicial tribunal, there is no appeal. It is ultimate, and cannot be altered.

For the just administration of the law, it is requisite that the judges should be wholly independent of party in either House. The chief judge of the land is not independent, for whichever party happens to hold office chooses a different Lord Chancellor. The House of Lords is the highest court of appeal in Great Britain, and this constant changing of Lord Chancellor has been abused in past times,—is still open to abuse. Lord Brougham (himself a Peer) points out the anomalies existing in the judicial capacity of the Lords. He says:—"The House of Lords presents a great anomaly among courts of appellate jurisdiction. Every Peer is, by the Constitution, a judge in all cases which are brought from courts of equity, by appeal, whether on matter of law or fact, and on all matters of law from common law court, by writ of error, for

defects appearing on the record. But, for many ages, the Law Lords only have been in use to interfere in these cases. It is probable that some improvement of this tribunal will soon be deemed expedient; *for where party considerations interfere, it may be found that the Law Lords are not above such influence, and the interference of the lay Peers would afford an imperfect remedy.* The only security for the due administration of justice in this, as in all other courts, *is to place it in the hands of judges wholly unconnected with political party."*

Lord Brougham seems to think this point of immense importance, for he lays down as a rule that ought to be followed, to prevent justice being frustrated, that "the judges ought to be independent of the Government, and excluded from sharing in either legislative or administrative duties;" and he says of what he denominates this "great anomaly in the British Constitution," that "it has occasionally, though rarely, given rise to mischief in the administration of justice. It may, any day, give rise to mischief much more frequently recurring, and much more hurtfully operating. The sooner it is removed by the creation of a higher appeal court, of which the members are wholly removed from all political functions whatever, so much the better."

This, then, is one of the points on which I contend that the operations of the House of Peers are not beneficial to the country; and I would urge, that whatever presents the possibility that the springs of justice may be poisoned, and wrong done, even if it be the greatest piece of antiquity in existence, ought to be abolished.

Speaking of the practice in the Lords as to appeals, Lord Brougham says:—"The House of Lords is the court of ultimate appeal in all questions of law whatever, provided they are raised on any record, and in all questions of fact, and all questions of law whatever, which arise in Courts of Equity. So says the letter of the Constitution. The highest judicial functions are combined with the highest legislative functions; and these are together vested in judges *who succeed to their situation by inheritance*, with the exception of a small number of Irish Peers, who are elected for life, and a small number of Scotch Peers, who are elected each Parliament. *Every English Peer, on attaining the age of twenty-one years, has as much a voice in all these great questions as the Lord Chief Justice of England, or the Lord High Chancellor himself.* Such is the theory of the Constitution; and it may, on any one occasion, be made the practice. It was as nearly as possible so made on a late important political case; and on every case of this description, that is—on every case which makes the interference of the Peers at large most to be deprecated—it is the most likely to happen."

It is quite true that this branch of the business of the House is usually conducted by the Law Lords, but it is not a necessity that one Law Lord should be present. No longer ago than Lord Eldon's Chancellorship, Lord Eldon was frequently the *only* lord in attend-

ance; and thus, through this clumsy piece of machinery, actually decided appeals against *his own* previous decision.

On this point Lord Brougham says:—"I have practised at the bar of the House of Lords when the chair was filled by Sir John Leach, then Master of the Rolls, and by Sir Charles Abbott, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench. *There was not one Law Lord present.* The Speaker having no right to do more than put the question,—having not so much as the right to come into the House at all—whatever decision was pronounced in the cause was given by any three lay Peers who chanced to have come in, whether they heard a word of the argument or not." So that the grossest injustice may thus be committed in broad daylight, without any remedy. The same author declares:—"When we consider that this Court may thus be constituted, and, in fact, has often so been formed, and, above all, that the ordinary case is for the only judge who sits and adjudicates in it, to be a nominee of the Crown, removable at pleasure, and always a most active political partisan, surely no more needs be said to show how *extremely rude this part of our system is, and how loudly it calls for improvement.*"

He then quotes two important cases, as demonstrating what he calls "the liability of the system to be abused; the openness of the door to party influence; the certain fact of that party influence entering." He thus ably analyzes the injustice of the whole system:—"Three peers are a quorum; consequently two in rotation sit in the morning with the Chancellor, to secure a sufficient number for the transaction of judicial business. The attendance of the Law Lords, when there happen to be any in the House, or in London, is, of course, merely accidental, and can never be reckoned on. There is a cause begun to-day before these two lay Peers, sitting with the Chancellor; it is adjourned till to-morrow, when other two attend; a third pair hear the end of the cause on the third day of the argument; and a fourth pair, which has not heard one word on either side, attends to give judgment." Lord Brougham thus sums up the subject:—"It may safely be affirmed that in no country was there ever exhibited a more undignified spectacle than the one that has just been described, and which has constantly been seen in the Lords' House of Parliament."

In conclusion. I repeat that to me it appears that the only arguments brought forward by the upholders of the affirmative side of the question are,—1st, That the House of Lords has stood for so many years, and it would be a pity to destroy an institution which has for so long a period braved the ravages of time and public opinion; and, 2nd, That it restrains the people from at once carrying out their will, which R. R. confesses must ultimately prevail!

Against these arguments I have shown that, from its very constitution, which my opponents uphold, it is utterly incompetent to deal with legislative matters; and, in fact, rarely attempts to legislate, except on unimportant subjects. I have also shown (and

have produced as an authority the opinion of a man who, for learning and ability, stands in the first rank of Englishmen) that its judicial functions are a complete anomaly; that it is not only possible and probable, but that it is a fact, that evils have been perpetrated, and may, nay, must be again committed; that justice has been denied, and may again be denied to suitors; families ruined, noble fortunes impoverished, through the monstrous constitution of this irresponsible, exclusive, and bigoted body. I strenuously maintain that, looking at all the *pros* and *cons* of the subject, the House of Lords not only is, but must ever be, while its present anomalous powers exist, the great hindrance to the welfare of a mighty people—a decided drag upon the wheel of progress, which it attempts to stop whenever occasion presents itself; and one against whose decision there is no appeal but—*arms*. As such, it demands speedy demolition, that out of the ruins of its present constitution something may be built alike worthy of the nation, and of an existence as a power in an enlightened age—an age not to be dazzled by scarlet robes, and coronets, and sounding titles, or thus deceived into a belief that they adorn worth or talent; for scarlet and ermine may conceal false hearts; coronets may rest on brainless heads; and noble names may be but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

While the House of Lords is constituted as at present, it cannot, and will not, command esteem; but when we see it consist of men who, by their own indomitable energy and nobleness of intellect, have raised themselves to an eminent position; who have given proof that they have the talent to command, and to restrain; who, from the experience they have gained of the governed, furnish evidence that they have the capacity and knowledge to become the governors,—then, and not till then, we will render it all honour, and acknowledge its superiority; for it will not only be England's House of Nobles, but a portion of that glorious, world-wide community—nature's true nobility.

H. K.

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## Social Economy.

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SHOULD THE EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN AGRICULTURAL, MANUFACTURING, AND COMMERCIAL PURSUITS, TO BE ENCOURAGED?

### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—IV.

AMONG the many subjects occupying attention in this reforming age, that of the condition of our female population has especial claims; and viewed broadly, as all such subjects should be, it cannot fail to interest us very much. When the extent of female prosti-

tution in this country is remembered; when we think of the wretched and degraded condition in which so many women live; when we recollect that every one of them was formed for something better, nobler, purer, and more excellent; when we try to fathom the causes of so much misery, and of the existence of such an anomaly (as we may call it) in a christian land,—we cannot, unless under the influence of some extraordinary and unenviable motives or prejudices, feel otherwise than gratified at the merest probability of amendment in such a state of things, or the slightest chance of an opportunity of lessening the evil.

We have previously, in these pages,\* attempted a description of some of the difficulties which young women (and it should be understood that our remarks have reference principally to those of the female sex between the time of their leaving school and becoming married) labour under. We have shown how numbers of them have long been employed in situations quite incompatible with their natures and their inclinations, but for industry and virtue's sake alone, they are content to endure all the inconveniences attendant thereon, in preference to adopting the only other alternative hitherto existing. And we need now, therefore, merely glance at the benefits which would result generally, or to them particularly, if the field of manual labour was cultivated by women to a greater extent.

The best argument in support of the position we take in regard to this question is, that since man has invaded the circle within which woman can find suitable and proper employment, she is justified to the same extent in undertaking any kind of labour which she may be capable of performing. If the sterner sex would allow the fair claims of woman, and give up to her those places which they have ruthlessly and unjustly usurped; if, for instance, they would come from behind the counter in drapers' shops, and betake themselves to other occupations; if they would relinquish the yard-stick for a pickaxe, and use a spade instead of a pair of scissors,—it would enable thousands of intelligent and virtuous young women to obtain an honest livelihood, who must now either starve at home, or go upon the streets; while the benefit to the men themselves would be incalculable, alike physically, morally, and pecuniarily. It is ludicrously pitiable (if we may be permitted such an expression) to see some young men wasting their energies in measuring ribbons and tapes, who should be studying the best mode whereby they might leave the world better for having lived in it; and others, describing to inquisitive old dowagers, and giddy school-girls, the newest pattern in head-dresses, and the dimensions of a crinoline, who might be rendering better service in driving a stage coach, or conducting a railway train. Which, we ask, is the most sensible occupation for a man,—arranging the articles in a milliner's shop-window, or the details of a plan for

\* Vol. x., p. 261.

relieving distressed needlewomen, or the better management of a hospital?

Our mission is supposed to consist partly in assisting the helpless, and succouring the needy; not in ourselves oppressing the "weaker vessel," and depriving woman of her legitimate position in society. To say the least of it, we practise and tolerate one of the most heartless and unjust customs, in this respect, that it is possible to conceive, and which, in view of the pretended philanthropy of the present day, is sufficient to disgust all thinking men. But the more ridiculous certain usages of nations may happen to be, the greater difficulty there is in effecting an alteration; and as woman is thereby excluded from labouring in her proper sphere, we consider she is warranted in exercising the ability she possesses of earning her bread in other ways.

We shall, however, perhaps be told that, notwithstanding woman may be *justified* in imitating the example set before her, it is not *expedient* that she should become a competitor with man in those particular branches of labour of which, under other circumstances, he might have been allowed to enjoy a monopoly; but our opinions have a directly opposite tendency. We believe in the value of competition in all business relations, and, consequently, in cases where man and woman may, perchance, meet upon the same ground, the natural jealousy which each would be supposed to entertain of the other would cause greater attention to be paid to the duties of their respective situations, and, necessarily, would stimulate in them the manifestation of an amount of activity, assiduity, and talent which, in ordinary cases, would never be displayed. Personally, we do not envy the feelings of the man who would be afraid to encounter a female competitor in the same profession as himself; for, if she possessed superior qualifications for any post a man might be holding, which would warrant an employer in superseding him, he must consider it an inevitable consequence of such superiority; and if, on the other hand, he allowed himself to be exceeded in zeal for his master's interests by a woman, he ought to console himself with the reflection that his misfortunes were solely attributable to his own neglect.

It is almost superfluous to go into the question of wages, as connected with this subject, as the fallacious ideas indulged upon this score, regarding increased competition, have been explained long ago by abler men; and we think the opinion expressed, many years since, by a talented writer recently deceased, quite conclusive:—"If the working classes of this country had unlimited power in their own hands to-morrow," says our authority,\* "the sole and only way in which they could better their condition would be by increasing the commodities of the country, and by *compelling idle consumers to become producers.*"

The number of females, however, who will ever be likely to

\* J. C. Symons, "Arts and Artisans, at Home and Abroad."



engage in pursuits of the kind we are considering will, certainly, be so small, that to feel alarm at the innovation, as regards numbers, is simply absurd; but there cannot be a doubt as to the advantage of converting the "idle consumers," who are so now from necessity alone, into "producers" of wealth, and partakers in the general prosperity and happiness of our common country.

We think, moreover, that instead of unfitting woman for household and maternal duties, as some urge against this proposition, the simple fact of knowing how to obtain a living for herself, before undertaking such duties, would be a good recommendation; and the knowledge she would have of the value of money, from having been compelled to earn it, would be some guarantee that she would know how to expend and take care of that which she might be entrusted with by a husband.

Altogether, we are persuaded that we have everything to hope for, and nothing to fear, from "the employment of females in agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits," being encouraged to the utmost extent; and, with the hope that thereby they may be able to do that for themselves which, evidently, it is useless depending upon others to do for them, we give our unre-served vote for the affirmative of this question.      G. A. H. E.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—IV.

It would be difficult to estimate too highly the importance of the question now under consideration. Even were the beneficial effects of its proper solution confined to those whom it more immediately concerns, it could not fail to excite the lively interest of the philanthropic, and engage the serious consideration of the reflecting. But, as in common with all social matters, its influence is not limited to a mere section of the community, but permeates the whole, beginning at the heart or core of society—the family hearth, and proceeding in widely extending circles, until it embraces the whole social system, the subject may be regarded as pressing itself upon the attention of every one, requiring him no longer to leave it in suspense, but to investigate, consider, and decide upon it at once.

The adoption of any extreme view upon a subject of such magnitude, and with which such a diversity of interests are connected, would be most injudicious and unadvised; and we have, therefore, observed with pleasure the temperate tone pervading the preceding articles, and the honest admissions made by the writers on both sides. These are cheering symptoms, which assure us that we are in the company of earnest truth-seekers,—not gladiatorial disputants; for, may not the aim and object of our search lie in neither extreme? and if so, how otherwise may we hope to reach it, but by a mutual approach as far as conscience will permit?

The demoralizing tendency associated with the employment of women in manufacturing pursuits must strike the most careless observer; for no sage is required to tell us what must be the

inevitable result of congregating together large numbers of young and uneducated women, and mingling them with the thoughtless, and, perchance, designing, of the opposite sex. So patent is the consequence, and withal so appalling, that an affirmative writer has acknowledged it to be *the evil* of the practice he advocates. That it is the sole evil we will by no means admit; that it is *the evil, par excellence*, we will not dispute. In either case, is it not a sufficient reason for refusing an extension to the system? Especially if no better remedial measure may be hoped for than that contained in the observation of G. H. S., that "if female labour was more generally employed in mercantile and other establishments, the heads of these establishments could look after their interests, their wants, and their proceedings." It would be hard to say whether greater illogicalness, or ignorance of the world, is exhibited by this remark. If employers are indifferent at present to the evils attending female labour, why should they be less so when a greater supply of such labour is placed at their disposal? Or, if its mischievous consequences are beyond their control now, how can an extension of the system invest them with greater restraining powers over it? If the lives and limbs of manufacturing *employés* require for their protection parliamentary enactments, and Government inspectors to see that these acts are observed, is it not most absurd to expect that employers on a large scale will exercise a moral surveillance over the proceedings of their workers?

The fundamental error of this idea is, that it transfers to the employer one of the chief duties of the parent. To instil into the young a love for what is right, and a repugnance to what is wrong; to develop, foster, and strengthen their moral feelings, is the work of time, and the work of home. It is to be accomplished, not so much by precept as by example; and addresses itself to the heart even more than to the head. Thus wrought into their very nature, and growing up within them, a love of virtue, or at least a dread of doing wrong, will become an inseparable part of their existence. And when a girl, possessed of this, enters upon the world, she will be enabled to withstand its wiles, and, as a wife, to shed a benignant influence throughout her dwelling. To this, however, the general employment of women speedily puts a termination, and produces a complete revolution in the social circle. In infancy, the young, tended by some mercenary crone, while their mother is engaged at the factory, are too frequently soothed and quieted by poppy syrup and like narcotics. In childhood, such company and lessons as the streets afford are theirs; neither are these without their results. There is, it is true, one chance remaining to them, besides, of course, the watchful care our opponent expects the employer to bestow upon their better interests,—we mean the moral and religious training which may be imparted to them at day and sabbath schools; although even the most sanguine can scarcely look with expectancy for much good being produced by stray seeds sown on such waste soil. It may be

an improvement over this state of matters if we suppose the mother's services to be devoted exclusively to her household duties, while her daughters are intended for the warehouse or mill; but it will prove, after all, but a sorry remedy. Before the maternal example and advice can take such powerful hold as to mould the girls' habits, the work-bell summons them away, and their natural disposition may be said then to decide their future weal or woe. If buoyant and impetuous, the restraints of home will soon become irksome, and the idea of self-support begetting that of self-government, they will seek the first opportunity of escape from the paternal roof.

We will here anticipate an objection that might be raised, that the course described by us is the very one pursued by the youth of the opposite sex. Examined closely, however, the objection appears rather to favour our views. The manners and morals of women we hold to be much superior to those of men. What is brusqueness in the one sex, becomes rudeness or coarseness in the other: while what would not be tolerated in the gentler portion of humanity, in the sterner is regarded as a mere peccadillo, to be complacently smiled at.

These are facts which none can question, or experience difficulty in discovering their reason. They exhibit in a strong light the old idea that man, whom nature has specially adapted for the work, is expected to fight the battle of life, and that when he retires, he will bear on him the dust and smoke, and other traces of the conflict. Though we accord a higher moral position to women than to men, we must not be understood as lightly esteeming the moral worth of our countrymen; on the contrary, it is because we believe them to have attained a high moral eminence, from which the present movement bids fair to bring them down, that we so earnestly oppose it. Returned to the bosom of his family, the working man, husband or son, breathes a moral atmosphere many degrees purer than the one he has left, and which acts as an antidote to any baneful influence he may have been exposed to during the day. Let the employment of women become general, and this will be no longer true; the morality of both sexes will fall to a dead level,—that level many degrees below the present lowest point.

Turning now to the other side of the question, we find it conceded that the services of women in some branches of manufacture can scarcely be dispensed with; to which acknowledgment we may add, that although their services could be entirely dispensed with, some employment, other than domestic, must be left open to them. The reverses of fortune, and the loss of friends, frequently throw women upon their own resources, and it becomes imperative that they should have access to some occupation by which they may honestly earn a livelihood. Tuition, millinery, dressmaking, sewed muslin, and such like work, the tending certain classes of shops, and domestic service, draft off immense numbers of these; and were they the only applicants for employment, there would be

little difficulty in providing for them, and no occasion for the present debate, since they are compelled by their necessities to seek a business, and require no encouragement to do this. It is your girl "in humble, though respectable, rank of life," whose "parents are living in comparative comfort," yet, nevertheless, feel their daughter to be a "burden" upon them, who is chiefly the subject of this discussion. In short, it is the employment of girls belonging to the class termed *shabby genteel*, whose cause G. H. S. has so zealously championed, that we have principally to consider. Large numbers of them are engaged in other occupations than plying the needle; but go where you choose, you will meet with none but those earning a mere pittance of wages, able to do little more than keep some of them in dress; for they follow the fashions, be it understood. How is this to be accounted for? Is it an over-supply of such labour that is the cause? To a certain extent it is; to a greater extent, we think, it is because they do not depend entirely on this source for their daily bread. Their earnings are auxiliary to the family income, helping to provide it with luxuries, and foster their own vanity. But the evil effects of this system press heavily upon those who have no other means of support. How they eke out their subsistence is an enigma,—one, perhaps, which is better to remain unknown.

Looking at the proposed remedy, we find it to be no remedy at all. It is like the fool's plan of lengthening the rope that was too short to reach the bottom of the well,—“Cut a piece off the top, and join it to the other end,” said he. So, our opponents propose that women should be installed in positions now occupied by men, and the men should go—whither? Our friend, G. H. S., has hit it. After clearing a “monster” drapery warehouse of its assistants, he dismisses them to merchant's offices, the bar, and the pulpit! But the merchants' offices he filled with women only two pages before. Is he already convinced of their unfitness? The bar and the pulpit are only to be reached by those who can support themselves while passing through the necessary curriculum of study. G. H. S. has forgotten to tell how this difficulty is to be surmounted. And, after all, as lawyers or ministers, what is their prospect? In the one case, to be a briefless barrister; in the other, to spend his life in a curacy, “passing rich on forty pounds a year.”

The insulting remarks of G. H. S. regarding drapers are deserving of severe reprehension. To insinuate that they are neither means of good to themselves nor their fellows, and then tell us that some of his “most attached and valued friends” are amongst the class, appears strange enough. “Young men in these times think that they have ‘a soul beyond the shop;’ and old men, I am afraid, are too prone to encourage the mischievous idea, and to turn their sons, who might be good tradesmen, into indifferent members of some ‘gentlemanly profession.’ But the gentlemanly professions are now becoming so crowded and overstocked, and the

difficulty of earning bare subsistence in them so increasingly great, that men of family and education are beginning to think whether they may not advantageously pick up for their sons the grocer's apron which young Figs has scornfully thrown aside; or the yard measure which Bombazine, junior, has broken across his knee."\*

The only office-work which may fall to be performed by women is that of legal copying, although what better this will make them, we cannot understand. To young men subsisting on their labour, the remuneration is scant enough; yet much less will be paid when women do the work, since the competition will be greater, and the girl will get it to whom it is only a partial means of support, as she will do it cheapest.

Looking at the question as a whole, we feel assured that if women were to follow to-morrow all the avocations at present desired for them by the advocates of their rights, in the course of a few years the difficulty would be even greater than now. It is not the blighting effects of custom, neither is it the result of legal enactments—as specimens of which take the act for restricting the hours of female labour in factories, and the one prohibiting the employment of women in mines or collieries, which X. Y. Z. would doubtless wish repealed,—but is simply the natural consequence of an over-crowded population, aggravated in the middle class by a false feeling of gentility.

To relieve this pressure many devices may be thought of, and ingenious expedients resorted to; female labour may be permitted to go wheresoever it listeth; the higher professions may be crowded by women as eager aspirants; and the meaner arts thronged by those whose views are less lofty; but it will be all in vain. For there is only one effectual remedy, and that prospective rather than immediate,—the prudent regulation of marriages. The ability to provide amply for the wants of his partner, and the reasonable expectation of supporting the children that may rise up around him, should be possessed by every man proposing to enter the matrimonial state. They who do so without these requirements are wanting in their duty. Hence comes the striving after employment by married women and girls, the encouraging of which aggravates the evil tenfold; and therefore have we taken our position on this side of the debate.

NONA.

\* From "Work," a genial and sensible essay in *Cornhill* for November.

## The Essayist.

### RECREATION.

"Defunctum laboribus  
 Equali recreat sorte vicarias."—HOR. B. iii. Ode 24.

SINCE Adam delved labour has been the common lot of man. Most of his race fulfil by it the condition of a barren existence; and those few whom fortune has placed above the necessity of personal toil cannot purchase immunity from the penalties of inaction.

A discipline so rigorous will be seen to be, in the present state of human nature, wisely and benevolently imposed; yet the salutary regimen has a look of harshness; and man, to fulfil his destiny, goes forth to labour with cheerfulness, or impatience, or stolid indifference; he may follow it eagerly for its fruits, but for itself he loves it not; and when released from it for a brief interval, he seeks either rest or change.

Recreation, which this implies, is a comprehensive term, and we use it here in its widest sense. It may be called *relaxation* when it is a release from toil, and *diversion* when it relieves the dulness of inactivity. It may consist in action or repose; it is literally a revivification, practically that regenerating and reproducing action on which depends the preservation of health and existence. A consideration of man's physical and mental structure will show that the office which it performs in relation thereto does no discredit to its etymology.

Our constitution is made subservient to certain regular laws; and if a state of perpetual labour or unbroken enjoyment should be desired, nature has made it impossible. The muscles of the body, the faculties of the mind, will, with advantage, bear a certain degree of tension, which is ordinarily limited by weakness and pain; and if, under mental excitement, any considerable excess is permitted, exhaustion enforces rest; but by habitual over-exertion or inordinate indulgence the progress of vital decay is accelerated. The waste which the body undergoes in the daily discharge of its functions can only be repaired during a state of suspended volition. Such is sleep, "tired nature's sweet restorer." This is recreation in its simplest, most restricted form, and one which is never evaded. It is the hard lot of many to have no other: it is the choice of some to be content with this; but by far the most important and numerous part of mankind work while they must, and play when they can. And there is philosophy in this, as well as instinct. Various as are the occupations of life, they have the common characteristic of uniformity and exclusiveness. Some

are sedentary, and sufficient bodily exercise and pure air are only to be found in recreation. With others, the necessity for reaction is not merely physical. Man has a two-fold nature, and the health of the mind is at least as important as that of the body; for, not only does its own vigour depend upon active use, but its concurrence is necessary that physical exercise may be fully beneficial. The heart rarely sympathizes with hard work; and the mental stimulus found in recreation is essential to a cheerful and elastic frame of mind and body. By the mass of the labouring classes little more than this is required; and in this much consists. But there are many who desire something more.

While the hands are busied in the daily routine of toil, the mind is but lightly stirred, or lies wholly fallow: and, in order to the due cultivation of the intellectual powers,—the proper exercise of the distinguishing faculties of man,—the hours of recreation become not unfitly appropriated.

To another class of toilers, perhaps the most hard-working of all,—those who labour with the brain, our subject has a tenfold significance. The mind, being more finely constituted than the body, suffers more from incessant or overstrained application, and must be relieved either by change of employment, or by rest. In this respect, nothing is so efficacious as active, open-air exertion. Hence, we see the reasonableness of the sports in which schoolboys and undergraduates forget for awhile their cares; for it is, that the mind may be recruited by rest, and return with fresh vigour to its task.

So far, we have considered our subject only in its relation to our natural necessities. It has, however, its distinctive character as it relates to the desires; and recreation, as it yields pleasure, has a closer sympathy with our feelings.

Manifold are the means by which pleasure is conveyed to the senses, and countless objects exist for their gratification. A beneficent Providence has everywhere superadded amenity to usefulness; and our very necessities are made to contribute to our enjoyment. Many things have we now, as were the trees of Eden, both “good for food and pleasant to the sight”; and much more happiness might fall to our lot but for perverse or ignorant humanity.

The breath of spring is balmy, the sun of summer glorious, autumn has its charms, and winter its delights; but for the enjoyment of these, the mind and body must be free and disengaged.

Of *labour*, we have said that its nature, apart from other considerations, has in it little that can please or delight. But, since it cannot be evaded, it has been praised, perhaps the most by those who have tried it least. Yet we are far from denying its title to the honours which it has found; and we do not seek to add a factitious importance to recreation by underrating the value of its correlative labour. It is a blessing in disguise; it visits us with rugged kindness, and drives off many a foe to our peace; it is the harbinger of pleasure, the parent of rest.

Intellectual enjoyment, which often exists independently of the physical sensations, has its origin within, is of a more refined nature, and though it flows in a calmer stream, has a wider range and more abundant supply, being aided by all the faculties which make the nobility of man.

"We live by admiration, hope, and love."

We can pre-date our pleasures by imagination, and prolong them by retrospect. Hope adds ideal brightness to the future. Memory recalls the past; sometimes in dim and chastened outline; sometimes in the vivid colouring of reality.

"The memory brightens o'er the past,  
As when the sun, concealed  
Behind some cloud that near us hangs,  
Shines on a distant field."

If we cut off these inlets to his happiness, how barren is the sum of man's existence; but when such feelings attend it, toil is cheerfully borne, serving in its turn to whet the appetite for enjoyment, and procure the means of indulging it; while recreation acts both as an incentive and a support to labour.

Recreation, however, is not the only or the greatest motive to labour. Hunger is a strong stimulant. The innate love of acquisition, fame—"that last infirmity of noble mind," laudable ambition, or charitable zeal, are all powerful and not ignoble incitements, under the influence of which men will undergo the greatest toils, will "scorn delights, and live laborious days." But in these cases the mind is pleasingly engrossed, and bodily indulgence is either overlooked or postponed. Every one knows the delights of anticipation, often exceeding those of actual possession; for then the faculty which enhances them is laid aside, to be employed again upon objects still more remote. Thus, to him who aims at distant pleasures, whether or not they be all that his imagination has pictured, we cannot deny the existence of present enjoyment; and the time of relaxation becomes necessary, though subordinate.

Toil and pastime are pleasing or irksome according to the state of mind.

"Some sports are painful, but their labour  
Delight in them sets off."

Positive inaction, beyond the requirements of nature, is a curse, and entirely alien to enjoyment; and protracted idleness is no less hurtful than labour inordinately prolonged. We find pleasure in diversity,—in that, utility,—in all, recreation.

Diversity, nothing in itself, but so great in its results, is too important a constituent of recreation to be passed over. Order is nature's first law, resultant from which are the perpetual analogies which it presents, the universal relationship and dependence of its parts, and, not least, the manifold variety of its forms. Abundance



without confusion or superfluity ; minute perfection, and complete subordinate adaptation without sacrificing the grandeur of general effect, mark the operation of a great directing mind. This, every thoughtful mind of every age has perceived ; and the idea has found permanent expression in the forms of language ; both the Greek and Latin words for the universe originally implied only order and exquisiteness of arrangement, and it was worthy of philosophy to attach to *κοσμος* and *mundus* their present meaning.

To a careless, or even an ill-natured observer, the course and arrangement of things might seem mixed, confounded, irregular, and uncertain ; but he who searches more deeply, and with more comprehensive view, will find not only that order and completeness everywhere preside, but that diversity itself is a co-ordinate part of a great system, and that multiplicity of detail is consonant with unity of design.

The due alternation of day and night, summer and winter, is as necessary to animal and vegetable existence as are the diversities of taste, smell, form, and colour, to our sensations of pleasure. The same variety exists in man himself. Besides distinctions of race and caste, there is an endless difference in the form and appearance of the body, in personal taste, disposition, and opinion ; all of which should, if they do not, contribute to his happiness.

So far there is an analogy between nature and man. In man there exist, indeed, the elements of harmony ; but they want due combination,—they want one controlling and animating spirit. It is a fiction of the poet's that our sensations are of too gross a nature to hear the music of the spheres,—the exquisite symphonies of the celestial orbs. So far, however, as our perceptions extend, we are acutely sensitive to any violations of harmony, or fitness in objects that meet our sight, taste, or hearing. Strange that a being, of so wonderful and complex a creation, should himself be unsusceptive of the sweet influence of concord,—a jarring string in universal harmony !

Variety is an essential part of harmony ; it is the economy and the charm of nature ; it is necessary to mental and bodily health ; it is the main element of pleasure—the characteristic of recreation. If we look to the lands where the sun ever shines, or the snow ever rests, we shall find the vicious and enervated Asiatic, or the stunted and debased Esquimaux. On the other hand, we find that nowhere has earth produced men of such intellectual might and physical superiority as under the changeful skies of Greece, or amongst the hills and dales of Britain.

Monotony is chiefly repulsive to our pleasurable emotions ; and without diversity of occupation, man would be miserable. Anything indulged in too long becomes tedious, distasteful, irksome ; and as no object can long gratify desire, the mind instinctively seeks to renew its pleasures by successive change. In the varied scenes of human life, how much occurs to interrupt our pleasure ! —how much in ourselves, in the misery that meets the eye, in the

discord and din around, in the cares and sorrows which inevitably accompany our lot! Recreation, whatever it should be, is sadly shorn of its honours. By necessity, or mistake, it is narrowly curtailed, or woefully abused. But its practice is universal; for every nation, however rude, has found means to divert the monotony of idleness or toil. In the various stages of the world's existence, and of individual life, it has occupied a prominent place; it has attended nations to their fall, man to his grave,—ever conforming itself to their condition, and adapting itself to their requirements.

Heathen civilization taught man to consider his divinities honoured by such observances as contributed to his own enjoyment. For this purpose, the song and the dance were introduced into religious services. The great national festivals of Greece and Rome were of sacred origin; and the recurrence of the Olympic games every fourth year was the standard reckoning of time. Most of the popular amusements and excesses were consecrated to some divinity or demigod; the burial of the great was celebrated with funeral games, and the manes of the dead were appeased by the bloody combats of the Circus.

The early history of nations exhibits to us man with little disguise, and little refinement, but with a sincere love of pleasure; and it is precisely similar with the first stages of individual existence. In manhood, the up of joy, though more capacious, is dashed with many a bitter ingredient; for flesh is heir to many ills, and life can scarcely be passed without many cares, of which those who are on its threshold can know but little. Man is of a compound nature; some of his emotions lie on the surface, others are hidden deep in the recesses of the heart. In his ordinary diversions only the upper current of his heart is stirred;

“But, chief in youth, comes joy, and with it come  
The dreams of youth.”

When the passions are latent, the spirits buoyant, and nascent humanity exults in its very existence, then enjoyment is the soul and being of life; then recreation, in its physical form, is needed for the building up of the future man; and youthful joys at least may serve to cheer the memory of coming years.

The present stage is full of interest; for in it we find a peculiarly *poetic* form of recreation; and is not this due to its nearer approximation to a state of simplicity and innocence? It has been said, “Heaven lies about us in our infancy;” and who is there that can look upon the harmless delights of childhood with an unkind eye? Who, rather, at some period of his life has not had a saddening recollection of like pleasures, that can never return, and felt his heart stirred by the instincts of our common humanity? When age has cast a sombre veil over all things, the mind should find a pleasure in reviewing the past; and there are few who cannot then share the sentiment of Wordsworth:—

"There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,  
To me did seem  
Appareled in celestial light,—  
The glory and the freshness of a dream."

And on such an occasion, the sportive glee of a child may well call up, as it did to the poet,

"Those shadowy recollections  
Which, be they what they may,  
Are yet the fountain light of all our day."

A sympathy with the young marks a kindly heart, as well as a thoughtful disposition. Little, narrow-minded people may affect to despise what they are incapable of enjoying; but far otherwise is the spirit of greater and better men. Such a spirit has been ennobled by ancient philosophy. When Anaxagoras, in his last moments, was desired to name in what way his memory should be perpetuated, he answered, "Let the boys play on the anniversary of my death."

With the child, it is enough "to breathe and to be happy;" but he soon learns to know life also by its ills. He encounters toil and vexation, and many childish things he puts away. His pursuits take a different direction; yet the same impulses govern his actions, only his instincts have become subjected to reason, and refined by knowledge. The desire to exchange dulness for diversion, pain for pleasure, toil for rest, idleness for activity, or mental for physical exertion, is common to all stages of humanity. In due order and degree, it is rational and proper; and there are few who do not, albeit from other motives than prudence or necessity, find means to gratify it.

The modes of recreation are abundantly diversified; they change with time and circumstance; are influenced by education, disposition, and capacity; and take the varied forms of individual idiosyncrasy.

The employments of life place us, more or less, in a state of constraint, and the performance of many of its duties is dictated by necessity or policy; but, when business is laid aside, nature re-assumes its sway; and it is in the hours of recreation, rather than in their serious occupations, that the true disposition of men appears. Nations have their characteristics, as well as individuals; they exhibit the same diversity; and their particular customs and ordinary pastimes often prominently display the national mind. Moreover, all nations really great have been distinguished by a hearty love of diversion, as well as by the prevailing form of it. Greece, Rome, and Britain, where social festivity, and active, invigorating sport have been part of the institutions of the country, present a remarkable contrast with the semi-barbarism of the Oriental races, who are almost destitute of popular diversions; whose habits only indicate sloth and effeminacy, and who know of

little pleasure beyond that which arises from the gratification of puerile or sensual instincts.

The popular sports and pastimes of England distinguish it more remarkably than anything else from the other nations of Christendom; and, notwithstanding that the amusements of separated classes must necessarily differ, and are often wide of discretion, yet we find much that tells of national wealth, energy, and virtue; and even in our faults we may trace the indistinct outlines of greatness. A keen relish for animal enjoyment we inherit from our Saxon ancestors; and the customs and usages of the past still live among us. The following character of the English, by a foreigner who visited this country in Edward the Sixth's reign, might serve in the main to describe the manners of the present generation:—"The English, one with the other, are joyous, and very fond of music. They are very great drinkers. They generally use vessels of silver when they drink wine, and they will say to you generally at table, 'Goud chere!' They use a good deal of beer; and they have a custom of using very soft cakes, in which there are raisins, which make you find the double beer very good." Long before this, we learn from Fitz-Stephen the following particulars of the manners of the Londoners seven centuries ago:—"The youth in the city were accustomed to play in the fields at football; and in winter, when the great marsh, which washed the walls of the city on the north side, was frozen over, they went out in crowds to disport themselves on the ice. Sliding was the common amusement, but those who were sufficiently expert practised a more scientific mode of progression, binding under their feet a primitive kind of skates,—the shin bones of some animal. Mock battles were a favourite diversion on the ice, and were generally attended with the realities of bruised heads or broken limbs.

Football, of which mention has been made, was formerly prevalent in country and town, and among all classes. James the First debarred it from his Court, as "meetier for laming than making able the users thereof." There are other pastimes which are common to most countries, and are not confined to modern or civilized nations. Feats of manly dexterity and vigour have formed an important part of the pastimes of people distinguished for martial prowess. The chase, which had its origin in necessity, is still continued; for the exercise and diversion of the more affluent classes. Games of chance, by which rude savages sought to divert their vacant hours, have still a wide-spread existence, and have proved a prolific source of crime and immorality;—their extreme facility has favoured them. Among the Chinese, sticks of unequal length have been sufficient to excite expectation and interest. The Grecian boys tossed up a shell, blackened on one side, and speculated on its fall, representing "day or night." The Roman boys did the same with the earliest coins of that country, calling out; "Capita, aut navem?" but the practice of betting, and its attendant evils, have always been a mark of national degeneracy or turpitude,

and appear alike at Baden Baden, at Newmarket, or among boys tossing halfpence in the nooks and corners of our land.

Games of skill and dexterity are not liable to be so much abused, and exhibit more changes of form and usage. Chess, which is acknowledged to bear the palm from every other mode of sedentary recreation, existed here a century before the Norman Conquest, and still flourishes, with scarcely an alteration or improvement from the period of its first introduction in a remote age.

Dancing is of high antiquity. It is the natural expression of mute delight. It has been observed to prevail equally among the aborigines of North America, the Polynesian savages, the dervishes, fakirs, fanatics, and females of the East; and in our own times it is not thought beneath the dignity of either sex. It was an ancient Saxon pastime, but it has now retreated from the village green and the light of day into the unhealthy atmosphere of the crowded drawing-room.

To such extent has recreation preserved some of its distinctive forms, and found a permanent place in all lands. But Time, the innovator, has not dealt thus with all. Some he has remodelled, and many he has swept away. Danger is not now so common an ingredient in our sports as it once was. People do not now break heads with quarter-staves, or ingloriously spill their blood in tournaments and jousts. Duelling is an anachronism, and an unworthy relic of the combats of chivalry, which, ceasing to be a pastime, has become a crime. The pugilistic encounters which still continue a precarious existence in this country, despite of legal prohibition, are very different from those which Homer and Virgil have celebrated, when the formidable *cæstus* armed the boxer's fist, and when to excel was accounted honourable. Out of all comparison with the refinement and morals of the present age are the gladiatorial shows which disgraced a former civilization; when thousands of brave men were "butchered, to make a Roman holiday;" when Roman citizens shouted "*Habet!*" to applaud a vigorous stroke, and by bending the thumbs pronounced the gladiator's doom.

Our own country bears little impress of pagan influence; for its history begins with that of Christianity. The May games and wakes, however, had probably their originals in heathen festivals; of which the latter, at a very early period, received the sanction of the Church, transformed into *vigils*, but with scarcely an alteration except in name.

Many of the customs of the past have now changed their form, and many have become obsolete. Of these, some demand our respect, others deserve to be forgotten. This change has generally been due to the effect of religious and social revolutions, and to the advance of civilization and learning. When travelling was difficult and rarely practised, isolated populations associated more freely in their amusements. When all classes were accustomed to regulate the hours of sleep more closely by the rising and setting of the sun, and when it was no disgrace for a king or a knight to be unable to

sign his name, open-air sports almost exclusively prevailed. When this and the lax morality of the Romish Church are taken into account, we are not surprised to find that, even to comparatively recent times, business and pastime were common and allowed additions to the religious observance of Sunday. It was long before the influence of a bad example was shaken off; and when James I. declared the use of May-games, Whitsun-ales, morris-dances, and archery-sports to be lawful "on Sundays and other holydays, after the afternoon sermon or service," we read without astonishment that Latimer, going to preach in a certain town, found the church-door locked, and the parish gone abroad to gather for the May! Village May-poles are now no more in request than the parish stocks, however some may feel inclined to regret the disuse of either. Archery has declined as much from want of suitable ground for practice as from the progress of modern invention, which has superseded for military purposes the ancient weapon of the English yeoman. Country wakes and fairs, once so important, are scenes of low fraud and juvenile indulgence—the rogue's harvest, and the ploughman's holiday. Viewed altogether, we must acknowledge that the recreations practised in our own times indicate a better state of public morals than when bull-baiting and cock-fighting were popular diversions, when people crowded to bear-gardens, and apprentices carried clubs.

We have read of the Persian monarch who proclaimed a reward for the inventor of some new mode of exciting pleasure. In our own days such an offer would be superfluous. Modern ingenuity is ever at work to anticipate our wants, or seize the first indications of popular caprice; and the constant demand for novelty and excitement finds an abundant supply. How far the amusements commonly practised at the present time are consistent with the end which they propose to serve, or are used in the subordinate degree which alone they can claim, will be left to the judgment of each, on comparison with the principles on which recreation is established.

The value of a gift does not necessarily exempt it from neglect, or its utility from misappropriation and abuse. Through mistakes which many practically entertain of the nature and design of recreation, its name is too often made answerable for pursuits which are profitless, wearisome, and injurious to health and morals. Recreation is a means to an end, and supersedes none of the cardinal duties of life. Its purpose is subsidiary to the higher destinies of our race. Its object should be the invigoration of mind and body; its accompaniment, pleasure. To those who have the time and opportunity there will be no lack of means; the choice of them, and the precise mode of using them, will be determined by concurrent circumstances, by the nature of previous occupation, and by the capacity and predilections of the individual.

On this point Bishop Jeremy Taylor appropriately remarks: "Let not your recreations be lavish spenders of your time, but choose such which are healthful, short, transient, recreative, and

sports to refresh you ; but at no hand dwell upon them, or make them your great employment. For he that spends his time in sports, and calls it recreation, is like him whose garment is all made of fringes, and his meat nothing but sauces."

Recreation is not, therefore, to be applied to without thought, or due regard to our mental as well as physical wants. It should not exceed the requirements of nature, or lessen the fitness and inclination for work. It should divert not distract the mind ; it should invigorate, not enfeeble the body ; it should occupy, not engross the thoughts. It admits of pleasing mental stimulation, but prohibits all forced and overstrained excitements, or anything prejudicial to the complete well-being of mind and body.

That which is hurtful, vicious, or degrading, will in vain offer its attractions to one who is fully conscious of his position and responsibility. Those amusements which are patronized by the vain, the profligate, or the mean, are to be avoided as unfitting ; and those employments which combine pleasure with profit, relaxation with improvement, are at all times to be preferred.

It were indeed to be wished that all classes of men were conscious of the true import and value of that narrow space of time which is allotted to them beyond the requirements of sleep and labour. But that would be little less than desiring the complete regeneration of society. Man, as we find him, is wilful, erring, and weak ; when liberated from the restraints of toil, too much opportunity is found for gratifying vicious propensities ; and in our vacant hours temptations have a tenfold power.

There is, however, a large class with whom the hours of recreation dwindle into minutes. Occupied with some great and engrossing object—or, what is still more common, oppressed by excessive hours of labour, and constrained to the hard bondage of the counter—they cannot go far to seek for congenial pleasure, cannot enjoy it long. With regard to those whose occupation is, in itself, sufficiently galling, their condition is not to be envied ; but too often, jaded and spiritless, their brief opportunity is unworthily spent ; and even that day, which religion has dedicated, is too often appropriated for that active enjoyment which man has denied them.

Others there are who, with the time, want both the means and opportunity of enjoying recreation in a suitable manner.

Men not only associate in their pleasures, but are, in many situations, dependent upon others for obtaining healthy recreative excitement. Open-air exercise is physical recreation in its best and most needed form ; pure air and pleasing objects of sight are alike desirable for infancy and age ; and fitting place and situation are required for the invigorating sports of youth and manhood. Where these are wanting, much advantage is lost ; and in large towns they are of special importance to the health and comfort of thousands.

Due provision for these wants, in all populous and civilized communities, depends upon the foresight of governments or the generosity of individuals. Hence the Academy at Athens, the Plaza of

Mars at Rome, the metropolitan parks of England. And very natural was the enthusiasm of the Roman populace, on the announcement of Caesar's gift by Anthony:—

"Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,  
His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,  
On this side Tiber.——Common pleasures,  
To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves."

Since private rights have encroached upon what was, in a former age, common to all, it cannot be denied that to a great extent in England the want of public recreation grounds is still unsupplied; and if modern civilization cannot more freely remedy the necessity which it has created, it is worthy of the darkest ages of barbarism.

Still more dependent are the inopulent classes for their recreative mental employment; and the popular mind has still more need of direction and improvement.

Modern society has been late in perceiving that education does not end when the school is relinquished for active life; and that what was laborious and irksome to the boy may pleasingly and profitably employ the vacancies of business. That the intellectual life of the nation is active and vigorous, is manifested by the constant and enormous production of books for its support. How far the appetite for them is healthy or morbid may be judged from the character of our current literature, which, for the purpose of comparison, may be ranked as good, bad, or indifferent. The former class is necessarily the most expensive; and the popular taste is too much in favour of the latter, for the propensities of an untutored mind are rarely in the direction of its own improvement.

Among the polished nations of antiquity oral instruction was always within the reach of every one who desired it; while vice or levity rarely put on the garb of learning. And it is evident that, in our own days, we need some powerful agency, which shall be equally a corrective of torpid ignorance and a counterpoise to educated vice. It is with this view that literary institutions, and societies for mutual improvement, have been established; and the amount of good which their influence may accomplish, under right direction, cannot be over-estimated. These associations invite those who are closely engaged during the day to a profitable use of their leisure; and, by offering the means of rational enjoyment, strive to make moral and intellectual improvement not only attainable but attractive.

Opinions will, of course, differ as to the best means of promoting this end. But experience and reason appear to concur in recommending as essential, a well-stocked library of useful and attractive standard works; a reading-room, well furnished with the best periodical literature; lectures which may instruct and stimulate; and classes for the assistance of the ignorant or aspiring. It is, we think, injudicious to lower the quality of the entertainment, in order to please the greater number. We should rather seek to satisfy the intelligent, and to enable others to ascend to the same level.



That the highest enjoyment may be found in the profitable exercise of the intellectual faculties, will not be denied by those who are qualified to judge. But much yet remains to be done before society shall generally recognize this; and the recreations which science and learning have in store obtain but little regard, compared with that which is bestowed upon the teeming absurdities of fiction, the unhealthy attractions of the theatre, the follies and frivolities of fashion, or the seductive pleasures of inebriation and vice. The reason is partly an intellectual, but chiefly a moral one; and the only wonder is that man should be so blind to his own interest, as to prefer spurious joys to real, and the dangerous and spasmodic excitements of the moment to those pleasures which are more lasting, and which leave in the memory pleasant recollections.

We do not advocate a life of asceticism and dulness. Moreover, we believe that, as man advances in the scale of intelligence and excellence, he will not become the less a social and pleasure-loving being. His recreations will not be less hearty. His sensations of delight will be as keen, and his means of gratifying them will be rather increased.

A kingly sage has said, "Let thy garments be always white, and let thy head lack no ointment." We adopt the maxim, divested of its metaphor, as our rule of life. Duty performed should make recreation agreeable; and in every situation it behoves us to preserve the purity of the mind—to keep the garments always white. Then, whatsoever may afford delight, bid it welcome. Whether our special mode of reaction be in animated study, in intellectual excitement, in scientific pursuit, in social entertainment, in active, cheerful sport, in quiet contemplation, or in witnessing the efforts of others to please and gratify, so that it be healthy and enlivening, it is a part of our permanent happiness. Cowper and his hares; Luther and his lyre; Æsop at marbles;\* Milton in a theatre; Charles V. making watches; Johnson practising chemistry; Shenstone among his urns and grottoes; Scipio tossing pebbles in the sea; and St. John playing with a tame partridge, have given dignity to recreation, and have shown that trifling amusements may consort with great deeds.

Our subject is not an abstract, or even a fanciful one. It is indissolubly linked with the wants and weaknesses of burdened humanity. When man shall have put off the necessity for labour, recreation, as it now exists, will be no longer needed. But while life remains, let us not refuse anything that may refresh its toils, or alleviate its cares; let us neither despise nor overvalue the pleasures and delights that may be scattered in our path. Much that is now pleasing and agreeable is suited to our imperfections and necessities; and most of our joys owe their brightness to the effect of contrast. The night of life will soon be over; and when the sun shall arise and disperse the darkness, the stars, too, shall disappear.

O. A. S.

\* The modern equivalent for a game formerly played with nuts.

## The Reviewer.

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*Shakespeare: a Critical Biography and an Estimate of the Facts, Fancies, Forgeries, and Fabrications, regarding his Life and Works, which have appeared in Remote and Recent Literature.*  
By SAMUEL NEIL. Houlston and Wright. 1861.\*

THIS work is rightly named "A Critical Biography" of Shakspeare; but its secondary title is, to some extent at least, a misnomer, since in most cases the "Forgeries and Fabrications" are not estimated, but simply stated for the arbitration of the reader. To this *opusculum* we say, "Welcome!" If it does not meet an actual want, it confers a positive good. At a small price, and in a convenient form, Mr. Neil has put forth a summary of all that is known about Shakspeare the man, and a great deal that has been done for Shakspeare the writer. It is well written, and bears abundant evidence of Mr. Neil's mature knowledge of the particular subject treated of, and of his familiarity with literature in general. We hope it will be largely circulated. Did we think less of this performance we should do no more than simply praise or blame it. But we deem it so good, that in many points we wish it were better: and better it might easily have been, had it pleased its author to have devoted a little more care to its details. Not with the slightest wish to detract from its undoubted merit, or even to qualify the praise we have awarded it, we shall presently point out some instances in which it is susceptible of improvement.

The biography consists of graceful, and generally accurate, essays on Shakspeare's *ancestry, youth, manhood, fame, and chronology*. Besides these special subjects, Mr. Neil presents us with three chapters, respectively on "The Friends of Shakspeare," "The Works of Shakspeare," and "The Text of Shakspeare," with an Appendix on the Sonnets, and various other matters of great interest connected with the bard and his works. Readers who would know the excellencies of this book must read it. Here they will find only a little genial criticism on some of its special details.

And first, as to the spelling of the bard's name. Here is a momentous question. Are we to spell it as its bearer spelt it, or as his publishers spelt it? All other styles are out of court. Mr. Neil's

\* The following review is from the pen of a distinguished Shakesperian critic. Had it consisted wholly of praise, considering the circumstance that the germ-matter of the volume appeared in our pages, we should not have given it space. Being, as it is, a real critique, and in the belief that Mr. Neil would be among the last to wish it otherwise, we insert it.—ED. B.C.

solution of this question is very strange. He says, "With Madden, Hallam, Knight, &c., we believe the orthography of the poet's own handwriting gives *Shakespeare*,—as [P and] so we write it." Of course Mr. Neil is entitled to his own opinion on the spelling of the name at the foot of the purchase deed, or that at the foot of the mortgage deed, or those attached to the will. But neither Madden, Hallam, or Knight, ever dreamed of spelling it *Shakespeare*. One and all spell it *Shakspeare*, and such to our eyes is the spelling on the above-mentioned documents.

Next, as to Shakspeare's birthday. Mr. Neil rightly says that *tradition* assigns the 23rd April, 1564 (old style), as the day of his birth. But Mr. Neil is wrong in saying that this day is the 5th May (new style). Carlyle, whom he quotes (p. 62) on an associated point, might have set him right on this. True it is that *now* there is a difference of *twelve* days between the Julian and Gregorian calendars; but in 1564, and for a century later, the difference amounted to *ten* days only. Shakspeare was baptized on the 26th April, old style, which is equivalent to the 6th May, new style. If he were born on the 23rd April, old style, his birthday is the 3rd May, new style. Hence the absurdity of the popular notion that Shakspeare and Cervantes *died* on the same day. The fact is, that Shakspeare survived Cervantes ten days.

A writer on Shakspeare's works should, before all things, take heed that he does not misquote him. Mr. Neil quotes (at p. 36) the passage,—

"For honour travels in a strait so narrow,  
There but one goes abreast."

For "There but one," read "Where one but." Again, he gives the line (at p. 80)—

"*That bourne from which* no traveller returns,"

apparently as Shakspeare's. But it is a popular error that *Hamlet* contains any such a line, often as it is cited. There is also another misquotation from *Hamlet*, at p. 72.

It is most creditable to Mr. Neil's accuracy and honesty, that he *always* distinguishes between ascertained facts, probable facts, and mere possibilities. To do this is, indeed, to deprive biography of a charm, viz., the charm of cohesion and roundness. But such a deprivation is but taking away from biography that which, as it is the proper attribute of fiction, is the bane of history. "For this relief, much thanks."

In the chapter on the text of Shakspeare, the reader will find a digested statement of both sides of the celebrated Collier Controversy. Two things are to be regretted here—(1) that Mr. Neil should not have employed, in stating his case, the later, larger, and more accurate work of Dr. Ingleby, viz., "*The Complete View of the Shakspeare Controversy*;" (2) that he should not have exercised his own judgment in determining which of the two parties to the controversy has truth on its side. We conceive this would not

have been a task of much difficulty, with the aid of the additional evidences contained in the work we have alluded to. At least, Mr. Neil might, *and should* have given his readers the benefit of his independent judgment on the question of handwritings.

In the compass of this short notice, we shall not attempt to discuss any of the incidents which go to constitute the biography of Shakspeare; but we will not close without considering Mr. Neil's treatment of at least one point of criticism. We select the question as to who was "the only begetter" of the Sonnets. Mr. Neil leads his readers (who know no better) to believe that no candidate who has hitherto appeared for the ownership of the initials of "Mr. W. H.," has any remarkable claims on our attention; and in the absence of such a candidate, he hazards a guess (unsupported by a tittle of evidence), that Mr. W. H. was William Hathaway, Shakspeare's brother-in-law. Now, we do think that we have had enough of such guesses. The birth of William Hart fortunately renders Farmer's guess absurd. The absolute nonentity of any William Hughes, who stood in the position of friend to Shakspeare, relieves us from Tyrwhitt's suggestion. William Hathaway will certainly fare no better. Besides these, the candidates are two—Lord Southampton (Henry Wriottesley) and Lord Pembroke (William Herbert). Now, one thing is certain, that Alexander Chalmers, who supposed the Sonnets to have been *addressed* to Queen Elizabeth, could not have read them. There are 126 sonnets in the collection, which are addressed to a male. Chalmers supposed that masculine appellations were simply intended by Shakspeare to cover the royal sex of his patroness; but this supposition removes but a very small part of the objections to the supposition that the Sonnets were addressed to a woman, and of all women then alive, to a royal lady of the age of sixty-five years. As a sample, take the 25th sonnet, where Shakspeare bewails that his friend should not have been born a girl; and that nature, having made him a girl in mind, should have fallen a doting, and added those "parts mysterious" which fit him only for women to enjoy. Fancy Shakspeare saying this to Queen Elizabeth, or to any woman, coupled, moreover, with an indecent joke, out of which he made future capital for the "gods" of the "Globe" (See "Love's Labour Lost," iv. 1, and "Romeo and Juliet," ii. 4). Now, to our mind, in selecting a favourite candidate for the ownership of W. H., we have but "Hobson's choice." In the Junius controversy, our mind is divided between *three*,—Philip Francois, William Burke, and Henry Flood; the other Francis, the other and greater Burke, and, indeed, all the other candidates, are nowhere. But between these three it is a neck-and-neck race. Not so in the W. H. controversy. Here it is William Herbert first—the rest nowhere. Now, how does Mr. Neil dispose of these claims which we think entitled to the highest respect, if not positively conclusive? Why, he objects (p. 75) that when Meres published his "Wit's Treasury," wherein he alludes to the Sonnets of Shakspeare, the great bard was *thirty-four* years old, and William

Herbert was but *eighteen*. This is a singularly absurd objection, since some of the sonnets (as the 73rd) *presuppose* such a discrepancy between the ages of the writer and his friend. Another equally fatal objection which Mr. Neil advances (p. 106) is, that when Thorpe published the Sonnets, William Herbert had been nine years Earl of Pembroke. This is true; but it is equally true that in the year in which Meres published his "*Wit's Treasury*," that patron of Shakspeare was plain "Mr. William Herbert," and that he did not come to his title till two years later. The dedication may have been originally written by Shakspeare in his own name, and simply *adopted* by Thorpe; or, which is more likely, the initials were preferred out of deference to Lord Pembroke's feelings, since it could not have failed to discredit him to have published the fact, that he had been on terms of more than fraternal intimacy with a playwright. However that may be, Mr. Neil's objections are simply absurd; indeed, it may be safely taken for granted, that he would not have brought them forward if he had been acquainted with the two works in which Lord Pembroke's claims have been advocated,—that of Boaden, and that of Armitage Brown. These works were written independently of each other, and both, by impartial and discriminating criticism, arrive at the same result. Some years ago, the writer of this article devoted some time to the Sonnets, and, in connection with the W. H. controversy, read the lives of Lord Pembroke contained in the works of Wood and Clarendon. The result of this study was a profound conviction, which nothing has since been able to disturb, that Mr. W. H. was William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke. We look forward to a second edition of Mr. Neil's little work. A little more care and reading would render it unexceptionable. We hope to find the defects supplied and the blemishes removed in a new impression.

*Regeneration.* By WILLIAM ANDERSON, LL.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1861.

THE substance of this treatise, the author tells us in the preface, was originally delivered in the form of discourses from the pulpit. Any one accustomed to read pulpit literature needs not to be informed that the preaching of the present day is very different to that of former times; that nearly all the sermons which are now listened to, sabbath after sabbath, form a striking contrast to the sermons which men, in the prime of life, heard in their boyhood. Whether the change is for the general good, or otherwise, is a distinct question; and one worthy of a more enlarged discussion than the limits of this Magazine will afford.

The question itself, however, is one suggested by a perusal of the volume before us. The title of the book, savouring as it does of systematic theology, is against it for the ordinary run of hearers; but to any one who desires to have his mind well informed upon the

subject of which it treats, and his heart impressed, we do most sincerely recommend it.

As the book was at the first delivered in the form of sermons, the great excellence of it leads to the inquiry whether the change that has come over the pulpit of late years is for the better or not?

Doctrinal preaching—that is, the preaching of sermons from purely doctrinal texts, not passing allusions to doctrine—used to be the commonest sort of preaching. No doubt it was carried to an extreme; but it is much to be feared that, at the present day, we are going to the opposite extreme.

Can we not have doctrinal preaching like this of Mr. Anderson's? What people have no relish for now is the usual dryness of dogmatic discourses; but the volume before us is as free from this as any sermons we have met with on a kindred topic. Its character is—simplicity of style, clearness, exhaustiveness, and force.

The book is full of thought, skilfully brought out. There are many pieces in it well worth extracting as specimens; but the fairest way to judge of it is to read the whole book. Mr. Anderson sees distinctions where most minds would pass them by; and if we begin to extract parts, we should have to take out a whole page or more at a time, in order to do him justice. In addition to the goodness of the matter contained, the volume is excellently well got up—thick paper, clear type, durable and handsome cover.—J. H. G.

*Moderate Calvinism Re-examined.* By JOHN HOWARD HINTON, M.A. London: Houlston and Wright. 1861.

THIS is a pamphlet containing “a critical examination of the remarks which have been made by several reviewers” on Mr. Hinton’s “Lectures on Redemption.” It consists of three chapters and a conclusion. The first treats of “The Eden Covenant;” the second of “The Universal Aspect of Redemption;” the third of “The Particular Aspect of Redemption.”

If we have experienced difficulty in grasping the writer’s meaning in any part, it is in relation to the “Covenant of Eden;” but every one who reads this pamphlet will feel that Mr. Hinton has the power of clear and forcible expression, that he is very sincere, and is a master in Israel.—J. H. G.

*Songs of Labour; Northamptonshire Rambles, and other Poems.* By JOHN PLUMMER. London: W. Tweedie.

WE have before us a small volume, dedicated, by permission, to Lord Brougham, from the pen of one who occupies the humble position of a staymaker at Kettering, in Northamptonshire. He here presents us with a number of very pleasant poems, and introduces them by a well-written autobiographical sketch, in the perusal of which we have been deeply interested. Born and brought up in the haunts of squalid poverty, afflicted with deafness and lameness, he had to struggle hard for the bare means of subsistence, and yet he persistently sought for knowledge, diligently cultivated his

mental powers, and has already, in his early manhood, added a pleasing chapter to "the simple annals of the poor." In a clear, modest style, he recounts his sufferings and successes; and believing that his example is calculated to encourage and stimulate the young, we give the following somewhat lengthy extract from his narrative:—

"Near to the Tower of London exists a neighbourhood unequalled for squalidness, poverty, and misery. I refer to the purlieus of Royal Mint Street, as it is now ambitiously designated, but which is better known by its ancient title of Rosemary Lane; although it is many, very many years since it deserved a name which awakens the thoughts of sunny orchards, green meadows, and all the glorious beauty of nature. Old clothes' shops, kept by persons of unmistakably Jewish extraction; dirty, low places, by courtesy termed 'grocery stores,' milk-shops, potato sheds, and flaunting, handsome 'gin palaces,' line the main street, which forms the chief artery of a labyrinth of long, filthy courts, inhabited by Irish labourers, and the lowest and most poverty-stricken of the London poor; and where scenes are daily, nay, hourly enacted, which are sufficient to 'make the angels weep,' and to mock the proud boast of our vaunted progress in the path of civilization.

"In this locality I was born, on the 2nd of June, 1831; my father being a stay-maker, in a small way of business for himself. Of my infancy, I can glean but few particulars; but I was always considered a very precocious child, and passionately fond of pictures and books. My father's trade was not very profitable; and when I was five years of age, a serious illness overtook him, which prevented him from attending to his business, thereby deranging his affairs, and breaking up his little connexion. By this blow, the family were reduced to a state of the greatest distress; and I was sent to St. Alban's, where an uncle took charge of me for awhile, so that I should not be a burden on the efforts of my parents, who struggled, but, alas! in vain, and were compelled to accept of the kindness of my grandmother, who kindly offered them an attic in a house of which she had the sole charge. To add to their difficulties, my poor mother had the misfortune to fracture her leg by a fall, and was never afterwards able to leave the house, except on a very few special occasions, until the time of her death at Kettering; while at the same time, my infant brother, Edmund, died; but, before his death, he was continually expressing a wish to see me, so I was sent from St. Alban's in charge of the carrier, but my arrival was too late, for poor Edmund was no more. I have but a dim perception of what followed, for I can only recollect attending a funeral, and crying bitterly; as immediately afterwards all became a total blank, till I found myself slowly recovering—as from the dead—from the effects of a severe fever. When I began to recover my consciousness, I was surprised at the stillness which seemed to pervade the room. My parents were moving about, but I could not hear them; and although they came to me, and moved their lips, yet I could not hear them—I was deaf! I tried to move, and to sit up in bed, but my limbs refused their office—I was lame! besides being deaf. The full extent of my affliction remained unfelt by me at first, and it was not till long, long months of bitter suffering had passed away, that I felt how my infirmities had deprived me of the enjoyment of all that is sweet and pleasing in the world of sound.

"Up to this time I had received no education, save what I may have obtained from the doubtful instruction of an old lady, whose chief care was to keep me quiet, rather than teach me anything; but I always felt a strange kind of fascination for books; and although I could not read them, yet I would pore for hours over the—to me—mystical letters of the alphabet. How I acquired the art of reading I cannot remember, for it was a very slow and gradual process, as I had

no teachers, and my parents did not possess much more education than was possessed by the generality of their class; but I can remember striving to make out the words on the advertising placards so liberally posted on the street boardings, and of studying the names placed at the ends of the streets; but the great impetus was given to my mind when some stray copies of the *Penny Magazine*, *Lloyd's Penny Sunday Times*, and other illustrated periodicals of a similar nature, fell into my hands. No miser ever hugged his gold with a more jealous care than I did the few old, torn, and soiled numbers which came into my possession. For hours I would gaze on the woodcuts, and try to decipher the letter-press descriptions, in which I at last succeeded; but I had no teachers, and no books of instruction, so that my self-culture was attended with extreme difficulty.

"It would be too long a task to relate my numerous attempts to procure the books which my parents were too poor to purchase for me; or of my haunting the street bookstalls, where I gazed with sad, longing, and despairing features, on the literary treasures displayed before me, and which the want of a few pence alone precluded me from possessing. Sometimes I would take up a book, read a few pages, returning the next evening to read a few more, until at last I mastered the book. Once, however, after having thus perused part of a History of England, I was struck with consternation at missing the volume, which had been sold during my absence. I had never dreamt of the possibility of such an event; and my looks attracted the attention of the stall-keeper, who seemed intuitively to guess the cause of my trouble; and, as he was aware of my deafness, he wrote on a piece of paper that he was sorry for my disappointment, but that I was welcome to peruse any of the books on his stall. Of course, I was glad enough to avail myself of the opportunity thus afforded me, but I seldom had much time for that purpose. My father possessed a copy of Bunyan's 'Holy War,' which, with an old edition of 'Robinson Crusoe,' were read by me over and over again; but I was always obliged to skip over the hard words.

"Books! books! books! was my continual cry; and whether they were old almanacks, religious tracts, penny story books, or anything else, they were always welcome; and I was always begging and borrowing them of neighbours; and naturally so, for they enabled me, for the time, to forget my affliction, and converse, as it were, with the authors whose works came under my notice.

"Time passed on, and I became more proficient in my studies, which were carried on under great disadvantages, because, as if my own infirmities were not enough, several of the workpeople persuaded my mother that my devotion to books would render me crazy, a statement which had the effect of occasioning her to forbid me to read any more; but I could not restrain my love for them, and I therefore kept one or two in my breeches pocket, so that I might read them secretly. Indeed, my early life was one long, bitter time of wretchedness, occasioned by neglect, censure of my supposed dulness, and the ridicule and tormenting of my playfellows, who were never weary of mimicking my deafness, and of playing every imaginable trick upon me. Every misdeed was laid on my shoulders, and I was frequently punished for the faults of others, till I became subject to alternate fits of passion and despondency; which, however, frequently gave way to a natural buoyancy of spirits. The knowledge of the injustice with which I was so frequently treated awakened in my breast a desire to distinguish myself in some way, so that I might prove that I was not the dunce, or incapable, which I was supposed to be, and it was not long before the opportunity arrived.

"My father's position seemed to improve, our prospects began to brighten, a larger house in the neighbourhood was taken, and my father again commenced business on his own account. I was employed by him as errand boy, to assist in the shop, and make myself generally useful. Much of my time was necessarily



passed in the streets, and having a quick and observant eye, I soon made myself familiar with all the phases of street life, so graphically described by Henry Mayhew in his 'London Labour and the London Poor.' I seldom loitered on my errands, except when passing the printseller's shop near the Royal Exchange; my duties frequently leading me to all parts of the city, and to many districts of the west end; for the works of pictorial art possessed even more attraction for me than the charms of reading, and it was with difficulty that I could restrain myself from gazing on them for hours as they were displayed in the windows. This feeling was stimulated by the perusal of the lives of painters in the *Penny Magazine* and *Chambers' Miscellany*, till at last I resolved to enter the Spitalfields School of Design as an evening student. This was the only school of any kind at which I attended, and at first my reception was enough to discourage a less earnest student. Weary, unwashed, and heated with the day's toil, I would arrive in time for the evening classes, in spite of the sneers and ridicule of many of the students, who beheld in my awkwardness and seeming stupidity a target for their witticisms and practical jokes. This fired my soul; and although I could scarcely write my own name on entering the school, yet, in nine months' time, I carried off the first prize for the best outline drawing from the flat. Oh! what a proud day for me when Earl Granville gave me the prize at Crosby Hall in the presence of my former tormentors!

"Trifling as it was in itself, yet the mere fact that I had beaten them gave me fresh courage; and by dint of perseverance I soon found myself in the head class, mastering perspective, mechanical drawing, oil-colour painting, painting in distemper, &c., and gaining a first-class prize for an ornamental design. These evenings were the happiest of my life, and I often recall with a sigh of regret the period of my art studies."

He next aspires to the high and honourable position of a writer for the press, publishes a pamphlet on Strikes, the Freedom of Labour, and gains a prize essay on Sanitary Reform; and says that "nearly 1,500 letters, essays, poems, paragraphs, &c., have appeared" from his pen.

On the poems contained in this volume we cannot bestow very high praise, but they read smoothly and pleasantly, and are all of a healthy tendency. We quote the following as a specimen of the average:—

#### " ITALY.

"Alas! for thee, poor Italy!  
The curse is on thy brow,—  
Thy temples and thy palaces  
Lie desolated now.

"Oh! sad and mournful is the fate  
Which time hath brought to thee;  
Whose wide dominion was the world,  
Whose boundary the sea.

"But yet thy great and noble acts,  
Though buried in the past,  
Around thy name and destiny  
A flick'ring splendour cast.

"And who shall dare forbid the hope  
That thou again may rise,

To live in glory, fame, and strength,  
And by the past made wise?

"Lo! in the north, all radiant, shines  
The advent of the dawn,  
When thou shalt dash thy chains aside  
And laugh thy foes to scorn!

"When olives rich shall glad thy fields  
With smiles of peace and love,  
When joy shall tune thy daughters'  
songs,

As through thy vines they rove:

"When babes shall lisp, and dance, and  
Upon each mother's knee; [play  
And thou shalt feel the glorious bliss  
Of Freedom's jubilee!"

## The Topic.

### IS THE SECESSION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA FROM THE UNION DESIRABLE?

#### AFFIRMATIVE.

Certainly! It is the surest way to abolish the slave trade thoroughly. The time taken up in reconstituting the revolting States into a tyranny would interfere with plantation labour and the cotton supplies; meanwhile, the Indian and African cotton trade would be stimulated, and the Southern States would be out-marketed. Slavery would thus become unprofitable, and, therefore, would be abolished by the very act intended for its perpetuation. So be it.—N. R. S.

Secession? Yes. Let the clean be separated from the unclean. Where are the nations of Europe that would fraternize and make alliances with the States that had banded themselves together in iniquity the most iniquitous? Weakness and wickedness would thus be companions, and the detestation of Europe and Europeanized India and America would spurn the slave-traders from the confederations of civilization. The slaves would find more friends than ever, surely, if a nation should so outrage the convictions of men as to found itself upon the grossest abuse of power of which humanity has heard. Good always comes out of seeming evil.—E. M.

While Europe lauds Russia for the emancipation of its serfs, will it ally itself as a friend to those States which base the very pillars of their constitution on the slavery of man, and "outrage horror" by deciding that their very existence, as a combination of communities, is the result of their determination to maintain the trade of man in man? Surely, no! If not, the confederates in wickedness must become friendless and stateless, and so be unable to take rank among the powers of the earth. Slavery must, therefore, fail to

hold its power in them, and the proposed division will increase their internal weakness. Secession will be retrogression for the slave-owners, and progression for the slaves. The world will not endure—at least it will not aid, encourage, and abet—the establishment on a new foundation, and with a new lease of vitality, that which is hated by God and man—slavery. Secession is desirable, that the Northern States may utter a protest to the world against slavery, and that the Southern ones may fall into the pit they have dugged for others.—TRN.

Secession would weaken the United States—if it were by nothing else than by proving that they could be disunited. At present, however, that empire—or presidency—is too unwieldy. It would be more compact and manageable if divided. If they were disunited, the Northern States would certainly refuse to give up slaves, or to aid in any way the success of the cause of the disruption—least of all would they sanction it by treaty. A *cordon* would thus be put round the slave territories of the world, and the area of its existence would be limited. It would then become a question with Europe what relations it could hold with the pertinacious slavers. If they continue in their present mind, the Slave States will seek to extend their territories; and for the prevention of this Europe could—and would it not?—interfere. The working of the slave trade would be encompassed with difficulties; and in the case of a servile insurrection, Europe would most probably merely ejaculate, "Serves them right!" and let the slavers go to the wall. Secession, of course.—TOM.

The United States, as they are now, are too powerful, too extensive, and too

proud. Division would both weaken and humble them. The Southern States especially would be deteriorated in all men's esteem. The retrogressive policy of slavery would bring a retributive evil upon them. They would voluntarily yet haughtily cut themselves off from the sympathies of all nations—especially the Northern States and Canada, not to speak of European countries at all. The internecine hate of former allies is well known, and the disunited States would most probably become an historical illustration of Coleridge's lines:—

"Alas! they had been friends in youth.  
Each spake words of high disdain  
And insult to his heart's best brother.  
They parted—ne'er to meet again!  
They stood aloof, the scars remaining,  
Like cliffs that had been rent asunder:  
A dreary sea now flows between,  
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,  
Shall wholly do away, I ween,  
The marks of that which once hath  
been." CREDO.

The Southern States are an obstacle in the way of the moral and political progression of the Union on many grounds; the principal and underlying cause being the corrupt institution of the South, which exerts a most deleterious influence upon the whole of the States. It is unnecessary to detail the effects produced by this terrible cause, these being obvious to every reflecting mind. This obstacle should be removed, and this can be done only by abolition or secession. In the present circumstances, secession appears to be most desirable. *Toujours prêt.*—T. C.

Reason endorses the statement of Revelation, "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand." That the Northern and Southern States of America are divided by principles calling for a breaking up of the Union is evident; indeed, the wonder is that such a union could have existed for so long a time. If the Southern States are determined to uphold slavery, and

the Northern States are as determinedly opposed to it, can aught but continual quarrelling be the result? Besides, are not the people the dictators of their own laws? and the Southern States demand a dissolution. Moreover, we believe that such an act would be a death-blow to slavery itself, a thing to be devoutly wished for by every son of Albion; for neighbouring States, which now offer no shelter, would become houses of refuge to the Negro tracked by the bloodhound, and slaveholders would come to see that hired labourers were cheaper and better than slaves.—MARRS.

Taking slavery alone into consideration, we believe the secession of the Southern States from the Union is desirable. Conservative spirits may mourn over the disruptions of old and well-tried constitutions; and in the present case their principles are very much in harmony with those of the strictest reformers, for a rupture in the union of the States must necessarily tend to weaken each party considerably. But, eventually, the North has nothing to fear; and her anxiety, for the most part, is groundless. Without the rust of the negro's chains upon her hands, she shall still increase in intellectual greatness and moral power, absolved, as she must be, from the crime of human traffic, with which she has hitherto been unavoidably connected. For the Southern States we tremble. They may separate, and form a Southern Confederacy; but the 4,000,000 slaves are fostering a germ that, sooner or later, will cause a fearful retribution for the sufferings they have endured. While, for many reasons, we deplore the disunion and want of confidence that are equally apparent in the two great bodies in America, we firmly believe that the secession movement, if consummated, will be the death-blow of slavery.—HARWOOD.

In a state of advanced civilization, each individual member is supposed to be a fractional representative of the intellectual entity of the body politic; the onerous duty, therefore, devolves on

him of keeping intact and inviolate the principles and rights of the corporate State (of course, the character and identity of those rights are measured and circumscribed by natural bearing and incidental prejudices); but it follows, from the construction of a society such as this, that if the body entire has delegated to its individual members the rights of legislature, should any portion of the whole consider that the executive has failed in its duties, they commit no act of treason or revolt if, after endeavouring to bring the delinquent executive to a return to its duty, and not being successful, they secede from the corporate body. It is at this point that we meet the case of the American disruption. When the union of the States took place, it was upon certain defined bases. The North and the South being States representing divided interests and distinct principles, a more jealous regard was necessary to define duties. Surely it will not be contended that, if the executive forgot their duties, the individual was tacitly to submit; to do so would be but endorsing the dereliction of the executive, and granting indemnity to a traitorous procedure. The Southern States of the American republic allege (and we think it proven) that the Northern have overridden their privileges, trampled on their rights, and broken the compact they entered into when they united. Perhaps it would have been judicious for the charge to have been fully investigated; at least we English, looking from a distance, think so. Not so they of the South. They have thought it better to secede; more to their interest; as, once for all, settling that which must necessarily ever be a rankling sore. Surely there can be no revolt in an act such as this. It would be very different, in the case of Ireland or Jersey seceding from England: the relations of the unions are different. The only approximate similarity would be in the case of Scotland. She, like the Southern States of America, was free to make any condition she chose prior to union. Having made

those conditions, should the executive fail to keep them intact, the Union would abstractedly be dissolved; and there could be no revolt on the part of Scotland immediately seceding, and forming a separate State. So with the South American States; they defined their conditions of union with the North; these conditions being acquiesced in by the North, a confederacy was formed. The North first breaking the binding contract, the whole becomes dissolved. It is therefore, in very truth, not the revolt of the South, but of the North; and as such we ought to view it. This view of facts in no case impinges the subject of slavery—a condition of society ever to be condemned and reprobated.—D. S.

#### NEGATIVE.

The secession of the Southern States of America from the Union is not desirable, because that secession is not likely to be effected without war and bloodshed; or, if contention does not proceed to this length, yet strife, more or less, must take place, and angry and unbrotherly feelings be drawn forth, which feelings would probably continue after the effectuation of the disruption, the separate powers or nations having opposing interests. In addition to this, each power or nation, after the secession, would doubtless be in an unsettled state, especially the Southern power, it having to determine its form of government, &c. It is indeed impossible for any man to conjecture what various and important questions may arise out of the fact of the secession of the Southern States, should it take place. Such an event, too, cannot but be an interruption of commerce, and thus become a far-reaching calamity. This is plainly perceived in England, where steps have been taken, which are intended to lead to this country being less dependent on America for its supply of cotton. The consequences of this supply being suddenly cut off, none can tell. The threatened disruption would weaken both powers; whereas it is desirable that the present differences

should quietly settle down, and that the holders of slaves should listen to moral arguments, and abolish that monster curse, slavery, which will be the cause of dissemination as long as it exists.—S. S.

Man's nature is composed of two ingredients, good and bad; and were he to be separated wholly from either, he would be more or less than a man. In the Southern part of the United States of America there exists a confessed evil—slavery—which bears to the constitution of that country the same similarity as the bad bears to the good in our natures. The Northern States represent the good; and we are asked if the secession of the bad from the good is desirable? Were there no fellow-beings concerned so vitally in the matter, we would answer in the affirmative; but as it is, we reply, No; and for these reasons:—The conjunction of the Northern and Southern States under one government is calculated to operate beneficially, the Northern restraining, by their example, the Southern States from utter abandonment to their hideous traffic in the unfortunate slave, the one part exerting the same influence upon the other as good upon evil. The recent election of President proves that a majority of the Union are against the evil practised by the minority; and I submit that if the secession of the Southern States of America from the Union becomes absolute, it cannot but have a prejudicial effect upon the seceding States, as they would then be under no authority opposite to their sinful traffic. Since noting the preceding, I have seen a statement to the effect, that the secession of the Southern States has become a fact, and that they have elected a President of their own. Whether this be true or not, I still retain my original opinion, that it would prove more beneficial to have the secession of these States unrecognized by the lawful President; and, in the event of their persisting in their illegal course, to compel them to recognize the government, if not by persuasion or arguments, by force of arms, the cause justifying the

means, and neither being unlawful.—J. C.

Setting aside the question whether, in seceding, the Southern States have any right to appropriate the property of the Federal Government, we think it undesirable, inasmuch as the nation having elected a Republican President, the minority ought to submit to the will of the majority; and if they be allowed to secede, what will prevent other States from following their example on different questions, and setting up governments, each independent of the other? The inconvenience of this must be evident to all. The division of the Union would probably be the cause of much ill-will and border quarrels; and if either pursued a narrower and more illiberal line of policy, it would probably give rise to a vast amount of smuggling, which, from the length of boundary, would be very difficult to prevent. The African slave trade, also, would most likely, be revived, with all its attendant horrors. But rather than any compromise should be effected, the Federal Government ought to keep or lose all.—SAGAMORE.

Upon mature consideration I venture to pronounce against the secessionists' movement, as a measure calculated to produce no beneficial results to either party. In the first instance, the Northerners will ever be suspicious of, and even indignant at, the growing power of the seceders. Secondly, the Southerners will ever be bloating with the pernicious jealousy of slavery, so as to augment their greed for supremacy, thus generating contention and strife, instead of a desire to promote universal greatness. The first attempts at secession were characterized by measures that cannot meet with toleration in the sober judgment of casuistry. "Union is strength;" and the objects of the division are such as will never benefit the parties; for in a divided condition they are weakened, and incapable of sustaining the national character; and I am apt to imagine that, when the movement was in its infancy, had the

then President met the avowals of the secessionists with a determined threat of an appeal to armed force, in case of any attempt at secession, with some preparations for such resistance, the machinations of some selfish projectors would have been baffled, and the project destroyed. What are the results of the secession cause, as to the progress of commerce? Let us review the statements of customs' authorities, Charleston, S. C. The returns, as published by them touching the trade of that port since the secession, show that the value of exports is 905,717 dollars, against 3,095,618 dollars for the same period last year. These are startling accounts for secessionists to contemplate. But the rebellious measures now move with a halting pace; and the future measures of Mr. Lincoln, if judiciously executed, and with energy, may effectually destroy the now smouldering embers of discord, and restore the seceding members of the national family.—S. F. T.

A secession is not desirable, because it involves (or implies) internal prostration, commercial depression, and national insecurity; besides which such events always place power and authority in the hands of men who pander most to the passions or prejudices of the mere mob.—ALFRED.

The secession of any State from the Union is contrary to the law. A condition of things in no way desirable. Moreover, as has been pithily observed, no man in the possession of his faculties would care to belong to, or be found in, a revolting State. It is the great object of a wise government to support authority over the people, and to secure the people from an abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is the most abject slavery. Wisdom and courage conjoined to support the entirety of the Union is required, or America virtually acknowledges her bondage to slavery.—F. R.

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#### LITERARY NOTES.

The Princess Royal of Prussia has been elected an honorary member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

Sir Charles Fellows, Knt., who died 8th November, 1860, has bequeathed Milton's watch to the British Museum.

Upwards of £50,000 has been paid to dramatic authors and composers, during 1860, by the conductors of theatres in Paris.

Richard Cornwallis Neville, Lord Braybrooke (born 17th March, 1820, died 21st February, 1861), translator of Horace, and editor of Pepys's Diary, was found dead in bed at Audley End, Essex. He had long been in infirm health.

It has been decided in the Court of Common Pleas by Mr. Justice Williams, in the case of *Reade v. Conquest*, that the production of a dramatic version of published novels is not an infringement of the law of copyright.

Eyre Evans Crowe, author of "The History of France," is the British Consul-General at Leipsic.

A "History of the Wars of the Albigenses" is in the press; its author is Charles Brown, the biographer of Southey.

The "Life of Dante," an historical and critical biography, by Pietro Fraticelli, superintendent of the new vocabulary to be issued by the Della Cruscan Academy, is *nearly ready*.

A monument to the memory of the Russian poet—the Ariosto of St. Petersburg—Alexander Pushkin, is to be erected in the garden of the Lyceum.

D. K. Monnard, professor of the Romanic languages at Bonn, had the Great Prize for 1861 awarded to him by the Institut National, Paris, on 7th February, for a collection of the master-pieces of French literature between 1300—1500, with historic, biographic, and philological notes.

The Geological Society awarded the Wollaston Gold Medal this year to Professor Dr. H. G. Brown, of Heidelberg, author of "The Laws of the De-

velopment of the Organic World," "Index Palaeontologicus," &c.

"The Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry"—a reproduction, we presume, of a series of lectures which went the round of the institutions some ten years ago—is promised by Isaac Taylor.

Robert Browning's "Sordello" is being rewritten.

The Royal Charters, letters, and documents, in the National Record Office of France, from the commencement of the Carolingian period, A.D. 750 to 1200, are in the press.

The *Literary Gazette* and the *Spectator* have recently changed hands, and are to be improved.

Byron's estate, Newstead Abbey, and its domain, has been sold for £150,000.

A monument of Carrara marble is placed in the chapel where he preached for 54 years, "To the memory of the late Rev. John Angell James, of Birmingham."

Joseph Mery, a French poet and novelist, born 1798, has been seriously ill. Napoleon III. has awarded him a pension of 5,000 francs per annum.

Lithographic *fac-similes* of the entire series of pre-1623 Shakspeare dramas and poems are about to be published, with notes of differences in editions.

A "Biography of Francis Schubert," the composer, is in preparation.

A new "Library of Puritan Divines" is projected by Mr. Nichol, of Edinburgh.

Charles Shirley Brooks, editor of *Once a Week*, and one of the chief men of the *Punch* staff, has been lecturing in Glasgow on "The House of Commons" and "The Theatres."

The last gift from Macaulay's pen is now issued; and the History, though fragmentary as such, has now the completeness of an epic, of which William III. is the hero. Lady Trevelyan has wisely abstained from subjecting it to editorial care, such as that which the *Æneid* underwent.

Miss M. C. Hume, daughter of the late Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., has published two volumes of poetry and a novel. She now about to appear before

the world as a theologian in a volume on "Obscure Texts of Scripture."

The quaint cynicisms of the first conductor of the *London Review*, Charles Mackay, in the "Opinions of a Gouty Philosopher," are to be re-issued in a volume.

Mr. Thornton Hunt is now engaged in editing the correspondence of his father, the late Mr. Leigh Hunt. It will probably extend to two or three volumes, and will be published by Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co.

"The Tablette Booke of Ladye Mary Keyes, owne sister to the misfortunate Ladye Jane Dudlie, in wiche wille be found a faithfulle historie of all the troublers that did com to them and their kinsfolke, writt in the yeare of oure Lorde, fifteene hundred and seventie-seven," is announced by Messrs. Saunders, Otley, and Co.

"The Classified Bible," by the Rev. Dr. Eadie, of Glasgow, will be published in fifteen monthly sixpenny parts, by Mr. Wesley. The entire contents of the Bible are analyzed, classified, and placed under distinct heads, so that the actual words of Scripture respecting each fact and truth may be seen at once, and read in consecutive order.

The "Essays and Reviews" continue to produce many replies. Among which are "Rationalism and Deistic Infidelity," three Letters to the Editor of the *Record*, by the Rev. A. McCaul, D.D.; "A Brief Reply to Certain Misrepresentations of Dr. Williams, of Lampeter, in 'Essays and Reviews,'" by Mr. Henry Craik; "The Seven Sadducees of Christendom; their words and their meanings considered, in Letters to a Young Friend," by Phileleutherus, junior; "Scriptural Interpretation: the Essay of Professor Jowett briefly considered, in a Letter to the Rev. Professor Stanley," by the Rev. A. C. Jenkins, M.A.; "The Who, When, and Where of Antichrist; an Essay on Private Judgment, Free Thinking, and Infidelity; an Antidote to 'Essays and Reviews,'" by the Rev. J. S. Boucher.

## Essays and Reviews.

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"Si vera proponit homo ingeniosus veritatisque amans, nova ad eam accessio fiet; sin falsa, refutatione eorum priores tanto magis stabilientur."—*Galileo*.

THOUGHT is restless and changeful—almost revolutionary. The flow of knowledge, the widening intercourse of man with man, the increase of experience, the progress of invention and discovery, the every-day alternations and alterations of the environments of human life, and the continually augmenting control which man wields over the agencies and processes of nature, delight the activities, and heighten the pride of humanity. Hence the old becomes unsatisfying, and the new is invested with fascination; the real loses its hold upon some minds, and, in others, the ideal is made the object of intense adoration. This intellectual unrest disturbs the mind as to the future, and renders the present unsatisfactory. The forms of practical life, the order and consistency of institutions, the fixed habits, and the settled results of thought, are felt to be irksome and restraining. They are looked upon as mere hard concretions of the past, unvitalized by the living forces of the present. A strife and a dialectic ensue, and, sometimes, a remorseless antagonism between the newly evoked thought of the hour and the old *consensus* and result of multiplied causes which constitute "things as they are," makes itself felt. Then it is issued, as the supreme canon of the age, that "thought is now higher than action, unless action be inspired with the very breath of heaven" (E. and R., p. 49). To substitute the unanimity of knowledge for the unanimity of ignorance, is proclaimed as the chief task of the time, and so the throes of renovation stir the world.

In such a crisis, debate is made the arbiter of the future. The need, the right, and the duty of free thought upon all matters is claimed, exercised, and conceded; and the issue, if left to logic and law, would seldom be doubtful; for the one is the steward of truth, and the other is the conservator of right. Controversy is the weapon by which all the great battles of thought, progress, and advancement, have been won. The *British Controversialist* has never yet been lacking in the chivalry which rules the tented field of debate. It homologates the maxim that "Doubt comes in at the window, when Inquiry is denied at the door" (E. and R., p. 373); and it is established upon the very principle that, "if there must be debate, there ought to be fair play; and of this, publicity is the best guarantee" (E. and R., p. 283). By the very terms of its existence, it concurs in the saying of Mark Pattison, B.D., Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, that "there are times and circumstances"

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when religious ideas will be greatly benefited by being submitted to the rough and ready tests by which busy men try what comes in their way; by being made to stand their trial, and be freely canvassed, *coram populo*" (E. and R., p. 297). Neither do we think its conductors could consistently dissent from the opinion expressed by Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D., Vicar of Great Staughton, Hunts, that when "Signs of the times are beheld, foretelling change, it behoves those who think they perceive them to indicate them to others, not in any spirit of presumption or of haste, and, in no spirit of presumption, to suggest inquiries as to the best method of adjusting old things to new conditions" (E. and R., p. 148); always provided that the following maxim of the same writer be held in memory, and be acted upon, *viz.*, "No member of a communion or society is bound, either by public or private duty, to unsettle received opinions, where they may seem to be erroneous, unless he have a reasonable hope, as it appears to him, that he shall be able to substitute something better in their place."\* The right of each individual to form, after due examination, any given opinion, is an admitted maxim of our tolerant age; and, therefore, the stronger right of every one to retain his duly formed opinions, until something better has been shown him, will scarcely bear to be disputed. The first duty of the impugner of any opinion, faith, belief, practice, &c., is to be himself able to offer, suggest, propose, and prove a better one,—and that, too, better, not in itself alone, but in its relation to the person to whom it is presented; for unless the proposed thought can establish some relationship and affinity between itself and the minds to which it is proposed, it must fail to be instructive, but it cannot fail to be destructive. Hence it is a recognised canon of logic that the *onus probandi* lies with the assailant of any thesis. He must not only disapprove and disprove, but also prove. Unless this be attended to, there is a breach of the legitimating characteristic of controversy,—that it is a means of acquiring, or at least nearing, the truth.

"Are there not . . . . .

Two points in the adventurer of the diver,

One—when a beggar he prepares to plunge?

One—when a prince he rises with the pearl?"

The volume entitled, "Essays and Reviews" was published about a year ago. The literary journals, in noticing their appearance, foretold excitement and debate. The earlier editions of these treatises were small, but as public curiosity has of late increased in its intensity, subsequent editions have been issued in larger numbers, and with great rapidity. We have read the work carefully, critically; all the more so, indeed, because desired by some of our readers to supply them with our opinion on the questions raised in them. It is impossible for us, in this department of the *British*

\* "The Communion of Saints." Bampton Lecture, 1851. By H. B. Wilson, B.D., Oxford.

*Controversialist*, to give expression to any direct and dogmatic decision upon disputable points of theology; and yet we feel inclined to accede, as far as may be, to the request of those who have sought our aid. To do this, without a violation of the neutrality maintained on such points in this series of papers, we have endeavoured to find a point of view which will not necessitate an *ex cathedrâ* advocacy of the theology of either of the three classes of Anglican Churchmen whose characteristics have been *Punched* into the following terms: "Attitudinarians," "Latitudinarians," and "Platitudinarians," nor even of that, we hope, far larger class whom, following the same mode of definition, we may call "Gratitudinarians." The course we intend to pursue will, we believe, be a safe and cautious, though a pretensionless one. Our examination of these treatises will be logical, not theological. "Logic is the common judge and arbiter of all particular investigations. It does not undertake to find evidence, but to determine whether it has been found. Logic neither observes, nor invents, nor discovers; but judges." . . . "Logic points out what relations must subsist between *data*, and whatever can be concluded from them; between proof and everything which it can prove."\*

Logic is the test of truth, and the detestation of falsehood and sophistry. "We get *certainty* in all things," says Aristotle, "either by syllogism or by induction" (Prior Analytics, ii. 23). To detect error in either of these processes will, therefore, show that the deductions made from or through them do not yield certainty, and are not trustworthy. Logical coherence—a strictly self-consistent and irrefragable chain of unbroken and rightly-ordered reasoning—is the characteristic of all true thought. To judge of any new thesis, it seems to us right to test its claims by an appeal to logic,—the law of right and reason. And though we do not recognize in the "Essays and Reviews" any thesis that can strictly be called new, but rather the contrary, yet as the views therein expressed appear under a new aspect, we propose here and now to submit them to this preliminary assay, leaving the theologian, *per se*, to deal with the tenets they advance in such a way "as seemeth good unto him."

To do this thoroughly and honestly, we shall regard it as "understood that the authors are responsible for their respective articles only," as the prefatory advertisement claims, and shall proceed to a criticism of each, in the first place, by itself. The plan which, in these circumstances, it appears wisest to adopt, is as follows:—*First*,—to give an abstract of each treatise, as nearly as possible in the very words of the author; and, *secondly*, to subjoin to the abstract thus given such remarks as suggest themselves, limiting these remarks, in most cases, to the pointing out of errors in induction or syllogism, and, where going beyond this, showing how the writers *may*, but not how they *are to be*, answered. To this, therefore, we shall now proceed.

\* J. S. Mill's "Logic," p. 9.

I. The first "Essay" is entitled, "The Education of the World," and the author is "Frederick Temple, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen; Head Master of Rugby School; Chaplain to the Earl of Denbigh." There is a singular fascination in this writer's style. The fine, pure Saxonism of its words and phrases is captivating; the rhythm of the thought is, at first sight, grand and sweeping, and the philosophy of the essay is kindly, and high-toned. Its general teaching, apart from that which it prefaces, and to which it points, is not really objectionable, and may well have been delivered from an Oxford pulpit, as it is said, in essence, to have been. In that University, we have the testimony of a competent authority, Archbishop Whately, that a few years ago, "a very small proportion, even of distinguished students, ever became proficient in logic;"\* and much might pass there for eloquent reasoning, on being merely heard, which will not stand the test of a critical investigation, according to the canons of logic. Perhaps Dr. Temple remembered that a famous Oxonian had said that, "it is not by induction or by syllogism, but by analogy, that reason arrives at the principle of all sound theology; and it is by analogy that it is to be cultivated through all its provinces;"† and so determined his course. However this may be, his "Essay" is an elaborate analogy, bearing, we must add, great affinity to a conception of Comte's, between the personality and the sociality of man, i. e.—between the progressive development of the individual and of the species. This, however, will be better understood if we present our readers with as brief an abstract as possible of this able "Essay," compiled as impartially as we can:—

Beginning with a denial of the central principle of the "Scienza Nuova," that history consists of "a succession of cycles rigidly similar to one another, both in events and in the sequence of them;" "for every later cycle must be made different from every earlier by the mere fact of coming after it and embodying its results," Dr. Temple asserts that "this power, by which the present ever gathers into itself the results of the past, transforms the human race into a colossal man, whose life reaches from the creation to the day of judgment;" and gives this as "no figure, but only a compendious statement of a very comprehensive fact." "We may, then, rightly speak of a childhood, a youth, and a manhood of the world." "The education of the world, like that of the child, begins with *Law*." "When it was formed into the various masses out of which the nations of the earth have sprung, the world, as it were, went to school, and was broken up into classes;" "but the whole lesson of humanity was too much to be learned by all at once. Different parts of it fell to the task of different parts of the human race; and for a long time, though the education of the world flowed in parallel channels, it did not form a single stream." The law, the prophets, the captivity, and the constituted discipline of worship, were the teachers of the Jews, and the results were, "the idea of Monotheism," and "a chaster morality than was to be found elsewhere in the world." In "the fullness of time," Rome—"trained to it by centuries of difficult and tumultuous history,"

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\* "Elements of Logic," Preface xiii.

† Tatham's "Scale and Chart of Truth," vol. ii. p. 29.

"contributed her admirable spirit of order and organization." To Greece had been "entrusted the cultivation of the reason and the taste. Her gift to mankind has been science and art." "To the Greeks we owe the logic which has ruled the minds of all thinkers since." "To the Greeks we owe all modern literature." A "perpetual baffling of all earthly progress taught Asia to seek her inspiration in rest." "The Hebrews may be said to have disciplined the human conscience, Rome the human will, Greece the reason and taste, Asia the spiritual imagination." "The tutors and governors had done their work. It was time that the second teacher of the human race should begin his labour. The second teacher is Example." "The second stage, therefore, in the education of man, was the presence of our Lord upon earth,"—"just when the world was fitted to feel the power of His presence." "Three companions were (*now*) appointed to give their society to this creature whom God was educating—Greece, Rome, and the Early Church." "The Early Church . . . has most influenced our religious life, as Greece and Rome have most influenced our political and intellectual life." "The New Testament is almost entirely occupied with two lives—the life of our Lord, and the life of the Early Church." "The world was now grown old enough to be taught by seeing the lives of saints, better than by hearing the words of prophets." "Their saintliness was forced into publicity, and its radiance illumines the earth." Next, "the age of reflection" begins. "The spirit, or conscience, comes to full strength." "The office of the spirit is, in fact, to guide us into, not to give us truth." This truth is to make us free. "Freedom is not the opposite of obedience, but of restraint;" "and he only who can control all appetites and passions in obedience to [God's] law, can reap the full harvest of the last and highest education." And now a new lesson came to the world in the Reformation—"the lesson of Toleration." This is "done by virtue of the principle of private judgment, which puts conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter whom it may be a duty to enlighten, but whom it can never be a duty to disobey." This attained, "we are now men governed by principles, if governed at all."

Our readers will at once perceive that this graphic analogy transgresses the *law of likeness*, which rules despotically over every analogical argument. "There are two requisites, in order to every analogical argument:—i. That the two or several particulars concerned in the argument should be known to agree in some one point; for otherwise they could not be referable to any one class, and there would, consequently, be no basis to the subsequent inference drawn in the conclusion. ii. That the conclusion must be modified by a reference to the circumstances of the particular to which we argue."\*

Like Edmund Burke, "I am not of the mind of those speculators who seem assured that all states have the same period of infancy, manhood, and decrepitude as individuals. Parallels of this sort rather furnish similitudes to illustrate or to adorn, than supply analogies from whence to reason."† If this be the case in general, how much more so is it palpably fallacious when the analogy is not strictly held to by the reasoner. Dr. Temple changes the application of the analogy from the world to nationalities, p. 14, to races, p. 19,

\* Dr. Renn Dickson Hampden's "Essay on the Philosophical Evidences of Christianity," p. 60.

† Burke's "Letters on a Regicidal Peace," B. 4.

and to the church, p. 40, and he confuses himself by passing from the idea of mankind under training to schoolboys being educated by active teaching and personal collision. This wavering inconsistency nullifies his conclusion, and makes it apparent that the laws of right reason have not been obeyed; for "everything that is true must agree with itself in every way; with truth, all that is true is in harmony; but with falsehood the truth is soon at variance" (Aristotle's "Nicomachean Ethics," i. 8). The individuality of humanity cannot be maintained; neither is it logically lawful to shift the analogy, and hence the conclusion founded on these fallacies is itself fallacious.

So much in refutation of the general principle of the first Essay logic supplies; but there are certain specific statements to which also it seems advisable to direct attention, as involving illogical statements, *e g.*, speaking of the growth of the faculties of children, Dr. Temple says, "That development is *entirely* under the control of the influences exerted by the society in which the child may chance to live." (E. and R., p. 3.) It will be seen that in this sentence the author ignores, at least, first, the nature of the child, and, second, the operation of God's Spirit. Again, in mentioning the idolatrous worship of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and the East, he affirms that they "were the means of educating these people to *similar* purposes in the economy of Providence to that for which the Hebrews were destined" (E. and R., p. 15). Whence it follows that they are similarly divine in their purpose, their aim, their effects, and their history! In another place he assures us that "the office of the spirit is in fact to *guide* us into truth, not to *give* truth" (E. and R., p. 31); but it is the ordinary belief of theologians that he does both. In saying that "the second teacher [of mankind] is example" (p. 20); that "the one Example of all Examples came in 'the fulness of time'" (p. 24); and that "our Lord was the Example of mankind," it may be noticed that the author violates the first law of definition, *viz.*, that it must contain the essential attributes, and be precisely adequate to, *i.e.*, be inclusive of the *whole* meaning of the thing defined; this is clear, from the fact, that another definition has been given, which has received the assent of all churches,—"*A Saviour who is Christ the Lord.*" The use of "*if*" with the force of "*though*" in the following passage is decidedly sophistical. "*If* geology proves to us that we must not interpret the first chapters of Genesis literally; *if* historical investigations shall show us that inspiration, however it may protect the doctrine, yet was not empowered to protect the narrative of the inspired writers from occasional inaccuracy; *if* careful criticism shall prove that there have been occasionally interpolations and forgeries in that Book, as in many others; *the results should still be welcome*" (p. 47). "That the immediate work of our day is the study of the Bible" (p. 48), will be readily granted; but it cannot be advantageous to study it by the light of false analogies and wrong logic. It can only be rightly used when it is

made subservient to the excitement within us of "the heavenly power of a life of holiness" (p. 49). Dr. Temple's Essay might have been read by itself with little apprehension of evil; for its rationalism is of a mild and courtly type, but as the preface to the pages which succeed it, it deserves searching investigation. We have only been able to select a few items from among those which seem to us inaccordant with the consistency of true thought; many others might have been instanced. While we admire the style and freshness of the Essay, we confess, we cannot consent to its philosophy, nor concur in its theology.

II. The second paper professes to be a review of "Bunsen's Biblical Researches," in his "Hippolytus," "God in History," "Egypt," "*Bibel-werk*," &c. This production is scarcely more able than subtle, and we can distinctly apply to the writer his own words, "If it be one great test of a theology that it shall bear to be prayed, our author has hardly satisfied it" (p. 91). The introductory observations of Rowland Williams, D.D., are very (even too) humbly apologetic—in this neglecting a maxim known to his coadjutor, Professor Jowett, "The tone of apology is always a tone of weakness, and does injury to a good cause" (E. and R., p. 351).

We shall present an abstract of this Review in the same way as before, only that in this one we must italicize some words that seem to us unsuitable, *i.e.*, sophistically—at least, disingenuously used.

"We cannot," he says, "encourage a remorseless criticism of Gentile histories, and escape its *contagion* when we approach Hebrew annals; nor acknowledge a Providence in Jewry without owning that it may have comprehended sanctities elsewhere." Such criticism does not lead to "removing the footsteps of the Eternal from Palestine, but (to) tracing them on other shores." And he states that, "if we are to retain the *old* Anglican foundations of research and *fair* statement, we must revise some of the decisions provisionally given upon imperfect evidence; or, if we shrink from doing so, we must abdicate our *ancient* claim to build upon truth." "Bunsen's enduring glory is neither to have paltered with his conscience nor shrunk from the difficulties of the problem; but to have brought a vast erudition, in the light of a Christian conscience, to unroll *tangled* records, tracing frankly the *Spirit of God* elsewhere, but honouring chiefly the *traditions* of His Hebrew sanctuary." The full vindication of the unity of man, and the due explanation of ethic, ethnic, and lingual diversities, "require a cradle of larger dimensions than Archbishop Ussher's chronology" (4,000 years). We are spoken to about "the half ideal half traditional notices of the beginnings of our race, *compiled* in Genesis," and "he relegates the long lives of the first patriarchs to the domain of legend or symbolic cycle." As a part of his explanation of the Exodus, he says, "as the pestilence of the Book of Kings becomes in Chronicles the more visible angel, so the avenger who slew the firstborn may have been the Bedouin host, akin nearly to Jethro, and more remotely to Israel." "In the passage of the Red Sea, the description may be interpreted with the latitude of poetry;" and he hints that in the Pentateuch "traces of editorship, if not of composition, between the ages of Solomon and Hezekiah, are *manifest* to whoever will recognize them." That there was a Bible before our Bible is "indicated in the book (God in History) before us rather than proved *as it might be*." Against the "predictive element" in pro-

phesy he pronounces boldly, and eviscerates Isaiah, Zechariah, and David, of any Messianic prevision. Of Daniel, "those portions of the book supposed to be specially predictive are a history of past occurrences"; and even of Bunsen's views of prophecy "foresight by vision," he affirms that "he seems to mean more than presentiment or sagacity; and this element in his system requires proof." Of inspiration he expresses an utter scepticism. "The sacred writers acknowledge themselves men of like passions with ourselves, and we are promised illumination from the Spirit which dwelt in them." Justification is interpreted to signify "peace of mind or sense of divine approval;" and resurrection is "a spiritual quickening." "The hateful fires of the Vale of Hinnom (Gehenna)" are "images of distracted remorse," and heaven is "but the realization of the Divine will in our thoughts and lives." The Scriptures are described as consisting of "narratives inherently incredible, or precepts evidently wrong." "Hence we are obliged to assume in ourselves a verifying faculty, not unlike the discretion which a mathematician would use in weighing a treatise on geometry." The gospel of John he believes to be post-apostolical, several portions of the canon of Scripture are relinquished; and, after a few harsh remarks on creeds, liturgies, litanies, patristic theology and modern orthodoxy, he exclaims,—

"For faith from falsehood severed, thank I GOD."

Were we not assured by actual publication of the fact in the table of contents of this work, we would have some difficulty in believing that it was written by "a minister of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ." Its whole tone, form of statement, and arguments, as well as evident leaning, is, to all appearance, less rational than sceptical. There is little or no balancing of opinions, none of proofs. The author places more faith in Bunsen than the Bible,\* and receives with cordial ear the teachings of the German sage, while deaf as an adder to the tidings of the Hebrew saints. Strangely enough, too, his selections from "Bunsen's Biblical Researches" refer exclusively to the points of singularity, and not to those of similarity, between his results and the Anglican creed. He gives, as "worthy of all acceptance," the opinions of Bunsen, and yet rejects the belief of centuries without hesitancy or regret; and, while he speaks in the most derogatory manner of these beliefs as fictions, errors, mistakes, misconceptions, interpolations, &c., he scarcely hints a doubt about Bunsen's opinions, although the Reviewer's remarks "combine suggestions which the author (Bunsen) has scattered strangely apart, and sometimes repeated without perfect consistency." So that the very argument which is employed to show the erroneousness of Scripture, viz., an alleged inconsistency between part and part, is no objection against the mere suggestions of Bunsen. Such argumentation being illogical cannot support the daring inferences built upon it of the ideal nature of Christ's incarnation (p. 89); the fictitiousness of justification (p. 80); the impossibility of prophecy (pp. 67—77); and many other doubtful and unproven assertions made by the writer under the guise of an interpreter of Bunsen's Christian faith, which make the Bible worse than "Homer turned into prose,"

\* "All, who attempt to reason from things less credible than the conclusion manifestly do not reason rightly," Aristotle's Topics, VIII. 6.

by levelling them as low in moral worth as "The Arabian Nights' Entertainment."

The evidential power of the predictive element in prophecy, which this author denies, raises a question of great importance. The truth of prophecy, however, depends ultimately upon the possibility of miracles—for prophecy is an intellectual and age-continued miracle. We can only say, meantime, that the logic of prophecy runs somewhat thus:—If God is all-knowing, and reveals His will to man, prophecy is *possible*; if a moral purpose would be subserved by such predictions, they are *probable*. Scripture asserts they are *actual*. The prophecies are therein; the fulfilment, in history. The divineness of a foreknowledge of future events is inferred from the facts of human ignorance. The longer the lapse of ages between the prophecy and its fulfilment, the less the chance of collusion. The Bible is a chain of Messianic prophecies—"they are they which testify of me" (John v. 39)—stretching from the fall to the judgment-day; and it must be *divine*, if prophetic; and if unprophetic, history must lie, or reason mislead.

To fill a whole paper with the mere *adversaria* of scriptural teaching here and there expressed by Bunsen, to link them into a system, as if they possessed a true unity and ground, and to present them to the public as if irrefragably proven, and peremptorily demanding admission without the exhibition of proofs, but with the assurance it "would require from most Englishmen years of study" to estimate them aright, is not only disingenuous, but unjustifiable. The burden of proof lies upon the disputant of any established opinion. (See Whately's *Rhetoric*, p. i. ch. 3, § 2.) This first duty of an innovator the Rev. Dr. Rowland Williams has ignored. It would not be at all impossible to prove, from the forty-three pages he contributes to these "Essays and Reviews," that he has little cause to sneer at "those whose theology consists of invidious terms;" for he himself is an adept at their use. The careful reader of our analysis of this Review will see from the italicised words how selectly these words have been chosen, and how carefully they are placed, so as to allow of an ambiguous meaning. In any writing where such artifices are copiously employed, the certainty of sophistry being at work is, without any lack of charity, a warrantable inference. We doubt if English literature possesses a richer and riper piece of Jesuitical writing than the Essay of the Vicar of Broad Chalke, Wilts.

III. The third Essay, "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity, by the late Baden Powell, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford, is a singular illustration of Sir William Hamilton's views regarding the logic of Mathematicians (see "Discussions on Philosophy," p. 276, &c.), that the self-elaborated certainties, the self-originated legislative inviolability of geometric studies, and the handicraft dexterity acquirable in the use of the algebraic calculus, are adverse to the culture and production of careful thinkers in subjects admitting of *degrees* of certitude and incertitude. In their own peculiar province "they cannot err in the



form of their syllogisms," but "the minds which manifest a partiality for this class of abstract representations possess the feeblest judgment in reference to other matters." This Essay is singularly trite, repetitive, confused, and illogical. The fallacy, *ignoratio elenchi*, is exceedingly frequent, and in places so palpable as to make it matter of surprise that they could be used in an honest endeavour to reason truthfully on an all-important topic. Of this Essay, also, we subjoin an abstract.

Beginning with a few observations on the changing conditions of discussions on "the evidences of revelation," and on the mode in which they are sought to be conducted, Professor Powell rightly maintains that "any appeal to *argument* must imply perfect freedom of conviction. It is a palpable absurdity to put *reasons* before a man and yet wish to *compel* him to adopt them," &c. —but in so doing he forgets the French proverb, "*Qui s'excuse, s'accuse.*"

The "evidences" refer either to "*external fact*," of which "reason and intellect can alone be the judges, or to matters of "a more internal, moral, and spiritual kind," regarding which "other and higher grounds of judgment and conviction must be appealed to." This distinction, he says, is often overlooked, and many writers "betray an inconsistency between their professed purpose and their mode of carrying it out;" and he finds "serious fault with the manner in which such inquiries have been conducted, as tending to treat the question as one of *right or wrong*, rather than one of *truth or error*." He then says his object is "to state, analyse, and estimate" the "various opinions and arguments adduced," regarding "the Evidences," not in a controversial but in a "purely contemplative and theoretical" manner.

"The idea of a positive external Divine revelation of some kind has formed the basis of all hitherto received systems of Christian belief." "The appeal was mainly to the miracles of the gospels." "The main thing to be inquired into and established was the historical evidence of these events, and the genuineness of the records of them." But this is not enough—against miracles this argument arises; "that from the nature of our antecedent convictions, the probability of *some* kind of mistake or deception *somewhere*, though we know not *where*, is greater than the probability of the event really happening *in the way*, and from the *causes* assigned." These *antecedent* considerations outweigh all *attestation*. "The entire range of the inductive philosophy is at once based upon, and in every instance tends to confirm, by immense accumulation of evidence, the grand truth of the universal order and constancy of natural causes as a primary law of belief; so strongly entertained and fixed in the mind of every truly inductive inquirer that he cannot even conceive of the possibility of its failure." A miracle "is asserted to mean something at variance with nature and law." This is declared to be inconceivable; and therefore unbelievable, at least.—"Such would be the grounds on which our convictions would be regulated as to marvellous events at the present day—such the rules which we should apply to the like cases narrated in ordinary history." If we exempt the Bible from this law, "its strictly historical character is forfeited, or, at least, tampered with." "From the general maxim, that all history is open to criticism as to its grounds of evidence, no professed history can be exempt." That "with God nothing is impossible" is the very declaration of Scripture; yet on this the whole belief of miracles is built; and thus, with the many, that belief is wholly the *result*, not the *antecedent*, of faith." "The evidential force of miracles is wholly relative to the apprehensions of the parties addressed." "It is to the entire difference in the ideas, prepossessions, modes, and grounds of belief in those times that we may trace the reason why miracles which would be incredible *now* were not so in the age,

and under the circumstances, in which they are stated to have occurred." "The main ground of the admissibility of external manifestations is the worthiness of their object—the doctrine." "In the estimation of external evidence everything depends on our *preliminary* moral convictions." But "what is not a subject for a problem may hold its place in a creed;" yet "the more knowledge advances, the more it has been and will be acknowledged, that Christianity, as a real religion, must be viewed apart from connexion with physical things." "A direct discrepancy between what had been taken for revealed truth and certain undeniable monuments to the contrary," is asserted between "the letter of Scripture" and the discoveries of astronomy and geology. "More recently the antiquity of the human race, and the development of species, and the rejection of the idea of 'creation' have caused new advances in the same direction." "Alleged violations of the laws of *matter*, or interruptions of the course of *physical* causes," are declared to be improbable, incredible, and impossible, because of their being "*at variance with all physical analogy*;" "the real and paramount dominion of the rule of *law* and *order*, of universal subordination of physical causes as the sole principle and criterion of proof and evidence in the region of physical and sensible truth," and nowhere more emphatically than in the history of marvels." "Creation is only another name for our ignorance of the mode of production;" "the grand principle of the self-evolving powers of Nature." "A revelation is most credible when it appeals least to violations of natural causes." "Testimony is, after all, but a secondhand assurance;" it "can avail nothing against reason." "In Nature, and from Nature, by science, and by reason, we neither have, nor can possibly have, any evidence of a *Deity working miracles*; for that we must go out of Nature, and beyond science." And our faith "must rest, 'not in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God'" (1 Cor. ii. 5).

Were we inclined to be hypercritical on this "Essay," we might hold that the concluding quotation is a thorough counter-argument to the whole of the preceding reflections. Science is "the wisdom of man," and a miracle is an operation of "the power of God;" but we have no wish to catch at a verdict in this way. We would rather subject the essay in a more philosophical course of criticism. "Facts are God's words," is the oft-repeated maxim of all realists. Granted. Then, like all words, they require interpretation. Science is that interpretation. Science is as yet a young, proud stripling, growing, but not full grown; and it is unable to assert that what is inconceivable by it *now*, may not be common sense and noon-day clearness hereafter, or in heaven.

Miracles, if properly attested, are facts; as such, they, too, are God's words, and demand interpretation. Induction can prove, and science can know, the *natural*; and because the natural is known, anything that is *supernatural* becomes a certainty. The miracles of Scripture are distinguished by their being—1st. Immediate. 2nd. Palpable to common sight. 3rd. Performed without apparatus or preparation of time, place, persons, circumstance, or mode. 4th. Different only in causation from ordinary events. 5th. Moral in purpose. 6th. In many cases suggestive or expressive of moral truth. 7th. In opposition to personal and national prepossessions. 8th. The results of a final cause of high import.

As *means of conviction*, miracles—1st, roused attention; 2nd, bore witness of a Divine agency at work; 3rd, substantiated the mission of God's ordained teachers; 4th, from the credit they necessitated,

lead to the belief of the truths they were meant to teach, imply, or confirm.

To disbelieve miracles, is to necessitate the belief of miracles. The belief of men in Christianity must either have been caused or pretended. If caused, miracles have been the causative agents; if pretended, then a false and fraudulent scheme has been founded to produce truthfulness of life and thought; imposture, folly, and delusion have been employed to spread a law of truth, and the arguments of truth have been expended in erecting the faiths of men on falsehood. Again, if the universe, in its entirety, is a complex congeries and *consensus* of connected effects, a sufficient as well as an efficient cause for the existence, history, and manifestations of Christianity, must be inferred. It must have seemed, if not been credible. If the former, the facts of Christianity have grown out of no fact; if the latter, miracles must have made it so, for these were the *criteria* of its credibility. The facts of Christianity must have been caused; and if the cause is to be judged by its effects, what cause less than miraculous could have sufficed? In the multiplied outgoings of causation which science reveals, can it point to any one (or more) to which the introduction of Christianity must be owing? Or is its history explicable without going "out of nature, and beyond science"? And being itself existent in nature, and within its laws, must the miracles of its introduction be adjudged to have been "at variance with nature and law"? Either Christianity has been interposed, intercalated, and superadded to nature and its laws, or it must have resulted from them. If the former, miracles are true; if the latter, it is a miracle.

The definition of a miracle contained in this Essay is sophistic. A miracle is not—in the ordinary belief of Christians—"something *at variance with nature and law*;" but something which *transcends and surpasses* nature, and is the product or result of a higher law than that which rules in mere nature. Law, in so far as science is concerned, is that series of ordinances which the Supreme Intellect has determined, and by which all things subject to it are ruled. Science is the interpretation of these laws from their results. Miracle is an act of the Supreme Will, and is not, therefore, either *necessarily* contradictory of the determinations of the Intellect *per se*, subversive of them, or interruptive of them. The will of the Lawgiver may interpose, intercalate, or add, provided a higher purpose than that subserved or observed by science rendered the operation of a higher and subtler law requisite. A miracle, therefore, is not in reality contrary to or contradictory of law and nature, but it is the effect of transference through or into nature of a law not usually operating in that form for the subjugating of Nature.

Nor does the logic of miracle appear to us to be so accurately attended to as is right. Science teaches certain truths inductively learned from Nature. It explains, so far as it goes, the material in Nature. There are truths, however, which seemingly transcend the grasp of science—religious law and doctrine. To inweave with Nature a testimony in favour of such laws and doctrines, some

means would be necessary, which would transcend the ordinary intent of Nature. Nor, if the intellect and will of God are granted to be omnipotent, omniscient, and infinite, could they have been wanting—if such a purpose existed. That a need existed for a revelation is attested by history. That a revelation—real or imputed—has been given, is also borne witness to by history, by existent facts, and present faiths. That it was heralded and accompanied by miracle is asserted, and has been accepted as proven, by the men of the early ages of its advent; and that miracle is the only effective testimony which man can receive in evidence of a revelation appears to be conceded, because every religion claims for itself a miraculous introduction. The purpose to be transfused through or into Nature justifies the belief and legitimates to the reason the superaddition of miracle. The purpose once effected, the need for miracle ceases, and Nature reverts to its ordinary laws of causation and sequence, which need not, however—*ex hypothesi*—be regarded as really interfered with. The sweep and efflux of ordinary causation *might* proceed though the Deity, as the great prime cause put forth the energy of his will, and superimposed its laws upon the universe—laws which we must suppose would be in substantial harmony with the determinations of his intellect—if God is *One*. The introduction of a moral law into the world is not a constituent portion of the ordinary science-observed operations of Nature, and hence for an explanation of it we do "go out of nature and beyond science," even into the Divine mind, which has revealed itself and its purposes "out of nature and beyond science" in his word, and has given this criterion of judgment. "If I do not the *works* of my Father, believe me not."—John x. 37.

Little or no argument would be requisite to prove miraculous agency, could men escape the incidence of the law of obligation under which Christianity lays them—if their admission did not in effect impose a moral law, definite duty, denote a destiny, and counsel a change of conduct. Religion is not merely a speculative, but a practical thing—a life. Because speculation regulates practice, it is requisite to bring it under the restraints of logic, and to test its results by its laws. This we have striven to do in our brief and cursory criticism of the foregoing three treatises. We must now adjourn the consideration of the remaining four till a future time.

The Rev. Baden Powell, author of this third tractate, has since it was published been called hence. In that other world, wherein the destiny of humanity is to be closed, he may not have seen aught that was "at variance with Nature and law," but he must certainly have beheld and felt something transcending all his former conceptions, and been led to believe that science alone does not fully interpret *all* the mighty mystery of human life.

NOTE.—The letters "E. and R.," occurring in the body of this paper, refer to "Essays and Reviews," 6th edition, from which all the quotations are made.

## Philosophy.

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### ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRE-RAPHAELITE SCHOOL OF PAINTERS CORRECT?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—III.

THE question now before us is not, What are the teachings of Ruskin? or what the peculiarities of Millais? but, Do the principles laid down as the basis of this special school of art commend themselves to a sound judgment? or, are they in themselves correct? We hope to be able to prove that an affirmative reply should be given to both these interrogatories. Unlike literature, art has no vantage ground. Every artist must toil on in obscurity, unaided and unknown. Success, if it comes, must be the result of his own force and individuality. The works of other men do not lighten his task, or render it possible for him to relax one iota of persistent application. To the artist, above all others, it is true, "That as a man soweth, that also shall he reap." As the poet must—if he would infuse into his verse the spirit of beauty, and make men feel her loveliness—woo her as a lover, and watch her subtlest workings, so the artist must hold silent converse and loving communion with nature herself; and this is the central idea that runs through Pre-Raphaelitism, making it, as a principle of art, correct, and as a school of painting, deserving of our warmest support.

In the realm of art it seeks to accomplish what photography is doing in the domain of nature, to transcribe with literal exactness the varied beauty of nature, but with the added charms and grace of colour and contrast. It has thus made its appeal from the hoary conventionalism of art, to the simplicity and beauty of nature, and with the fervour of inspiration has assailed error, superstition, and prejudice in their strongholds. The disciples of Pre-Raphaelitism believe that no man will ever become a great painter simply from having an acquaintance with the rules of art, and that no amount of mere manipulative ability ever did, or ever will produce a great picture. They believe, moreover, that even a faithful delineation of forms will not suffice to express the exceeding beauty of nature; but while proclaiming the need of law and rules, while demanding intensest application and severest accuracy, while maintaining that the truly great and nobly *ideal* of art must rise out of the *real*, they go beyond all this, and would give to the skeleton of material fact the elastic muscle, the trembling nerve, the vital blood, the mantling bloom of artistic creation. The Pre-Raphaelite painter holds converse with nature, and becomes re-invigorated; he then turns to art, not blindly to worship, but lovingly to examine, to admire, to

learn ; and though between it and his own standard of perfection there may be Alpine heights of difficulty, still the *excelsior* of earnest persistency has led many of his compeers far up the height, and will yet place them upon Fame's glorious summit. In the works of God in nature, everything receives the same exquisite finish, and is pervaded by its own order of beauty ; and the works of man, in the proportion that they are made to run in the same direction, must acquire in that proportion a degree of the like beauty. A man may paint a sunset as though his pencil had been dipped in the golden hues of the evening ; but did ever any painter *truly paint a sunset* ? A man may seek to represent the world's regenerator and man's Redeemer—the Light of the World—but will any man ever accomplish this ? Nay, verily ; but when the real and the ideal are fully apprehended, as they are in the case to which we now allude, their union is little short of perfection. A picture may be an artistic delusion (!), a thing to please the senses, a *very deception* ; but a man's imagination must be *overburdened* if it can stand before some of the recent trophies of pre-Raphaelitism, and desire to find in them a sort of specification of various kinds of strata, or an anatomical catalogue of limbs and muscles. The effect of such tedious and thankless processes would be the production of nonsense-pictures. So says and reasons J. Johnson, in his negative article of this debate, and he affirms that pre-Raphaelites would banish all our best poets, and strip our art galleries of their chief glory. Yet, strange to say, two of the finest pictures of two distinct painters of this school are chiefly works of the imagination, and Millais's *Ophelia*, and Hunt's *Light of the World*, will bear comparison, for beauty of conception, for consummate finish, and perfect mastery of details, with the productions of *any* artist in *any* age.

Other reasons might be adduced in favour of Pre-Raphaelitism, such as the marked improvement it has caused in art generally, and the degree to which it has educed the taste of the people for that which is natural, &c. ; but this we leave to some abler person, firmly believing in the truth of the position we have taken, and in the correctness of the principles of the school of art, called Pre-Raphaelitism ; and, therefore, we solicit the verdict of the readers of this debate for our side of the question. ALFRED.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—III.

IN dealing with this subject it is necessary, in the first place, to inquire, What the art of painting really is ? We consider that it may be justly looked upon as the artist's medium of communicating to mankind the great thoughts of his mind, and the impressions of his heart, which seek expression in the combinations of beauty, traced by his pencil on the canvass ; as well as being also his medium of bringing before our notice the varied glories of nature's works. True, it is nature that furnishes the artist with his ideas, and from it he draws his inspiration. Her beauties have ever

attractions for him, whether he views them in the landscape, in its endless variety of hill and dale; of craggy steep, besprinkled with the spray of the cataract, as it springs from rock to rock; in the verdant plain, with its flocks and herds; in the lake, whose surface, unrippled, save by the sluggish motion of some aquatic bird, mirrors the azure expanse above with its ever changing panorama of clouds; in the forest, under the shade of whose stately oaks, or sombre pines, illumined by the mid-day sun, or stretching their gaunt shadows in the moon's ghostly light, the beast of prey lours; or whether he views them in the features and form of man, as they exhibit the power of mind or body, the play of muscles, indicating strength, or laying bare the workings of passion.

The successful imitation of these varied appearances is no mean attainment, although it is needful to correct what to us appears faulty or incomplete. But further, man having been by the allwise God endowed with a mind, he is raised to a higher position than anything in nature, animate or inanimate. Among the functions of that mind is imagination, which has thus been spoken of by Dr. Brown:—"We not merely perceive objects, and conceive, or remember them just as they were, but we have the power of combining them in various new assemblages, of forming, at our will, with a sort of delegated omnipotence, not a single universe merely, but a new and varied universe with every succession of our thoughts. Apply this to the painter, and it opens to him a path leading far beyond all that is about him, giving him conceptions of objects more glorious in form and colouring, more graceful in arrangement, and more chaste than aught he has ever become conscious of through the sense of sight. It depends, then, only on the skilful execution of the artist to secure the desired pleasing effect. His designs may be of forms and proportions which have never, in reality, existed; but from the very constitution of his nature he must have recourse to something visionary to illustrate his meaning. The Plains of Heaven, or the Last Judgment, in which the artist has attempted, by the delicate working of tints to give to forms of earth an æry and supernatural appearance, although possessed of some extravagancies, taken in their united capacity, are excellent specimens of the power of the imagination, and are not to be exchanged for the works of the best pre-Raphaelites. The talent of most artists, however, is not displayed in such high-class paintings, but confines itself to the production of portraits, scenes from history, or landscapes, contenting itself in combining effects and beauties, according to each one's particular standard, that is, according to his power of judicious selection and combination, and not, as the brethren would have it, with scrupulous adherence to every detail in an object, however harsh and ungrateful it may be to the feelings. The pre-Raphaelite painter dare not rise above his slavish imitation of the real, and can, therefore, present to the world, nothing but what we can see ourselves; and though he attempts to do this in the minutest manner, he fails; for though an

object when taken on the whole may present imperfections, yet it possesses a texture that would defy the skill both of the brethren and their opponents to reproduce. It is evident, then, from these considerations only, that the principles of this school must be regarded as untrue.

But if we grant, for the sake of argument, the justness of the claims of the brethren, it at once becomes an incumbent duty to place all, whose vocation has to do with fancy or imagination, under the same restrictions as the former impose upon themselves, making, so to speak, Pre-Raphaelites of our poets, and compelling them to sing of nought, but what their own eyes have beheld or their own ears heard, adding nothing of power or sublimity, of sweetness or touching pathos, and placing themselves below the level of the rhyming chroniclers of old. The compositions of a Shakespere and a Milton must be looked upon as encumbrances to the country, instead of ranking as its greatest ornaments. What too would have been the loss to the world in the works of the great masters, amongst whom, he, whose immediate predecessors serve this modern school as patterns, stands unrivalled in his peculiar walk? whose productions, coupled with those of the other masters, send a thrill of delight through our whole being as we gaze upon them—if it be a scene from history, what magic power has been displayed in the grouping of figures, and in giving to each, form and features in harmony with the position and circumstances by which they are apparently influenced?

For a Pre-Raphaelite to do this were difficult indeed, since every face he paints must be a portrait, and the making of a collection to suit every event would be a stupendous task, if not one altogether impossible. Again, he must have landscape or edifice in which to place his actors; but he is not permitted to reconstruct the ruined piles in which his scenes occurred. The artist so hampered must either abandon this great branch of his art, or limit himself to a few meagre attempts.

Lastly, art is to be a teacher, exercising a moral and religious influence upon those who come within its reach. The Pre-Raphaelites, to attain this end, attempt to purify the art itself, by robbing it of all that can teach the beholder to raise his thoughts above the drudgeries of his animal existence. If the contemplation of God's works in the landscape, through the medium of the eye, tends to excite gratitude for his goodness, and admiration of his power, how much better will be the result if free action is given to the imagination? With all the freedom allowed to the scholars of this school, it confines them within far narrower bounds than that which it would overthrow. The uninterrupted imitation of the real being equally detrimental as the mere copying of the ideal. We must consider, then, that its principles are not in harmony with the real office of art, and therefore not true.

ALBERT.



**ARE THE MODERN PHENOMENA, DESIGNATED "SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS," GENUINE? AND HAVE WE IN THEM SATISFACTORY EVIDENCE OF INTERCOURSE WITH THE INHABITANTS OF THE SPIRITUAL WORLD?**

**AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—I.**

THE history of mankind is a history of popular delusions. Men have alternated between scepticism and credulity. The educated classes of the present day, and especially that section who devote themselves to the study of science, are excessively incredulous as regards anything which appears to contravene established notions of the laws of matter and mind.

No subject, having its origin in the present century, has been treated with so much supercilious contempt as that to which I am about to direct the attention of the readers of the *Controversialist*; and acting upon the principle that no testimony is satisfactory which is outside that of each man's own senses, and beyond the range of the experience of personal and supposed infallible friends—"I have not seen it, sir. My noble friend, Humdrum, has not seen it, sir; and therefore it never has been seen, sir!" is the graphic, but the no less true than graphic, epitome of the opposition adopted by the vast majority of enlightened Christendom, to the facts which are testified to by hundreds of thousands of credible witnesses; and are by many supposed to prove the existence of intercourse between the inhabitants of the natural and spiritual worlds. The desire to know something of the conditions and occupations of the inhabitants of the unseen world is almost universal; but the hope that, in this world, we should ever have any satisfactory means of acquiring such information, had descended below zero; and many millions of the human race groped on with the vague hope that there might be a future and immortal state of being, but wanted, in order to assure them of the fact, that direct and demonstrative evidence which modern super-mundane phenomena afford. Let it not be supposed that Bible testimony is undervalued. Yet the fact is patent to all who have an extensive acquaintance with the more inquiring of mankind, that to large numbers of sincere inquirers the Bible does not carry to their minds satisfactory evidence of the truth they seek, and are anxious to believe, respecting a future state of existence. A gentleman once said:—"I may be said to believe in a future state of existence, but I would give the world to *know* it." It will be acknowledged by all persons of average literary acquirements, that in all ages of the world, and among all peoples whose histories have been preserved, there has existed an impression that the occupants of this world are surrounded by invisible intelligences. The Bible is full of super-mundane manifestations; so full, that if they be taken away from

it, little is left that would be of more value to us than the writings of Herodotus, Æschylus, or Pliny. The works of modern poets teem with illustrations drawn from the idea that invisible intelligences are in the midst of us. The immortal Milton says:—

“Millions of spiritual beings walk the earth,  
Both when we sleep and when we wake.”

Tennyson writes:—

“Dare I say  
No spirit ever brake the band  
That stays him from his native land,  
Where first he walked when clasp'd in clay?”

And Longfellow sings:—

“Then the forms of the departed  
Enter at the open door;  
The beloved, the true-hearted,  
Come and visit me once more.”

Time would fail me to tell of the many apparently well-authenticated records of supernatural appearances which have been witnessed in both ancient and modern times; and almost every family has its apparition, or ghost-story, which the members of the family are afraid to relate, lest they be thought superstitious and weak-minded.

It cannot be denied that while the majority of scientific minds reject with scorn all tales of the extra-natural or super-mundane, the great heart of humanity recognizes these stories, and feels that in them there must be an element of truth. In attempting to defend the affirmative of the proposition, that “modern spiritual manifestations” are genuine, I shall refrain from travelling over the wide field of corroborative evidence which is to be found in the pages of Mrs. Crowe’s “Night Side of Nature,” Howitt’s “Visits to Remarkable Places,” Dale Owen’s “Footfalls on the Boundaries of Another World,” Spicer’s “Sights and Sounds,” &c., &c., and shall confine myself to those occurrences of modern date that are testified to by well-known and credible witnesses, living in our midst, and who will gladly afford us every facility for testing to the utmost the statements they adduce, and for the truthfulness of which they vouch.

Our knowledge of facts is principally derived from two sources, *viz.*—personal observation, and the testimonies of others; and no fact, however strange, apparently impossible, and opposed to our previous experience, should be rejected as unworthy of investigation or credence, if it be supported by a large amount of testimony, given by credible and competent witnesses. It should farther be borne in mind, during the investigation of this subject, that our knowledge of natural and spiritual laws is exceedingly limited; that daily we are rejecting old, and receiving new theories; and that no man, with a moderate amount of prudence, would hazard his reputation

by saying that phenomena, however strange, and apparently antagonistic to our previous knowledge, are impossible. Evidence is cumulative; and if there be separate, independent, and unbiased testimonies to the truth of the phenomena I am about to describe, that is another reason why such evidence should not be uncere- moniously rejected.

The limited space allotted to discussion in the pages of this Magazine renders it imperative that I give merely an "abstract and brief chronicle" of the origin, progress, and various phases of the phenomena connected with Modern Spiritualism. Those who desire full information are referred to Adin Ballou's excellent work on "Spiritual Manifestations," price 1s.; the *Spiritual Magazine*, published monthly, price 6d., or any of the scores of books, pamphlets, and newspapers published in illustration and defence of Modern Spiritualism.

The first regularly recorded modern Spiritual Manifestation occurred in the year 1834, in Canandigua, New York, and recurred in various parts of Pennsylvania, in 1836. Many remarkable occurrences took place in the house of Mr. Dods, the origin of which was never discovered. In the village of Hydesville, New York, there was a house occupied, in 1846, by Mr. Weekman, and in 1847 it passed into the occupation of Mr. J. D. Fox. Mysterious noises were frequently heard in this house, much to the disturbance of the family. The following is an extract from Mrs. Fox's Journal, on the evening of March 21st, 1848:—"My husband had not gone to bed, when we first heard the noise this evening. I knew it from all other noises I had ever heard in the house. My daughter, who was fifteen years of age, said, in sport, 'Now, just do as I do,—count one—two—three—four, striking one hand upon another.' The blows which she made were repeated. She began to be startled. I said, 'Count ten,' and then it made ten strokes, or noises. I then asked if it was a spirit? and if it was, to give two sounds. I heard two sounds as soon as the words were spoken."

In the foregoing extract, abridged from the record of Mrs. Fox, we have a sketch of the first faint indications of direct modern intercourse with the world of spirits, which is now attracting the attention of inquiring minds in all parts of the globe. Extraordinary physical and psychological manifestations followed each other in quick succession; and in a few months, instead of being confined to three or four localities, they spread over the length and breadth of the American States. Mediums rapidly increased in number, and thousands, from all classes of society, were weekly added to those who believed in the reality of the phenomena, and the spirituality of their origin. In an incredibly short space of time, the manifestations increased in number and variety; and in addition to those which consisted merely of responses to questions produced by tables rising and rapping on the floor, to indicate letters pointed out on the alphabet, or expressed *viva voce*, there occurred knockings



# ARE SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS

by saying that phenomena, however strange, are in accordance with our previous knowledge, are cumulative; and if there be separate, independent testimonies to the truth of the phenomena, that is another reason why such evidence is not monously rejected.

The limited space allotted to discuss the "Magazine renders it imperative that I give a brief chronicle" of the origin, progress, and phenomena connected with Modern Spiritualism. The phenomena are referred to in the "Spiritual Manifestations," price 1s. 6d., published monthly, price 6d., or any of the pamphlets, and newspapers published in Modern Spiritualism.

The first regularly recorded modern occurrence took place in Canandaigua, in various parts of Pennsylvania, in 1847 it passed into the house of which was never discovered. In the town of New York, there was a house occupied, in 1847 it passed into the occupation of the family. The following disturbance of the family. The following Fox's Journal, on the evening of March 1st, had not gone to bed, when we first heard of the disturbance. I knew it from all other noises I heard. My daughter, who was fifteen years old, did as I do,—count one—two—three—another. The blows which I heard to be startled. I said, 'Count or noises. I then asked if it was two sounds. I heard two spoken.'

In the foregoing extract, above, have a sketch of the first facts of the course with the world of spiritualism, of inquiring minds in a physical and psychological quick succession; and in a few three or four localities, they spread to the American States. Millions of thousands, from all classes of society, who believed in the reality of their origin. In an increasing number of instances, the tables rising and falling out on the alpha'

that have been witnessed for the purpose of instructions had been issued to prevent a repetition of these disturbances. The march of the Skeleton Army was a great determination by a body of fifty constables. A sharp tussle ensued, constables were struck with stones and or two arrests were made, but they with great forbearance. They, however, resisted the progress of the "Skeleton Army," ultimately succeeded in dispersing them.

MR. BRADLAUGH, M.P.—There was an assemblage of the friends and supporters of Mr. Bradlaugh, in the Hall of Science, London, yesterday morning. Mr. Bradlaugh was present, and at the close of the customary lecture addressed the gathering. He spoke in terms of approval of the friendly reception which he had met throughout his recent campaign, and of the enthusiastic gatherings of the people, and the satisfactory presage of the success of the coming demonstration on Thursday next. He gave every reason for believing that the demonstration would be in every sense of the word national and representative. Despite the opposition thrown in the way by railway companies, he expected an immense concourse of his working class and other friends from all parts of the country. On that occasion, and he only trusted that every one taking part in it would act in strict conformity with the law, and not give their enemies an opportunity for saying the demonstration was intended as a menace to the Government, or an attempt to ride constitutional authority.—The following resolution was unanimously approved:—"The meeting calls upon the Government to take prompt action as will admit Mr. Bradlaugh to the House of Commons, which he has been thrice legally elected by the constituents of the borough of Northampton."

THE HOUNSLOW RIOTS.—James Ansell, 18 years of age, living at Staines-road, Hounslow, was charged on remand at Brentford, on Saturday, with throwing stones during the riot at Dr. Whitton's house, on the 4th of January, and also with assaulting Police-constable Trapmore, by striking him on the head with a stone. Constable Trapmore was recovered as to be able to appear. Trapmore was provided with a chair, deposited in the prison, and thrown the stone, which struck him on the head. He was six yards from Ansell when he threw the stone. Ansell was taken to the police station, and is now in custody.

on the tables, chairs, floors, and walls of the rooms, &c., the knockings being heard in places quite beyond the reach of any one present. The rising of tables entirely from the floor, and the dancing of the same in the air, the hands of the operators being on the tops of the tables; ringing of bells; knotting of handkerchiefs; pulling of clothes; pinching of the bodies of those in the rooms; tables, chairs, &c., moving without contact, and quite beyond the influence of mediums and spectators; writing automatically by the medium; independent spirit writings,—no visible persons or thing touching either pencil or paper; music played on guitars, concertinas, pianos, &c.—no one touching the keys or strings of the instruments; appearances of spirit hands, such hands occasionally shaking those of the persons forming the circles; spirit drawing, by automatic action, through mediums; trance, and impressional speaking; ponderous bodies, such, for example, as tables and chairs, floating in the air,—and not only without any visible person or agent aiding their flight, but when full-grown men sat down upon them, for the purpose of preventing their movements,—on several occasions, tables, chairs, and men, have floated about the rooms; spelling out the names of long series of persons living in this world, and those who have departed to the spirit world; forwarding of communications to very distant places, and almost immediately returning with messages that weeks after have been verified;—these, and myriads of other occurrences, have taken place without any mechanical contrivance or collusion, and under every variety of circumstances,—the great majority of the mediums being private and unprofessional. These extraordinary phenomena continue of frequent occurrence in all the States of America. Mr. Robert Chambers, who has recently visited the United States, says:—"There are now two millions of Spiritualists in America, and they support fourteen papers, almost entirely devoted to the advocacy of Spiritualism." Judges, senators, men of science, and theologians, have investigated the phenomena, and so far as my reading extends, I have not been able to ascertain that any single person has fully investigated them, and arrived at the conclusion that they are not genuine. The names of Professor Hare, Dr. Bush, Judge Edmonds, Senator Tallmadge, Rev. C. Beecher, Dr. Dexter, and Professor Rogers, may be quoted as those of gentlemen of elevated talent and position in America, who have investigated, and defend the genuineness of modern Spiritual Manifestations. In England, the subject has not excited quite so much attention, and the majority of investigators have pursued their inquiries in private. The following well-known Englishmen have acknowledged themselves believers in the PHENOMENA, and the majority of them believe in the spirituality of their origin:—Sir E. B. Lytton, Professor De Morgan, Dr. J. G. Wilkinson, Dr. Gully, Dr. Collyer, Mr. W. Howitt, Mr. Robert Chambers, Mr. R. Bell, Mr. Newton Crossland, Mr. B. Coleman, the late Mr. Robert Stephenson, M.P., Mr. W. M. Wilkinson, and thousands of other equally credible and com-

petent observers. The leading facts, so far as regards physical manifestations, will be found clearly described in an article in the *Cornhill Magazine* for August, 1860, the title of which is, "Facts Stranger than Fiction," the writer being Mr. Robert Bell, author of the "Annotated Edition of the Poets."

If the phenomena I have related, and those which are described in the works to which I have referred, are true, the question arises, How are they to be accounted for? Many persons, who have not fully examined the subject, have professed to account for them by reference to muscular pressure, the cracking of joints and muscles, mechanical art, electricity, mesmerism, clairvoyance, odyle, biology, automatic cerebral action, unknown natural laws. Of the number who have fully examined the subject, the vast majority believe the phenomena are produced by direct agency proceeding from the inhabitants of the spiritual world; and a few believe them to be the result of occult and yet undiscovered natural mundane laws. To justify belief in the remarkable statements just made, every intelligent and cautious reader will require a large amount of evidence. All must feel that the more extraordinary, unexpected, and improbable any statement is, the greater the amount of evidence is required, in order to justify belief in it. This is peculiarly applicable to the question at issue; and any person who believes the above phenomena, without serious examination, and an overwhelming amount of evidence, deserves to be pointed out as a model of credulity.

The writer of this paper has, after eight years' close investigation, recently arrived at the conviction that, in almost all cases, the phenomena, which are popularly termed "Spiritual Manifestations," are produced by invisible and intelligent agents; in other words—by some of the inhabitants of the spiritual world. He further holds himself ready to reply to all objections urged against this theory, and is prepared to give demonstrative evidence of the truth of some of the extraordinary phenomena to which reference has been made.

Those who intend to defend the negative side of this question, are, before committing themselves to any expression of opinion, respectfully recommended to investigate the phenomena they propose to condemn, and to write from the stand-point of experience, rather than from that of prejudice.

T. P. B.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—I.

"THERE are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy"—a fact experienced daily by every thoughtful observer. Hardly a moment passes in the life of any man of ordinary capacity or observation that does not produce some novel impression, some new aspect of thought or phase of things, or give birth to some new idea. Our province is to live and learn; and every man of mark or mind does so, gleaning the lessons of life as he pursues the pilgrimage. Self-abnegation and

the quality of humility are generally the indications of true greatness. How frequently has this been demonstrated by the evidence of some of the greatest geniuses that ever adorned this or any other country. Even the great Newton declared, when drawing towards the close of his earthly course, and notwithstanding the acknowledged profundity of his acquirements and the great extent of his researches; when he came to review the past, and to glance at the unfathomable depths of possible future investigation, he was led to exclaim that "he appeared," in his own humble and self-depreciating estimation, "to have been like a child, picking up pebbles on the sea-shore, while the vast ocean of truth lay all unexplored before him."

But it does not by any means follow that because our capacities are necessarily limited, bounded by the sensuous and the finite, that we are, therefore, to forego all speculation—that we are to believe only in the existence of what we can see and feel; our care must be that of a wise selection of the facts and deductions to which we give assent. If we cannot grasp *all*, are we, therefore, to take in *any*? and by giving the reins to our credulity, to receive as gospel the nostrums propounded by every fanatic or interested adventurer? Speculation is the pioneer of thought; only let us see to it that the conclusions evolved, and claiming our assent, are based on common sense, sound philosophy, and revelation.

To come down to the hour in which we write, perhaps the most striking instance of modern credulity is to be found in the credence awarded by a goodly number of persons, including many of more than average intelligence,—in the "notion" denominated "Spiritualism," which seems to be akin to, and to have had its origin in, the "table-turning" movement of an earlier day.

America—the country in which "notions" the most *outré* find a congenial home—was the theatre upon which the table-moving mania was first launched. In 1840, Anne Leah Fish, and Margaret and Catharine Fox, sisters, formed a religious sect—influenced, perhaps, by the want of a novelty—Mormonism having taken its departure to the Salt Lake. The first meeting of the new sect was held on the 14th of November of the same year, the Misses Fox only appearing. From some cause, Miss Fish ceased to hold connection with the *Spiritualists*, the name by which the Misses Fox chose to be designated; the reason assigned being that they held communion with the spirits of the dead. These spirits intimated their approach by a rumbling noise, and also by a rotatory motion of the tables around which believers and the conjured spirits took their places. At the meeting on the 14th the rumbling noise and motion of the tables took place, as had been predicted by Margaret and Catharine. Those assembled were so impressed by the phenomena, that they at once appointed a commission to ascertain whether any fraud had been practised. A favourable report was returned. A second commission, however, was appointed, composed entirely of females, who submitted the Misses Fox to a minute examination,



but without the discovery of any mechanical agent to account for the phenomena. Thanks to these inquiries, the *Spiritualists* increased in numbers; so that, in 1842, on the occasion of a general meeting, eight hundred believers in the *spirits* assembled together. Notwithstanding the "nonsense" of the thing, the rumbling noise and whirling tables were looked upon by some as demonstrated facts—especially when the tables were influenced by those unconnected with the sect. The rumbling noise was said to be a secret patent only to the two sisters and a few adepts.

From this time table-moving was recognized in Germany, France, and England. It was made the subject of investigation by men of probity and honour, and qualified for the task by scientific attainments. They accounted for the phenomena by attributing the moving of the tables to the action of electricity passing round the table through the bodies of those who surrounded it—that the action of the current was sufficiently powerful to move the table; and that the motion was increased in proportion to the nervous strength of the sitters.

Dr. Andée, a physician of Bremen, was the first to publish in the *Gazette d'Augsburg* the results he had obtained on the subject. His description of table-moving has been more or less adopted as the solution of the phenomena in England. One writer, the author of "Practical Instructions in Table Moving," enumerates certain conditions which are necessary to secure success. He has devoted considerable portions of his book to the examination of the influence of *constitution, age, sex, state of health, disease, acquired predisposition, temper, antipathies, feelings of hatred, affection, and education*. What "education" can have to do with the mere passive transmission of the electric or any other fluid, the author does not care to enlighten his readers. One thing is certain, that the body of peer or peasant is *positive*, and when brought in contact with a current of electricity, serves to *conduct* it to some other body or object. The current does not stop to inquire if the *heads* of the *bodies* of such conductors have been educated or otherwise.

The conclusion of these "Practical Instructions" contains directions for *riding on a broomstick*. The conditions of this latest marvel are couched thus:—"The *epoque* in which we live seems every day to produce fresh wonders. While a professor was assisting at an experiment of table-moving the other day, the thought struck him to search whether there was any real foundation for the legend which we call the Walpurgisnacht (St. Vauborg's night). Do not laugh, reader, but let us inquire; and while we are about to lift a corner of the veil which conceals Nature from us, let us not be afraid to look into its mysterious recesses. He wondered whether it were possible to ride on a broomstick! To make this experiment, take a common broomstick, and cover one end with a sheet of silvered, and the other with a sheet of gold paper; fix to each end a little hook, to which attach a small metal chain, or metal chord of a harp or pianoforte, choosing a copper rather than a steel

one. The experimenter, dressed in a woollen jacket next his skin, places himself across the stick, and passes the chain over his left shoulder; then taking a fox's brush in his right hand, he whips the end of the stick.

"After two hours' exercise, sometimes even in twenty minutes, the experimenter is sensible of being carried upwards, which sensation, once produced, augments gradually.

"For the full success of this experiment, it is necessary that the experimenter should imitate the movements by which a rider restrains a horse in a gallop."

Can the force of credulity, of a prurient imagination, go farther?

The folly of this humbug has, however, if possible, been further increased by the support which it has received from those who should have been the first to decry and suppress it. A pamphlet before us is entitled, "Table-turning; the Devil's Modern Master-piece. Being the result of a course of experiments. By the Rev. N. S. Godfrey, S.C.L., of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, and Incumbent of Wortley, Leeds, author of 'Table Moving Tested,' &c. 'Hear me when I speak, and after that I have spoken, work on.'" The man that can read the hash which this rev. gentleman has compounded, and not *mock* at the deductions drawn, and reasons given, must be utterly void of common sense. The absurdity of these deductions is apparent at the first sight: if the Devil has the power to manifest himself in moving tables, why does he not develop himself in other ways? And why does he manifest himself in this strange fashion? Are the hearts of men set in them more firmly to do evil? Are they thereby predisposed to act more wickedly, and hence more likely to swell the numbers of his kingdom? Could it be demonstrated that these table freaks originated with the Devil, of a certainty his power would be lessened, and the number of his followers reduced. There are great numbers who do not believe in the existence of the Devil; many such living dissolute and wicked lives. It must be the interest of the Devil to allow them to continue in their delusion, not to rouse them to the fact of his existence; this would surely have but one tendency—to induce them "to take heed to their ways." Twenty pages of the pamphlet are filled with passages from the New Testament, and the rev. gentleman's comments, in proof of the power as well as the existence of the Devil. One quotation will serve as a specimen of the logic used.

"Nor do we stop even here; for the apostle Paul says to the Ephesians, 'Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.' Here, then, we are distinctly told that our antagonists are 'principalities,' 'powers,' 'the rulers of the darkness of this world,' and 'wicked spirits in heavenly places;' and that these powers are all evil is proved by the fact of their being antagonistic

to those who are clad in the 'armour of God.' This, then, is the power of Satan; these the armies he can bring against us; these the spies by which he gains intelligence, the agents by whom he acts."

Would not the statement of Paul lead us to suppose that the *personal* power of the Devil was confined—"we wrestle not against flesh and blood," and that the Satanic power was only manifested spiritually"—"spiritual wickedness in high places"? But the author of this *brochure* will have it otherwise. He will have it "spiritual wickedness" in table moving!—a deduction which would be highly amusing, if it was not so pitiable. The book concludes with much vehement denunciation of those who are incredulous of the Satanic agency—the author telling his readers that he is forcibly reminded of the words of Jesus, —"*If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.*" The passage being printed in small capitals tells the reader that the author believes one has risen from the dead—and they do not believe! a deduction somewhat different to that drawn by the Rev. W. C. Magee, of the Octagon Chapel, Bath, in his sermon entitled, "Talking to Tables a Great Folly or a Great Sin." He selects the same passage upon which to found his discourse, and argues from it that it is clear that *one* will not rise from the dead. "You have Moses and the prophets, hear them; there is as much evidence and as much teaching as God sees good for you." He further adds,—“We have our Bibles; these are all the revelations God intends that we should have, and they are enough; to receive more would be useless—to wish for more would be a sin.” And concludes very appositely—"It has been affirmed that it is possible, for any one who pleases, by laying his hands upon a table in a certain manner, to evoke—some say—the spirits of the dead, and others the spirits of devils, and to hold long conversations with them; and several of these alleged conversations have been published with details more or less minute as to the way of carrying them on. To me, so far from proving that any Satanic or supernatural agency has been at work, the facts which they seem to prove most satisfactorily are that there is nothing either supernatural or even unaccountable in the matter. I say *either* supernatural or unaccountable; for I would remind you that there is a great difference between these two words. It does not follow that because we cannot account for a fact, that it is, *therefore*, supernatural, but merely that its cause is not yet known to us. It does not follow, because we cannot assign a natural cause for an event, that none such exists." This very rational opinion is met by another rev. gentleman, the Rev. E. Gillson, curate of Lyncombe and Widcombe, Bath, who constructs a proposition the converse of this, in his pamphlet, "Table-talking; Disclosures of Satanic Wonders and Prophetic Signs, a Word for the Wise." He says,—“I feel bound to declare that living agency, possessing not only power, but intelligence, was infused into the table, or connected with the table in some mysterious manner; that

it was a living agency foreign to ourselves, independent of our will or mind, and often acting entirely in opposition to our conceptions or anticipations. But if it be a living agency it must be spiritual, because invisible. And if spiritual, then Satanic, for the spirits acknowledged that they were sent by Satan; and one spirit confessed that he was sent to deceive and ensnare us. We are entering, without a doubt, upon the final struggle. We have all alike slumbered, and it is time to awake. 'The day of thy watchman and visitation cometh.' The spirits of devils working miracles are already gone forth. Hence the battle of the great day of God Almighty is at hand. The Lord may be permitting these present manifestations to awaken His people, and prepare them for what is coming."

The "final struggle" has been the favourite theme of faint-hearted beings these eighteen hundred years, and talking of it often takes the place of preparing ourselves for it. Should such an idea take hold of a nation's mind, it would be the same as cutting in twain the nerves of energy, and putting a stop to glorious enterprises which are calculated for centuries yet to come. But if we are entering upon the "final struggle," and this spiritual phenomena is proof, supposing the agency to be Satanic, would it not be Satan fighting against Satan, as it would be evident that exposure would follow a knowledge of his existence and power?

The fact that William Howitt, that George Thompson, and men of undoubted intelligence, give ear and credence to spirit manifestations, is proof that *they* believe in them, but no proof of their truth. We require, if we argue and reason—as we ought to argue and reason—upon the inductive method, to have the reasonableness of the manifestations demonstrated. If God permits the manifestations, why should they not be done in open day? Why should they not be of use in disclosing facts in relation to the unseen world, relative and reliable; things in relation to this world desired and important, and not merely what spirit manifestations now are, upon the showing of the mediums, a mere plaything and a pastime? The numerous tricks and frauds played upon poor humanity should make us chary in receiving as truth statements which convulse and confound the harmony and order of the creation: which, indeed, except perfectly truthful, must tend to the destruction of those foundations upon which we have hitherto depended as the fiat of the Most High.

In the further discussion of this subject, it would be well to consider the amount of credence due to Mr. Home and his startling revelations, as chronicled in "Cornhill;" and in the meantime, the readers of the "British Controversialist," will *think*, as well as *hear*, even if they should not *believe*.

J. JOHNSON.

## History.

### WAS THE SECESSION OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND JUSTIFIABLE?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

THE religious history of Scotland during the last two centuries is, perhaps, one of the most interesting and instructive that can well be imagined. Since the blessed Revolution of 1688, or, at least, shortly after it, every party has been allowed that noble birthright of humanity—liberty of conscience; and through this liberty of conscience has arisen many a glorious truth, which the boasted acts of “uniformity,” whether of Popery or Protestantism, would have stifled in the birth. This introduced a new era in the history of Scotland, by throwing open the prison-doors to many a pallid captive, proclaiming liberty to many a free-born Briton, and rousing a more general spirit of inquiry on religious matters. The Established Church, however, though just emerged from a period of oppression and suffering, soon formed a friendly alliance with, nay, a most humiliating *flunkeyism* toward, the civil power. It assumed, too, a tone of haughty defiance towards all those who seemed in any way to trample upon its statutes, or disobey its commands. The Church was at one with the State; not as a different, independent institution, the one under the government of the King of heaven, the other under that of the King of Britain, but at one as being united with it, or rather as being one of the means by which the State wrought out its designs. Men were not wanting, however, at this crisis, any more than they are at any other crisis when required, to protest against these haughty assumptions, persecuting measures, and general corruption of the State Kirk; and though loth to leave the church of their fathers—that church to which they had dedicated themselves, and which they had striven with all their might to reform—duty in their balances weighed heavier than the gold of the State, and the preaching of evangelical Christianity afforded them more pleasure than the fawnings of a corrupt assembly. Sterling men these! who, rather than see the popular rights trampled upon—rather than witness the people of Scotland starving on the dry bones of Arianism, raised the standard of Dissent, and cast themselves on the voluntary liberality of the people. To their influence on ministers and people, Scotland owes much of her glory, and this influence had a most material effect in the secession of the Free Church, one hundred years afterwards.

The Church, at the beginning of the present century, was far from presenting that pleasing spectacle of unity which can enable it to adopt, to any great extent, the aggressive. Vital religion, however,

was there; and Dissenters, though divided into so many different sects, presented one broad and united phalanx against any interference or oppression whatever of the civil magistrate. The General Assembly saw this, and the "moderates," who had formerly taken the lead in these matters, and acted as tools in the hands of Government, having now fallen into the minority, the evangelical party determined to meet the wishes of the people, and satisfy those cravings for liberty, especially in the election of their ministers, which the Reform Bill of 1832, by giving them a similar right in the election of representatives in Parliament, had only tended to excite. Liberty is sweet, but "a little" liberty "is a dangerous thing." The battle for liberty commenced formally with the passing of the "Veto Act" (1834), which provided that a presentee could be rejected by the majority of the people, if, in rejecting him, they were "actuated by no factious or malicious motive."

This power, though considerably limited, was vastly superior to that which the General Assembly had been accustomed to grant, and was intended to give the death-wound to Voluntaryism, by preventing the dissatisfaction of the people on this subject. It was, however, only forging the weapon which was eventually to level it with the dust. The Veto Act was very soon brought into requisition; a presenter was rejected, and the people thus practically defied the power of the patron. The presentee and patron, however, were not to be thus vetoed, and they quietly gave over the matter to the Supreme Civil Court—the Court of Session. The case was eventually carried by the Assembly to the House of Lords, and in both courts the decision was in favour of the presentee, while the General Assembly was declared to have exceeded its powers in the passing of the Veto Act. It thus seems not to have known the proper extent of its powers, until it was enlightened by Lords Brougham and Cottenham. It would be tedious to travel through all the "cases," appeals, committees, deputations, correspondence, &c.,\* which followed in connection with this subject, and which immediately preceded the secession of the Free Church: suffice it to say, that since the Veto Act was vetoed by the Supreme Court of Britain, Government was asked to pass an act similar in its provisions to the Veto. It refused. The Non-Intrusionists, thus worsted on all hands, gave up the hopeless contest, lodged a protest, and, on the 18th May, 1843, walked out from that church where they had long been seeking rest and finding none.

The question at the head of this paper resolves itself into the two following:—1st, Were the grounds of the secession scriptural and just? 2nd, Were they *sufficient* to justify the secession? Let us see.

The grounds of the secession are fully given in the Protest; but as it would both be tedious and unnecessary to consider these indi-

\* For a pretty full detail of these, see "Authoritative Exposition of the Principles of the Free Church of Scotland;" and "Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers," vol. iv.

vidually, we will examine the single doctrine on which they all rest, viz., the entire independence of the Church in its government, jurisdiction, and discipline. This question involves, no doubt, many minor ones, applicable to particular cases, but this is the broad principle of spiritual and ecclesiastical independence, on which they all hinge, and which was the ground of the secession. It will be observed, that this has no necessary reference to civil establishments of religion; for while the Free Church holds the propriety of the latter (by which it simply means State endowments), it disclaims all further connection of the Church with the civil power.

The dependence of Church on State is unscriptural and injurious. These grounds are completely distinct.

1st, It is unscriptural. The consideration of what a church is, based on the descriptions given of it in the New Testament, shows such or any dependence to be unscriptural. Of course, it falls to the writers on the negative side of this question to prove that there is a dependence of the Church on the State fixed in Scripture, and, what is more difficult still, to show how far and how close that dependence is. Till this be done, it would be in vain to analyze any particular passages. What we have to advance in support of this position may be considered more as general principles deducible from the position and pretensions of the New Testament church. We do not, by any means, wish to exclude the Old Testament *dicta* from having any weight in the present discussion; if our opponents resort to it, they are welcome to it, conscious, as we are, that whatever is found applicable to the present discussion will be on our side, not on theirs. But as a whole, the Old Testament church polity was necessarily so very different from that which any church could adopt in the nineteenth century, that we think it unfair to adduce its authority to any great extent on either side.

The church of the New Testament is neither represented as having any connection with any civil power, nor are any directions given as to such a connection, so far as we have been able to discover. The thing, in fact, is absurd. What is a Church? Why, it is simply a body of men jointed together by the bonds of christian union, and by stated meetings keeping alive the flame of divine truth, publicly celebrating the ordinances of their Heavenly Master, and reciprocating tokens of brotherly kindness. It may be "wherever two or three are met together" in Christ's name, or it may be within the sombre cathedral and the fretted vault; but whatever its limits, it is a community by itself. It, too, claims a king—a King in heaven, not upon earth, a King with a government not physical but moral; reigning over the soul, not over the body as distinct; with a power of His own, laws of His own, and rulers of His own. Its king is King Jesus. If we examine the very constitution of a State, we shall find that it has no connection with, and in its elements, has no control over, such a community.

A State is a mere matter of expediency; and its members have,

in its proper condition, the power of making their own laws. A Church is limited by no such conditions. A State may or may not have existence, where there is a *people*; but when it has existence, it has an independent existence; it has laws of its own, rulers of its own, and penalties of its own. To talk of the power of the State over the Church, or to adopt the language of the Papists, and talk of the power of the Church over the State, is as absurd as to speak of the power of the Emperor of all the Russias over Britain. Both may be, but they will then stand in the relation of oppressor and oppressed. The Church has as much right to dictate laws to the State, and enforce its obedience, as the State has to the Church. Both are completely independent; both rest on their own distinct constitution; both are responsible to their respective kings. It is just as unscriptural for the civil power of Britain to review and alter at pleasure the laws, and superintend the government, of other kingdoms of this world, as to take any such power in the kingdom of Jesus. Had the other States of this world no other defence than the Church possesses in its censures, very likely Britain would give out that its kings were "to be their nursing-fathers, and its queens their nursing-mothers," too. Such seems, from the whole scope of the New Testament, to be the constitution of the Church; and as particular passages in proof of the independence of the Church, we would refer to Col. i. 18; Ephes. i. 23. The genuine subjects of Christ's kingdom are bought with his blood, and regenerated by his Spirit; these as such are responsible to no other king, and are under no other government.\*

In thus defending the complete independence of the Church, we do not wish to be understood as advocating the doctrine that the civil magistrate is to have nothing to do with religion. On the contrary, we hold that he has a very great deal to do with religion. We offer him the Bible; that is to be his civil directory, let him base his institutions and form his laws according to Bible morality; and though he wears the sword, let him take a deep interest in the affairs of the kingdom of Jesus; for he is, or ought to be, a member of, though not a ruler in it. Let him "search the Scriptures" daily, and if he should persuade himself to believe that, as civil magistrate, he is to nurse the Church with the sword, he has a right to his own opinion; but it is a very different question, whether, while under the influence of such hallucination, he has a right to act upon that opinion.

Would an ecclesiastical ruler be allowed to inflict ecclesiastical pains and penalties (no matter what they might be) on the subjects of a civil kingdom as such, if he could succeed in inducing himself to believe that his Bible taught him so? We think not.

Seeing that there is no necessary connection, or scriptural connection, between the Church and the State, are our opponents pre-

\* In the language of theologians, Christ's kingdom is essential and mediatorial; the one comprehending the universe, the other specially confined to the Church. It is to the latter that we refer in these remarks.



pared to take refuge in the old *established* argument of expediency? Let us see what ground there is here.

2ndly. It is injurious. That all interference of the State in the affairs of the Church is injurious to the religious interests of the people, we do not mean to affirm; for in some cases the State may, either designedly or not, entirely meet the wishes of the people. Such interference, of course, is merely nominal, and is, in reality, liberty. The injury inflicted on the people by interference of the State in such matters was the first thing that roused the slumbering spirit of independence. The civil enactments on the dependence of the Church might have lain slumbering on the statute books for another century, had they not come into collision with the spirit of liberty. But how could Mammon serve God? The question of injurious or non-injurious is one of fact, not of probability. The facts are sufficiently numerous for an inductive argument; and so well known are they, that we are almost ashamed to proceed further in proof of this position. Every one who has read the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, especially during the last century, must have been struck with the vast amount of business in the way of rejection of presentees and appointments, or reports of "Riding Committees," which came before presbyteries, synod, and assembly. A patron presented to some parish, the presentee was rejected, and, after being hauled through presbytery and synod, was finally, by the command of the Assembly, "placed" in an empty charge by a body of military. It is not pleasant to harrow up the remembrance of the injuries inflicted on the people of Scotland by the National Church, especially while led by such a man as Principal Robertson. For a long time a formal call was not even required, nothing but the simple *ipse dixit* of a man who had bought the spiritual liberty of the people with gold. These cases proceeded very slowly through the church courts, often occupying years, and during all that time the parish was left spiritually destitute; and if vital religion existed at all, it was in spite, not because of, ecclesiastical assistance. And when a presentee was ordained, religion often remained in its dormant state. During the week, he was busy in his sportsman capacity, while on sabbath his "moral harangues" were delivered to an audience consisting of his beadle and precentor. Many are the instances when the manse kitchen accommodated the pastor and a few paupers who still clung to the kirk of the State. This was not universal, but it was the general result of at least military ordinations, which were not few.

By filling up those pictures, by tracing the results of such a system in the public and private conversation of those people who were born to endure such persecution, the reader may form some idea of the *injury* which the State, by means of the residuary Church, has done to Scotland. But thanks to the honoured names of Erskine and Gillespie, who, at the head of their respective secessions, led the way "out of the house of bondage." And what were the scenes which immediately preceded the disruption of 1843? Many a

heart-rending scene of the ordinations of last century has, no doubt, perished with the ecclesiastical farce which gave it birth, and our forefathers listened to many a tale of sorrow which was destined never to reach our ears. But those enacted some twenty years ago have found their historian in Dr. Hanna. To his memoirs of Chalmers, we would refer the reader for such; and having read and weighed their awful consequences, let them say whether or not the interference—the law-justified interference—of the State in the affairs of the Church has been injurious.

It may be said that the secessions of 1733 and 1752 differed from that of 1843 in this,—that while the latter was by reason of encroachment of the civil power, the former were on account of the decisions of the General Assembly; and that while the injury done in the latter case can justly be traced to the interference of the State, that of the former is referable only to the Assembly—the Ecclesiastical Court. But this is a distinction merely of words. The Act under which the Church acted in both cases was the same, viz., that of Queen Anne, in 1712, which, in fact, only revived an old Act of 1592. The scope of this Act is plainly that which Lords Brougham and Cottenham declared it to be in their opinions delivered in 1839, viz., “the absolute right of patronage, subject only to the rejection of the presentee by the adjudication of the Presbytery for want of qualification.” Now, though the leaders of the former secessions do not appeal to Government, they still have their rights trampled on by the civil power. They were wiser in their generation than the seceders of 1843; the former knew the laws under which they suffered; they knew the power which Government had, and which the Assembly of those days gave full scope to operate. The latter apparently were ignorant of the very constitution of the Church, as fixed by the laws of the State; they were unconscious that the bag of gold which the State yearly presented was granted on such conditions, and they boldly asserted that “from 1688 to 1838 no civil power ever attempted to interfere with the steps of our ecclesiastical procedure, or to meddle with our Establishment in aught but the temporalities which belong to her.” Strange language that, after the proceedings of 1712! But though they did not interfere in the last century as they have done in the present with the steps of the ecclesiastical procedure, the reason was obvious; no occasion presented itself. The Moderates were the leaders of the General Assembly during the last century, and these were the ready tools of the Government. Erskine and Gillespie knew well that an appeal to the Civil Courts would be useless. They had seen the Act of Patronage restored; they knew the quarter whence that restoration had proceeded. Had the Assembly of 1842 been under the leadership of the Moderates as the Assembly of 1732 was, the “Claim of Rights” would never have been presented to Her Majesty; and the argument that the Secessions of last century were not on account of the interference of the State, but in accordance with the resolution of the Assembly, would never have had 1861.

even a show of possibility. The Civil Government had interfered ; in the one case it was by means of a parasitical Assembly, in the other it was by an obedient Court of Session.

Having thus seen the great principle on which the "Claim, Declaration, and Protest" rests, and which was the basis of the Secession of the Free Church, it remains now to be seen whether on such grounds *the Secession* was justifiable. This is somewhat a formal part of the argument ; and, as such, demands only a formal consideration. Can any one, believing the complete independence of the Church as asserted in the "Claim of Rights," and the ground of which we have endeavoured to show, for one moment cling to the State, and bow to all its decisions ? Is it possible that men, who felt and acknowledged no authority in the affairs of the Church but its own, could silently witness the people turned adrift from that Church where they and their fathers had so long worshipped, because they would not acknowledge one whom even their untutored reason declared to be unfit for breaking unto them the bread of life ? Can we suppose that men, acknowledging no authority in spiritual matters but Christ's, could witness seven ministers declared by the only authority on earth to be incapable of any ecclesiastical official act, boldly demand admittance into a Church, and in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly, in defiance of the protests of the assembled congregation, in defiance of the authority of Him who declared that the "weapons of His warfare are not carnal," proceed to obey the commands of a court which was prepared to enforce obedience at the point of the bayonet ? Truly not ! Rather than thus allow their rights as Christian men to be trampled on, and the noblest feelings of human nature to be repressed ; rather than thus allow their Master's authority to be despised—nay, defied—they threw the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of the State, flung the gold bribes in its face, and were prepared to return to those rocky glens and heath-clad hills which had formerly been the battle-fields of Scotland's liberty, and which had so often been reddened with the blood of her bravest sons.

The Secession, besides, did not take place till the eleventh hour ; they had tried every constitutional means, and failed ; they had used their own ecclesiastical authority ; they had obtained the decisions of Court of Session and House of Lords ; they had applied to Whig Government and to Tory Government ; and finally had sent their Claim of Rights direct to Her Majesty as Head of the State, whilst nothing but the ghost of liberty was ever presented for their acceptance. Then came the day of trial, and, like true Christians, they chose the plain but rugged path of duty, and left the old residuary, never to return.

The wonder is, not that there was a Secession, but that its members should ever have been found within the pale of the Establishment. They, no doubt, had completely mistaken its constitution ; but when they did fully discover it, they did not flinch in the performance of their duty. The fact of their formerly supporting the State Kirk

is no argument against the justifiableness of the Secession. All the length that such an argument can carry us is, that the Seceders are to be blamed to a certain extent in not knowing the relation of the State Kirk to the Civil Government of Great Britain. The State has the right of giving the interpretation of its own laws; and notwithstanding all that has been said as to the novelty, &c., of the law affecting patronage, which was the great point of difference, the interpretation given by their lordships does not seem forced, and the Act appears for a considerable period after its revival so understood. This being the case, the assumption which the Free Church is sometimes accustomed to make, that it is *the* Church of Scotland, is plainly groundless. The constitution of the National Church since 1712 is not what they supposed it to have been; and in 1843 they seceded *from* the principles of the Church of Scotland, not *to* them. The Free Church has discovered experimentally that a State-governed church can neither be a scriptural nor a free church. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland discovered this much sooner, though in a manner precisely similar. It, however, did not rest; for, having once got itself free from the trammels of the State, it set itself to ascertain fully the scriptural constitution of the Church, and it has long since arrived at the conclusion that a scriptural church and a free church must not only not be State-governed, but must not be State-paid. The Free Church, ever since its secession, has been, *in practice*, working out the same scriptural truth; and, we are inclined to think, is rapidly drifting to the same conclusion, *in theory*. These two great denominations in Scotland have now succeeded in completely and practically answering that long-advocated opinion of the incompleteness of the voluntary principle, and have shown it to be amply sufficient both for home and foreign operations.

Voluntaryism is progressing, and must progress; for it is a part of the progress of the human mind. It will be a bright day for Scotland when these two leading denominations are united, for then will be heard the noise of many voices, doubly powerful, and doubly indignant at such unjust and unscriptural squandering of the funds of the national exchequer; and then, too, if not before then, shall be seen the desperate death struggles of the Scottish Kirk.

A. G. A.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

THE First General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met 20th December, 1560, o.s. It consisted of six clergymen and thirty-four elders. Ten years thereafter, John Knox, its politic founder, was dead. Its prime principle was, that there should be a church and a school in each parish. The Confession of Faith of 1567 settled its doctrines; and the Act of the Ratification of the liberty of the true Kirk, 1592, arranged its forms and order of procedure, which is, briefly—That each parish having a minister (clergyman) shall also have a Session or Council of Laymen, of which the minister is the Moderator or Chairman. The minister

and one elder, representing the congregation, attend the Presbytery, a council of clergymen and elders, in a given district. The Presbytery sends deputies to a higher court, taking in a larger area of the country, called a Synod, as well as to the highest court in the Church,—The General Assembly. The Sessions manage all matters relating to church discipline in the parish, with an appeal, in the first instance, to the Presbytery, whose functions are wider, and relate to the state of the church in the district from which its members assemble. Any decision the Presbytery may make can be referred, on appeal, to the Synod, who again are charged with the management of all matters relating to the Church, and its condition in the stretch of land from which its deputies are sent. Their judicial functions are again liable to the supervision of the General Assembly. By these gradations it is believed that the most complete individualism is compatible with the common multitudinism of a Church; and that due safeguards are provided against any possible tyranny, except that of a virtual majority of the whole Church.

The membership and functions of these several courts are definitely fixed by enactment, although somewhat softened in their rigours by precedent, and in practice. There are, altogether, in the Church nearly 1,200 parishes, 84 presbyteries, and 16 synods. The General Assembly meets annually in May. Its sittings generally last a week or ten days. It is a legalized judicatory, or Supreme Court, in all that relates to the spiritual affairs of the Church, and is recognized by law as possessed of an indisputable jurisdiction so long as its proceedings are constitutional, and confined within its own circle of duties.

At its formation, the Knoxites hoped to gain the Church possessions of the ousted Romanists, as the endowments of the new Church; but in this they were disappointed. In the majority of instances the secular nobility seized the land, and took possession of the tithes. The Crown became the legal holder; but it granted the usufruct to certain persons, as titulars. These tithes, which in Scotland are called *teinds*, because *held* for the behoof of the Church, were made redeemable at a fixed valuation, and the usual mode of payment of clergy in the Established Church of Scotland is, for the landed proprietors to pay in money the average market price for the year of a certain number of chalders of wheat, corn, rye, &c., as a temporal provision for the clergymen. This price is determined in the Sheriffs' Courts of each county, and the amount is leviable by assessment, in proportion to the value of the property, made on each heritor, or holder of heritably-secured property.

These titulars, as they supply the remuneration, for some time claimed the right to present to the Parish Church a list of persons, from whom a clergyman was to be chosen by the hearers. The exercise of this right is called *patronage*. The Church abolished the right in 1690, and maintained that the free choice of the people was essential to the true and proper election of a Pastor.

In 1697, the Barrier Act was passed, which ordained that no innovation in doctrine, discipline, worship, or government, should be enacted by the General Assembly till such matters had been maturely discussed in the Presbyteries, in which there must be a clear majority in favour of the change before it could be passed as a permanent and binding law. Up till 1704, as the Church was part and parcel of the State, it had been the habit of the Lord High Commissioner, who represents the Sovereign, to dissolve the Assembly; but in that year the Church, through its Moderator—Speaker or Chairman—dissolved the Assembly by his own power; but with the sanction of the official representative of the State. This practice still exists. In 1707, the Union of England and Scotland took place, and in the treaty of Union due care was taken to conserve unalteredly the rights of the Church. In 1712, the law abolishing patronage was rescinded by an Act of the British Parliament, and presentation to a benefice by a landed proprietor became the general practice of the Church. This gave great offence to the people, and many disputed settlements were brought before the legal tribunals, which were generally settled by adhering to the cause of the patron, unless some valid objection could be taken to the presentee. In 1732, Ralph Erskine preached in the Synod of Perth against this abuse of the rights of the church; and in 1740, he and seven others, who agreed with him, seceded from the Established Church, giving rise to the Secession; and in 1752, Thomas Gillespie, for contumacy, in refusing to assist in the ordination of a patron's presentee, was deposed, and became the founder of the Relief body. These two offshoots of the Church were afterwards welded together, under the name of the Free United Presbyterian Church. The form of patronage softened for awhile, and became practicably workable. The chief defence of patronage, we believe, was that the heritors, or landed proprietors, were the only class capable of knowing and appreciating worth, independent of popular forms. The clergy judged of a student's fitness in knowledge and doctrine; but the gentry judged of his fitness as a gentleman, which, by his position, he immediately became. In a vast majority of instances the presentees most strenuously objected to on their appointment became the greatest possible favourites with the people over whom they were placed; and Dr. Thomas Reid, the philosopher's case, was but a type of many. "We fought *against* Dr. Reid when he came, and we would have fought *for* him when he went away." But as circumstances changed, and the general body of the people became educated, this reason naturally gave way, and in so far patronage became indefensible, except as a right which it was difficult to yield up. It might also be observed, that the disturbed state of Scotland during the greater part of the eighteenth century formed a *political* justification of patronage.

When Scotland got into a settled state again, the patronage question began to agitate the minds of men. The Church, though obeying the law of the State upon this matter, had never sanctioned

it by any overt act, or entry in her minutes, and still held herself free to labour for its abolition. The strife began about 1825, and continued for the next eighteen years, when the whole question was precipitated by a hasty and injudicious movement on the part of a large proportion of clergymen, who had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge.

The great event arose in this wise :—Scotland had changed rapidly in her condition by the introduction of manufactures; and the old form of having one minister in each parish, which suited a pastoral and agricultural country, did not suit one where the masses were congregated in large towns. This gave rise to a Church Extension scheme, in which it was attempted to interest Government, and secure some help from it towards the evangelization of the masses. Government was economical of money and prodigal of souls; it would do nothing. In four years Scotland raised £200,000, and built 200 churches. These, however, were unendowed and unterritorial, and the clergymen who occupied their pulpits possessed no legal right to sit in presbyteries, and vote in Church courts. This was much to be regretted; but the Church, in many instances, permitted them to violate the express constitution of the Church, and both to sit and vote in judicatory processes. Thus her decisions became legally invalid, and that by her own act. They also took a false step in passing an Act, called the *Veto* Act, empowering parishioners to *veto*, or forbid, induction and ordination of a parish, without reason assigned, if they chose. This was granting licence, not liberty, and this was also passing an enactment of the Church in opposition to one of the British Legislature, to which a century's submission had given the stability of use and wont. The Church voluntarily placed herself in a false position. When, therefore, a case of opposition to patronage arose, the Church was in a sore strait. The courts of law could neither recognize the right of the Church to override and overrule the Imperial Parliament, nor admit the jurisdiction of resolutions of Presbyteries and Synods, whose proceedings had been invalidated and vitiated by the admission of parties not legally entitled to the privilege of voting upon the matters brought before them. However wrong patronage might be, to justify these high-handed and self-seeking decisions of the clergy by the assent of the chief law court of the kingdom would have been far worse; for it would have corrupted the streams of justice in the land. On appeal made to it, the Court of Session gave decree against the Church, and the House of Lords maintained its adjudication. The Church would not retrace its steps. Infallibility has always been a sweet fiction to the minds of a certain class of clergymen, who like to jingle the power of the keys in the ears of men. The mighty mind of Chalmers, which was far more rhetorically than logically great, was caught in the meshes of some of the casuists, and being made ostensibly the leader, while really led—if not misled—he threw his whole noble and fiery soul into the movement, and took up

the gage the law had thrown down ; but in a spirit of partisanship much below the dignity of the law, far less of the gospel.

The Auchterarder case has already been made notorious enough. The *accidents* of the case have obscured the thoughts of men regarding the essentials. So long as the Church courts were constituted according to law (the law of both Church and State) — *i. e.*, were composed of clergymen of parishes, unintermixed with ministers of *quoad sacra* churches, or those unrecognized and unendowed by the State—no law court or power could interfere with, annul, or qualify any proceeding which was gone through with in harmony with the settled order of the Church. But Churchmen fired up at the thought of being controlled by a secular authority, and scouted the idea of submission. The error was theirs, however ; they broke the law, and then proclaimed their despite of the law as the justification of their doings,—just as in the Cardross case, now, the Free Church is doing. An agreement to respect the rights of the Church is very far from an agreement to submit to and legalize the wrongs it perpetrates. If a court of judgment were filled with parties who had no right to be there, and if these parties took part in the proceedings, what defeated defender would not have re-claimed against the finding of such a court ? This was exactly what was done, and all the hurry-scurry of the last thirty years' agitation has been got up and maintained because the Church claimed the right to break the law, and conferred illegal privileges on parties not entitled to possess them. This is the *real* point, though it is convenient to shirk it.

The Church Extension scheme, in which it begun, was a noble and Christian scheme, and the Established Church of the present day in Scotland has carried it forward well towards a good and practical end. They have set about having all those *quoad sacra* chapels endowed, and made into parish churches, where ordinances are administered, and where the clergyman takes his seat by law at the Presbytery table. Had the enormous financing powers of Dr. Chalmers taken this direction—

“Trojaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres.”

This they did not resolve on. They chose rather to adhere wrong-headedly in their determination to do wrong. And they proceeded to *disrupt* the labour of the Reformers, and of centuries. Much less money and far less effort would have endowed every place in Scotland where a church was needed as a parish, and a grand Christian testimony would have been given of sanctified zeal, which would have shamed the Government of the day into something like appreciation of the nobility of the clergy and people of Scotland.

It must not be forgotten, either, that the circumstances of the country were changed. In 1832, the Reform Bill had placed the government in the hands of the people. These people attended



the ministry, and accepted the guidance of these clergy. If they had convinced their people, they would have given their votes for Members of Parliament, who would have been pledged to see right done to Scotland in Church matters, and so a constitutional reform might have been wrought. That it was not wrought, but instead, a grievous increase of "malice and all uncharitableness" was poured over Scotland, in the name of religion, was the fault of the repentless intruders of unqualified persons to sit in the courts of the Church. Having such a power of remedy in their own hand, and not having used it for benignant purposes, as they might, shows conclusively, that the Secession they made was not justifiable; it was justifiable neither in its *origin*—smuggling a new practice into the constitution, nor in its *means*—ignoring all the capabilities of legal effectuation, and throwing society into a convulsed state, from which it cannot recover; nor in its *end*—the maintenance of the power of the clergy, and the promotion of the schemes for self-aggrandizement of the Church as a corporate body, rather than as a branch of Christ's "true Vine." The following extract from Her Majesty's letter to the General Assembly, hit the blots on the 'scutcheon of the Free Church Secession; for they despised their plain counsel, and rejected their reproofs; and when it is considered that, in defiance and scorn of the thoughts and suggestions herein contained, they left the Church of their fathers and their country, it cannot but appear that their conduct was unjustifiable in the extreme:—

"The faith of our crown is pledged to uphold you in the full enjoyment of every privilege you can justly claim; but you will bear in mind, that the rights and property of an Established Church are conferred by law; it is by the law that the Church of Scotland is united with the State, and that her endowments are secured; and the ministers of religion, claiming the sanction of law in defence of their privileges, are especially bound by their sacred calling to be examples of obedience."

"A conflict of authority between the law of the land and the Church, in a matter where civil rights and civil jurisdiction are concerned, cannot be prolonged without injurious consequences."

"You may safely confide in the wisdom of Parliament; and we will readily give our assent to any measure which the Legislature may pass, for the purpose of securing to the people the full privilege of objection, and to the Church judicatories the exclusive right of judgment."

"The law, as confirmed by a recent judgment, has declared that new parishes cannot be created by the authority of the Church alone, and that ministers placed in such districts are not entitled to act in Church courts."

"If it shall appear that the efficiency of the Church is thereby impaired, and that the means of extending her usefulness are curtailed, the law to which such effects are ascribed may require consideration and amendment; but until it be so considered by the

Legislature, and while it remains unaltered, we are persuaded that it will be implicitly obeyed by the General Assembly."

The reply to these wise, moderate words was religious revolt, and an outcry of persecution for conscience' sake, and the rending asunder of the vail of that Temple, which the blood of martyrs had cemented, and the prayers and efforts of saints had raised; and this we contend *was* unjustifiable. What say ye?

SAUL.

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## Politics.

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### IS THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN ITS EXISTENCE AND OPERATIONS, BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY?

#### AFFIRMATIVE REPLY.

THE reply to the negative articles which have appeared on this topic need not extend to a great length. Our task is an easy one. All who have written on the other side agree that an Upper House is necessary; but they wish to abolish the House of Peers as now constituted, and establish a second chamber, for legislative purposes, on some other plan; but how this is to be accomplished, so as to work satisfactorily, they are not agreed. "L'Ouvrier" says the Second House "should owe its origin and existence to the people, in such manner as to secure the wisest and the wealthiest persons of the nation for its constituent elements." If this were the scheme adopted, we ask, in what respect would it differ from the present House of Commons? Do not the electors of Great Britain now return representatives selected from the wisest and wealthiest of the community? Where, then, would be the advantage of a second chamber elected by the same classes as send the members to the Lower House? The real value of an hereditary peerage is that its members are independent of everybody, and so are able to decide in favour of those measures which it is permanently to the interest of the nation should be adopted. "L'Ouvrier," in the March number, has given us a sketch, the purport of which we have some difficulty in understanding, of the origin and early stages of the National Council. If he finds fault with the House of Lords for not being a representative body, we answer that it represents now, as it always has done since the existence of an aristocracy, the noblest, wealthiest, and most educated class in the kingdom; but if, as it would seem, he imagines that in an elective House of Lords we should be returning to the ancient practice of the nation, we confess that we cannot see the slightest reason for such an inference in the facts which he has adduced; but they would seem rather to show that Parliament originally, and after its separation into two chambers, had its House

of Peers chosen by the King; and we can hardly suppose that "L'Ouvrier" would consider a body entirely nominated by the Crown a desirable substitute for the present House. An hereditary House is surely preferable to one formed to suit the wishes of the reigning monarch.

Turning to the article of "Brutus," one of the methods he names is for the "second Senate to be elected by, yet independent of, the Commons," as though this were possible. Does he consider the members of the People's House independent of those who elect them? In all cases, an elected chamber must represent the opinions and feelings of their constituents. But "Brutus" remarks that there are a dozen ways of securing a useful second chamber. We ask, which of all these schemes has proved satisfactory in other countries?

"Brutus" challenges me to give an instance where the House of Lords has pressed any salutary law on the House of Commons; but the function of the Peers is not to originate important measures, but to check the democratic leanings of that House. Despotism is impossible with an hereditary legislature. The present enslaved condition of the French people could not exist along with an hereditary nobility. One of the great advantages of an aristocracy is their jealousy of military ascendancy—in remarkable contrast with the invariable tendency of the masses to elect soldiers for their rulers, from the Roman Republic to that of France. We are aware that it may be objected that almost all republics, having taken their rise from a great convulsion of society, resulting in many years' war, the men most fitted by intelligence and patriotism to take the head of affairs would generally be men who, during that time, had acted in a military capacity. To this we could oppose, amongst many others, the example of the United States of America, where the tendency is increasing rather than diminishing; for not only have five out of fifteen presidents been soldiers, but it is remarkable to observe that four out of the five have been chosen during the last thirty years; whilst, in the forty years preceding, only one, and that one George Washington, had occupied the presidential chair. The preference for military rulers was never stronger there than it is at the present moment, when politicians in the States are actually discussing the probability of Major Anderson filling that important position at the next election, when his only claim for consideration is the successful performance of a military manœuvre.

How favourably England contrasts with this, when, during the last two hundred years, but one soldier has attained to the eminence of Prime Minister! The only time when this country was a military despotism was also the only time when the functions of the Upper House were suspended. The rule or despotic power of Cromwell would have been impossible if the House of Peers had then been in existence. "Brutus" affects not to see any advantage in maintaining a balance of power and interests amongst the three estates of the land: but this is just where the House of Lords is principally

useful, by acting as a check to the invasions of the Commons on the authority and prerogative of the Crown. Such alterations in the composition of the Upper House, as are desired by our opponents in this controversy, could not be effected without an organic change in our constitution; but the people of England, well satisfied with the freedom and happiness which they enjoy, will not risk the stability of the government which has conferred upon them so many blessings, by seeking to improve it by violent measures. In this country the distinguishing characteristic of the people is a great regard for ancient rights, and men are attached to the customs and usages of their forefathers. When the barons assembled in open rebellion at Runnymede, it was not any imaginary system of government which they established, but the old laws of Edward the Confessor, which they moulded into a new form, and established on a firmer basis, in the Great Charter; tempering, even in a moment of revolutionary triumph, the ardour of liberty and the pride of descent, by their hereditary attachment to old institutions. The memorable reply of the barons to the proposal of the prelates at Merton, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*," has passed into a consuetudinary rule, to which the preservation of the constitution through all the convulsions of later times is mainly to be ascribed. In all our political changes we should desire reform rather than revolution. Even in providing a habitation, as well as in framing a constitution, comfort and convenience may be better secured by altering a house already built and inhabited, than by raising one on an entirely new plan.

"Brutus" asserts that taxation presses unfairly on the poor. It can readily be shown that this is not so, and the tendency of recent legislation is to remove all duties from articles of daily consumption; but, if it were proved that the working classes pay more than their share of taxes, it would not be the Peers who would be responsible for the injustice, but the House of Commons, where all taxes are imposed.

H. K. is indignant because the Lords have the privilege of voting by proxy; but what great difference is there between this custom and the plan adopted in the Commons, of allowing members to rush into the house to vote on any subject, when they may not have heard a single word of the previous debate, and consequently know nothing of the merits of the case? H. K. quotes, at considerable length, the opinion of Lord Brougham, pointing out the anomalies existing in the judicial capacity of the Lords, and in this instance, no doubt, there is room for some alterations; but H. K. would not find this high authority to agree with him in the other changes he deems so desirable. On the other hand, in his able work on the British Constitution, he speaks in the highest praise of the whole of our excellent constitution, and particularly of its remarkable adaptation to the various circumstances of public affairs.

We wish to explain to "L'Ouvrier" the remarks in our first article, as to the effect of a further extension of the suffrage. We

said that, if the time should come when masses of uneducated men became electors, the Crown would be in great danger of being subverted, if it were not for the existence of the House of Lords, who would act as a check to the inroads of the democratic House. "L'Ouvrier" thinks the wrath of such a House of Commons would be directed against the House of Peers. He also says, that if the Sovereign wishes to confer honour on the meritorious by raising such to the Peerage, that the honour is equally great and valuable, independent of a seat in the Senate being annexed. We differ entirely from this conclusion, and have no doubt the reader will too. "L'Ouvrier" is surprised that we have the "temerity" to extenuate, in the pages of this Magazine, the existence of the bench of Bishops. We, notwithstanding, hold to the opinion expressed before, that their existence is no anomaly, whilst our National Church form a part of the State. Independent of this, the Bishops are men of great education and experience, and well qualified, in other respects, for their legislative duties. Why any one should object to ministers of the Gospel taking a citizen's interest in the affairs of this world, we cannot imagine.

"L'Ouvrier," speaking of the Peers, says that "self is their dominant motive to action," and he gives, as an instance of selfishness, the refusal of the Lords to repeal the paper duty. In what way does a duty on paper tend to the advantage of the Peers? for we can scarcely suppose that "L'Ouvrier," like many of the class he professes to represent, can seriously believe that it is the object of the House of Lords to keep the people in ignorance, and that this object would, in some mysterious way, be attained by the addition of a halfpenny to every shilling book. We, in common with politicians of every class, should view with great jealousy any attempt on the part of the Peers to interfere with the taxation of the country. Still, we cannot but think that their undoubted right to reject any bill laid before their House has been wisely exercised in this particular instance; for, even with the assistance of the million which Mr. Gladstone would have thrown away, the deficiency in last year's revenue is two and a quarter millions.

Our glorious constitution has undoubtedly, like one of our own English oaks, some unsightly knots and excrescences on its noble trunk; but it has braved too many tempests, it has survived too many perils, it has cost too much blood, and been watered with too many tears, to be now lightly surrendered to the axe and plane of every "Brutus," who may, with an inventive genius, wish to shape it into the likeness of the American maypole. Let empirics exercise their skill on the mushroom constitutions of which the revolutions of 1848 were so fruitful, or on such as those which the Abbé Sièyes could construct with such facility; but let them spare a structure which has existed for six hundred years, the pride and the glory of England, and which has secured the hatred of every despot and demagogue that the world has produced.

R. R.

## NEGATIVE REPLY.

"Quique magis tegitur, tectus magis aestuat ignis."—OVID.

TRUTH is like flame; the more it is covered or hidden, the more it spreads. This was no more true of the one in Ovid's time than it is true of the other in these times of ours. This is so much our strong conviction, that a series of years have borne witness to our practical efforts to develop this conviction to the world. Our present duty is a contribution to the diffusion of sound principles of truth upon an important question, which has not only agitated many men's minds, but has completely unsettled not a few of the wise and good men of our day. It is not our purpose to say whether the question, as it has been generally placed before the country by the press and many leading politicians, is well and wisely put, or judiciously handled by them in the interest of party politics. That is beyond our sphere; it is for us to advocate the negative in this debate as a question of political philosophy.

The salient points of our former arguments are briefly stated. History shows that the origin of the House of Lords was from the people, in contradistinction to royalty. Philosophy shows us that an hereditary legislature is not conducive to just and good government, and that it does not supply the best talent, nor the most impartial laws—all of which are great and sore evils, easily prevented with more or less perfection, according to circumstances, by an elective House of Peers, so constituted as to represent the wealth and property of the country justly and truthfully. That we have been correct in our opinions and judgment may be inferred from the fact, that our opponents have not succeeded in disproving any portion of our argument. It therefore remains for us now to make some few remarks upon the arguments of our competitors, which we hope to do in all candour and fairness—striking hard upon their fallacies, and carefully eschewing personalities as beneath the dignity of debate.

The introduction of R. R. we entirely agree with; in fact, we consider it equally appropriate for either side of the question, the *dicta* respecting the three kinds of government are usually the A B C of all elementary works on political philosophy. He observes, "It is essential to good government that it takes care to provide for its own permanency." We cordially agree here also. Still further we coincide with him that the "*balance of power and interest*" in the State is necessary to its permanency; but here, however much our inclination to be complaisant and agreeable, we must part from our friend, R. R., because he adduces the House of Peers as the very pivot on which the balance of interest and power is made to oscillate; and in proportion as these *stationary pivots* (!) are moved from either crown or people, so justice prevails, and good laws are made. This must be the fossilized remains of some ancient theory of political happiness, surely, or some *lusus nature* which R. R. has unfortunately become possessed of; and it is worthy to be preserved in some one of the many museums in our land

which interest the curious and restrain the adventurous speculator in his enthusiastic mania for wonders, either in nature, science, or art. Has R. R. never read the history of his country? Is he entirely without remembrance of the events, even of his own times? Can he by any possibility be ignorant of the existence of such phrases as the "House of Incurables," the "House of Obstructives"? Has he never heard or known of such things as the Reform Bill of 1832, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, or the rejection of the Paper Duty Repeal? Does he not know what were the circumstances which impressed these phrases and these events on other men's minds with such indelible effect? We can scarcely believe that any Englishman is really ignorant that these phrases and events received and still possess all their significance from the fact that the House of Peers does not hold the balance of power and interest, but assumes to itself all or nearly all the power and interest, and does its best to ignore the right of either crown or people to more than a nominal position. The fact is, the House of Peers, in its present existence and operations, exhibits to the world a remnant of feudalism, which is a striking anomaly in our national existence, and will sooner or later either be swept away with the besom of destruction, amid much of anarchy and misery to the people, or by timely concessions, reformation of abuses in its privileges, and corrections in its constitution and operations, consolidate the State more firmly on the basis of the future, tending to lead our fatherland to glories yet unconceived by man—a millennium of political and moral progress.

Our thanks are due to B. S. for the elegant rendering of the homely proverb, "Much cry, but little wool," and for the hint broadly given that we may well apply it to nearly the whole of his own verbose paper. This relieves us of a considerable burden, because we are so anxious ourselves to avoid even the appearance of personalities in debate.

In analyzing his remarks (we had almost mistaken ourselves, and called them arguments), we find four-fifths neutral, one-eighth an attempt to anticipate and refute arguments to be in our second paper, and which, however desirous we are at all times to oblige our friend B. S., we could not put in to oblige him, for this simple reason, we never intended to use such puerilities as he so kindly volunteered to suggest for us; and the fraction left is an attempt at argument in favour of hereditary legislation. The neutral portion of his remarks requires no comment further than to express sincere regret that so many words and so much space should have been occupied to so little purpose; all that is neutral is so "much cry" without the "wool" which the reader is entitled to receive from all presuming to take part in our controversial arena. The line of argument he set down for our second paper never having had any existence, requires no reply, further than to say, the cause must be very weak which requires its advocates to create opponents made of straw stubble to show off their own feats of literary gladiatorship;

surely there also is "much bruit, but little fruit," friend B. S. Well, then, respecting the topics of hereditary peerage with legislative and judicial functions, and an elective legislature having judicial functions, and an elective House of Lords, chosen from among the peers of the realm by such persons as shall constitute the education and wealth of the country, forming an improvement of the present House of Peers, not as a destruction or overturning of that branch of the existing legislature. The former, we have shown, is a remnant of feudal barbarism, is fraught with many evils, and must of necessity operate its own extinction by the antagonism it engenders. By the election of peers to judicial and legislative functions, all the existing evils are necessarily avoided, much good is realized, and a glorious prospect of permanence, prosperity, and happiness, is ensured to our fatherland.

Much special pleading is employed by B. S. respecting our use of Bentham's greatest happiness principle ; but in this he not only misunderstands our argument, but he wrongly applies the remarks of Dumont on Bentham. If we have read Bentham aright, our arguments are all based upon that celebrated jurisconsult's opinions, and are simply an echo of his principles as propounded in his works. We are not so vain as to assume that our arguments are original ; on the contrary, we are happy to confess that we have learnt much of our knowledge of political science from that great author ; and it would be almost an impossibility for us to write a sentence on any political question without expressing or implying that we had derived it from Bentham. We see no inconsistency between our argument and the quotations from Dumont made by B. S. ; on the contrary, we cordially adopt the quotations as a part of, and in illustration of, our views of this question. We firmly believe in the indefeasible right of every man to have a voice in making the laws by which he is governed ; we also believe that the House of Lords ought to be elective, but we have never said nor implied that the House of Lords should be chosen by universal suffrage. The two things are entirely different ; in speaking of universal suffrage, we refer to the choice of members of the House of Commons ; but in speaking of the choice of legislative peers, we say the wealth and education of the country should enjoy the suffrage. In the one case, manhood is the qualification ; in the other, wealth and education, qualifications essentially distinct and never conflicting. Besides, we should go further in true conservatism than B. S. himself ; for we would say that the British constitution is not only the best of all existing constitutions, but it is capable of infinite perfectibility without destroying its nature, its privileges, or the relations of the several parts of which it is composed. The *plebiscitum* of France should never overrule the *senatus consultum* with us. We may be imitators of France in vanity, fashions, and trifles, but never in politics. The vacillation and theorizing of the Celt can never be ingrafted upon the Saxon in his political doctrines and institutions ; our soil is too cold, our habits too



settled, our love of order and permanence too deeply rooted, ever to allow such things to become indigenous with us. While we advocate the right of every one to a voice in the making of the laws by which he is governed, we do not think that by placing all on a dead level of pretended equality, right or justice would be obtained. The *proletaire* has person and life only to be protected, but the *millionnaire* has person, life, and property to be protected by the laws. Hence he should have a greater share of legislative power, but not all, or nearly all, as is now the case. With these remarks, we must dismiss B. S. to the correction of his political creed, for space admonishes us to proceed to the brief paper of "Iona;" and, strange to say, "I" makes almost as many blunders as words, so that he can lay claim to much originality, if not to sound argument. Quoth "I," England is a commercial nation; a commercial nation cannot be a political student, therefore England is not fit to legislate for itself, but must have the House of Lords to legislate for it. If this is not worse than the follies and fallacies of B. S., we are at a loss to know what can be worse. The foul libel, that "the people of England in the aggregate are not acute, not even reasoning politicians," may be refuted a thousand times over in any large town any day after work hours by only visiting the ordinary resorts of the working classes. We dare to assert, from a long extended observation of the habits and knowledge of the working classes, that take an equal number of this class and any other class in the country, and the practical political knowledge of the working class will put to shame and confusion the knowledge of the others, although their supposed advantages would give them the preference. This is a fact which has so astonished us, that we have been at considerable pains to prove its correctness for our own satisfaction. In the course of our inquiries, we learned one circumstance which goes far to prove the truth of this most indubitably. For twenty years before the Reform Bill was passed, a few working men commenced the agitation, which grew to such gigantic proportions as to render it an imperative necessity from the commencement. Its provisions were well defined, were constantly, silently, surely, and thoroughly disseminated in the face of every species of tyranny, persecution, and oppression; and the middle and upper classes only learned its principles, and pronounced the Shibboleth, because the torrent of public opinion among the masses was too strong to be withstood, and opposition longer continued would have perilled, not only their own safety, but the safety of the entire commonwealth. Our personal knowledge of the past induces us to hold fast that fundamental dogma of our political creed. Timely reform is safety secured, and prosperity in prospect; but reform delayed is trouble now, anarchy and ruin in the future. They who for twenty years could quietly, steadily, and by moral means only pursue a course of political struggling for rights and liberties in the past can never be justly accused as turncoats, hypocrites, or "tailors for the moon in all her changes."

We submit that the negative writers in this debate have neither by expression nor implication adopted the theory our opponents are so anxious to thrust upon us. If the House of Peers is made elective, we should seriously object to the working classes having anything to do with the choice, because it is not within their province. Let the Commons represent the Commons, but the Peers should represent the Peers of wealth and education.

We could scarcely expect that the wealth of the aristocracy would be named as an efficient cause in removing the taint of corruption, and therefore making them the fountain of honour, *par excellence*, in legislative matters, when the fact is so notorious that many titles are only the reward of corruption in past days: and even now we would inquire how many persons connected with the aristocracy are holding lucrative posts for political services rendered to their party? "I" must understand that true liberty consists in every person enjoying all the rights and privileges which the safety and prosperity of the State permit, and that preference is due to none, gentle nor simple, high nor low; rabid democrats are but little less dangerous than stolid, dull, and immovable Tories, or false, fickle, and changing Whigs; the dregs of each class occupy the extremes, but the enlightened and thoughtful of each party are all but assimilated, and so naturally blend into each other, as the true patriots of Fatherland, that it is hard to distinguish them from each other.

The closing paragraph of D. M. is the only redeeming point in his paper; his decade of follies are either repetitions of other writers who have preceded him, and have consequently been answered, or are so futile, as to be unworthy of lengthened notice. We will, therefore, not fatigue the reader with farther criticism upon the unmeaning platitudes of our opponents, but conclude with the wish that we all may be able at all times to act manfully and independently our part as citizens of the greatest, most just, and freest commonwealth in the world, the pattern for infant states, the hope of the oppressed, the example for all dynasties, and the glory of its people. While striving for the enfranchisement of wealth and its due representation in the House of Peers, we advocate a just enfranchisement of the masses. In making changes, we say, do nothing rashly, but delay not too long, lest the sap be dried up, and rottenness take the place of strength and life. With the sturdiest Tory we say, God save the Queen; with the proudest aristocrat we say, preserve the peerage, but improve existing defects; and with the loudest democrat we say, enfranchise the millions, because the broader the base on which the fabric of the State stands, the surer the foundation, and the more stable the superstructure. Reader, our mission is now closed, the verdict is with you. We trust it will be, "As at present constituted, the House of Lords, in its existence and operations, is not beneficial to the country."

L'OUVRIER.

## Social Economy.

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### COULD THE EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES IN AGRICULTURAL, MANUFACTURING, AND COMMERCIAL PURSUITS, TO BE ENCOURAGED?

#### AFFIRMATIVE REPLY.

OUR reply will be brief; for this our readers must thank not only ourselves, but our opponents, whose wonderful unanimity will greatly aid the fulfilment of our resolve. All of them agree as to the importance of the question at issue. "It would be difficult to estimate too highly the importance of the question now under consideration." "Every true friend of the people must necessarily feel deeply interested in the happy solution of this question, fraught with so many important influences," &c., &c. "The question on which we are now invited to give an opinion must have a special interest," &c., &c. These are the opening remarks of three out of four of our opponents, and in each case the arguments which follow bear the same family likeness. Some dissimilarities there are, of course, and with these, so far as they seem deserving, we shall deal first, afterwards replying to the opinions expressed by the leader of the negatives, and echoed by his followers.

Of "L'Ouvrier" we have no more to say than that his article would have been much more to the purpose, if it had been limited to one-half of its length. We can scarcely see the bearing of his high-flown rhapsodies on the employment of women.

"A Factory Clerk" calls for a little more remark. We earnestly trust this *nom de plume* is altogether an assumed one; if not, unless "A Factory Clerk" brings to his business a much clearer perception of the meaning of terms, and a much less confused understanding altogether, than he brought to the perusal of our opening article, we greatly pity his employer. Perhaps it is not so much the "stupidity" "A Factory Clerk" owns to, as intentional misrepresentation of which we have to complain. We will give an illustration of this from his article. "We now learn, that 'it is evident that no amount of discussion or condemnation can reduce the extent to which female employment is already carried;' and it is questioned 'if it can be increased, unless among those classes who are placed by fortune above the necessity of working for their daily bread.' If this be truly the exact state of the case, we cannot congratulate X. Y. Z. upon his discretion, for he certainly might have employed his time better than in defending a system that cannot possibly be altered, and supporting the further development of a movement to which no increase can be obtained." It is scarcely

necessary to point out the confusion of ideas and terms "A Factory Clerk" here displays. We repeat our belief that the *extent* to which female employment is already carried cannot be reduced, and that beyond the lowest classes it is not likely to be extended much further, because it has already nearly reached its utmost possible limits; and it is because of these beliefs that we desire to see female employment *encouraged*. "A Factory Clerk," with his colleagues, confounds encouragement with extension; it means this, certainly, but a great deal more beside. The necessity for female employment being recognized, we desire to see it directed into the most remunerative and natural channels; we desire to see positions of trust thrown open to the competition of women, and that her energies should no longer be confined only to the most menial offices; we desire that she should have a fair prospect of promotion in whatever trade or occupation she is engaged; and also that she should be guarded by legislative enactments, if necessary, from many of those evils which, we are willing to confess, are at present attendant upon her employment in factories, but which, we must assert, are not necessarily involved therein. This is what we understand by encouragement. At the same time, as we have also incidentally allowed, we believe female employment may be beneficially *extended* amongst "those classes who are placed by fortune above the *necessity* of working for their daily bread."

Again, as a further specimen of "A Factory Clerk's" reasoning, because we, after asserting "the absolute *right* of woman to a free and unrestricted use of her energies in any and whatsoever department of labour she may chose," proceed to consider how far it is *expedient* that she shall avail herself of it, we are charged with surrendering the whole question, and admitting that the employment of females is "a great evil." Is it necessary for us to teach "A Factory Clerk" that all things which are *lawful* are not all *expedient*? We recommend him to St. Paul for that lesson.

We desire to be understood clearly as to the opinion we expressed that the assertion of our opponents, that "woman's province is home," involves a denial of her equality with man, *i. e.*, intellectually and socially. With the exception of "A Factory Clerk," who has certainly his own "stupidity"\* to blame for it, our opponents do not appear to have been in any difficulty as to our meaning. We believe home affords the noblest exercise for all the highest qualities of mind and heart, but at the same time, we cannot forget that all women are not equally fitted by nature for the home circle, and that to tens of thousands the duties, pleasures, and cares of maternity are never offered. We believe that not only does necessity compel these women to exercise their energies in some remunerative employment, but that she is endowed by nature with powers equal to the highest work, and that she has shown these powers in every direction, but especially in literature. Hence, we say, that those who assert that woman is unfitted for

any but home duties do practically deny to her intellectual and social equality with man.

We shall now endeavour to refute those arguments of our opponents which our friends on the affirmative have not already disposed of. "L'Ouvrier" tells us that "the aggregation of great numbers of females together, and the frequent admixture of them with the opposite sex, offers temptation, and exposes to perils, which the strongest minds must contemplate with alarm." The gentlemen on the opposite side speak on this matter most prudishly. They talk as though the breath of heaven was scarcely to be allowed to blow upon a woman,—the eye of man never to behold her. A woman must expect temptation, the same as man. We do not think she is likely to be made stronger or purer by being kept secluded from the world. Nay, we venture to affirm that the giddy round of gaiety in which women of the highest classes spend their life, and which is supposed by most people (our opponents, of course) to be exactly adapted to a woman's "peculiarities of organization," does as much, if not more, mischief to their purity and delicacy, than factory life, even in its present condition. We have the best reason for asserting that the morality of females employed in factories is not worse, but is even superior, to many classes of women who are not employed at all. We cannot help quoting here, though somewhat lengthy, the testimony of a large employer of female labour in Birmingham. He says,—“A considerable diversity of opinion exists as to the moral influence that factory labour has upon females generally; our own opinion is, that on an average, it will not be found deteriorating, and that the girls and women who work in our manufactories are as moral, religious, and self-denying, as any other section of society in the same rank. But, of course, the morals of a manufactory will, to a large extent, take their tone from the character and habits of the employers and overlookers. A careless, depraved master influences for evil, it may be hundreds of workers; and a vicious foreman, or overlooker, may (and does frequently) demoralize the ten or fifty workers under his influence or direction. The nature of the trades also has much to do with the matter. Those which are cleanly will give a higher moral tone to the hands; and a large number of young women working together, seem to have a protective interest over each other's conduct: when women work in small numbers promiscuously with men, we shall be almost sure to find low and depraved habits.” We draw especial attention to this extract. It clearly proves that the average morality of females employed in manufactories is equal to any other class, and that what inroads are made result from circumstances which may easily be altered. First, from the vicious influence of foremen and overlookers. Hence we say, Encourage female employment, by throwing open the superior situations to women; thus placing young girls under members of their own sex, they are preserved from a vicious influence, and you afford them a strong inducement to the formation of good habits by the prospect

of promotion. A second source of danger is the nature of the trade they are engaged in. Hence, we say, Encourage female employment, by directing it into the most suitable channels. Thirdly, we are told that the greatest cause of immorality is the promiscuous mixing of the sexes. Hence, also, we say, Encourage female employment, by insisting upon proper regulations being applied to factories; for surely there can be no reason why this danger may not be removed at once.

Another point upon which our opponents have insisted strongly is, that the employment of females is prejudicial to domestic happiness, and that it hinders them from acquiring a proper knowledge of domestic matters. Upon this point we shall quote the evidence of the author of "The Social and Industrial Condition of Women in the Middle and Lower Ranks," who is entitled to be heard on the subject. He says,—"*The justice of these ideas*" (those to which we have just referred) "*is disproved out and out*, by comparing the districts where the industrial employment of women prevails, with those districts where it is scarcely known. Take, for example, colliery districts, mining districts, towns of metal manufacture, seaport towns without fisheries, and hamlets for agricultural labourers, and you there find that the squalor, the thriftlessness, the ignorance, the dissipation, are far more universal than in towns and districts devoted to the manufacture of cotton, woollen, lace, and such like products. In the latter instance woman has abundant work; in the former, she has little or none. Slatternly habits, therefore, in the lower orders are not a consequence of the industrial employment of women, but constitute an evil to be dealt with on its own grounds. It is just a characteristic of human nature in a poor and neglected population, and must be checked, not by declaiming against female industry, which, so far as it goes, is rather an antidote, but by addressing ourselves to the evil itself." "Facts like these," as our astute friend, the "Factory Clerk," observes, "are worth a gross of arguments."

There are many other matters we should like to have touched upon, but our friends on the negative side have said all that is necessary; and we do not wish to imitate the affirmative writers by going over the same ground again and again. In conclusion, we beg our readers to give the subject their calm and *unprejudiced* attention. It is one of great social, moral, and economic importance; it presses for a solution; and the minds of all thinking men and women ought to be made up on the subject. X. Y. Z.

#### NEGATIVE REPLY.

THIS question, like all others upon social economy, has elicited a great variety of opinions. Our opponents have argued in favour of all employments for females, and the most unconditional freedom and independency of females; they have also advocated their employment only in particular departments of trade, commerce, and agriculture: again, others argue that they should only be

employed in some classes of trade and commerce, and these only "between the school and the hymeneal altar:" with such a division in the camp of our enemy our campaign has not only been easy, but our victory is certain. For the present purpose we may with propriety assume that the relative proportions of the sexes are equal or nearly so. We may also assume that the present requirements of agriculture are provided for most amply by the male sex, since the labour of men and boys in agriculture is so poorly paid, the average wage of the full-grown farm labourer being under ten shillings per week, a sum scarcely sufficient to board, lodge, and clothe the single man, and much more inadequate to provide home, food, and dress for a wife and family, besides the labourer himself. Still farther we may assume that many classes of trade and commerce, of the character suitable to the physical ability of the female, are also well supplied with male labourers, because they are so ill paid, and such great numbers are constantly floating on the labour market seeking employment, and often in vain. From these assumptions—which, we submit, are so well-grounded, that argument to prove them would be insulting to the common sense of the reader—we are justified in affirming that the introduction of the whole female sex, or any portion of them, into all these trades, would be so much unmitigated evil, and tend to the reduction of wages, the loss of wealth to the country by the amount of that reduction, and prove most destructive to the social, moral, and material condition of the people at large: indeed, what other result could be possible, if there is a relatively fixed sum for the payment of all the labour of the country, which there most assuredly is by natural necessity? then, the division of that sum into so many more parts, or the reduction of that sum by cheapening the value of the integral parts of the labour of the country—then, we say, poverty, wretchedness, misery, and national decay, must become an inevitable necessity.

It is of no use for us to disguise the fact by using periphrastic language to darken wisdom. In the old popular maxim, a spade is a spade, call it by what name you may; so a week's wage of seven shillings instead of ten is a reduction, a loss, a sacrifice of the country's wealth, call it how we will; and it will, of necessity, abridge the comforts of the labourer's home, however finely designated by false philanthropists and wordy popularity-seekers. Having thus taken a look at that picture, let us take a look on this,—the employments congenial to females. Domestic and home labours are so ill supplied, and so badly served, that appropriate labourers receive, on an average, nearly as much wage, besides board and lodging, as the full-grown prize farm-labourer obtains for his exemplary labours, without board and lodging:—more glaring proof of the fatuity of our opponents could not be imagined by the most dreamy novelist.

Considering these circumstances in their proper light, we are bound to claim for ourselves the right and title, in all its fulness, as champions for the rights, liberties, and privileges of females, despite the unkind prejudice of Dinah Morris thereanent.

In discharge of our present duty, we proceed to a short analysis of the arguments of the opposing writers; and first we have the unknown quantity, X. Y. Z., to deal with. If he is not, as his *nom de plume* implies, at least his argument is, an unknown or undefined quantity, for he includes all females and all kinds of labour within the limits of his advocacy; thus, by attempting to prove all things, he proves nothing—his choice is, therefore, a dilemma, either to be the unknown or the undefined quantity, X. Y. Z., in very deed and truth. Can X. Y. Z. advocate that all females, married or single, should be employed in all kinds of labour? Are there not times in the life of married females when any continued labour is most painful to the feelings, both morally and physically? and are there not labours revolting to the feelings, injurious to the body, and debasing in the extreme to females, which are not so when those duties are performed by males? What would X. Y. Z. say to his sister, or his mother, or his wife, or his daughter being employed as a miner, a coal-whipper, a mason's labourer, a furnace-woman, a puddler, a glass maker, a foundry caster, or any other of the many laborious and injurious trades? We opine this would so shock his sensibility, that he would throw overboard that contraband philanthropy with which he has freighted his *small bark*, and most heartily join the true female friends in their advocacy of opposite doctrines to those he now holds. G. H. S. next demands our attention. He charges us with inconsistency; but why he should do this, we are at a loss to know: we do advocate that all females should be employed in domestic or educational duties alone; and we hold that this is the only proper sphere in which females should be engaged; we have a firm conviction that, in her proper sphere, woman cannot be equalled by the opposite sex, neither in mental, moral, nor physical ability, and it is only when she is compared with man in an unfair manner, and beyond her sphere, that she suffers by the comparison; many things have become now-a-days matters of trade which are rightly within the scope of the domestic and educational sphere, and we would either advocate that these trades be reduced to their normal position, or that females should exclusively occupy those spheres. The evil made so notorious by Hood, in his "Song of the Shirt," is one which would be rectified by the above means. G. H. S. refers to that condition of the respectable middle class and working girl as anomalous, humiliating, and unjust,—to what cause may this be attributed? Is it not to the false, flashy, and would-be-fine way of educating decent girls? Are they not taught to ape the manners and pretensions of those above them? And are not industrial pursuits ignored by parents and governesses too? Is it not considered very discreditable for a boarding-school miss, or even for a day-school miss, to hint at industrial occupation at home? The consequence necessarily follows, that a girl so educated would prefer to work in a retail shop, in a warehouse, or manufactory, who would scorn to clean a house, cook a potato, roast a joint, make her own dress, or her husband's linen. If such a one were closely cross-ques-



tioned as to her reason for such a preference, she would blushing confess that she had never been taught, and therefore her preference for other labour was chiefly owing to the fact of her ignorance of domestic duties, and in trade employment her pride was not wounded by her ignorance, because there she was expected to learn, and would be taught as a matter of duty. Make it a matter of duty for all young females in the middle and lower classes to learn domestic duties, and then those duties would not only be performed well, but would be considered respectable and honourable for each one in her proper sphere. As to the appeal of G. H. E. to past experience about stage-coaches, railroads, and national ruin, there is no analogy, and therefore it can be no support to any argument, either *pro* or *con.*, on the present occasion.

Gallantry forbids we should offer any remarks upon the pungent letter of "Dinah Morris," farther than to thank her for the compliment she has paid us, and the good feeling she has manifested in her sensible remarks respecting the "true vocation" of woman, and the proper education of the young of her own sex. We think very little would make her a full convert to our views, as she is more than half a convert already.

G. A. H. E.'s opening remarks, upon the "social evil" tendencies of want of employment in manufacturing pursuits, are all on the wrong side of the question. We say, educate females, and habituate them to consider all domestic duties and employments honourable, and the social evil will be reduced to a minimum point; but withdraw woman from her proper sphere, and place her in the very unfavourable circumstances of crowded workrooms and workshops, and you thereby increase that evil to a maximum.

G. A. H. E. argues that because man has invaded the sphere of woman in some cases, therefore woman ought to invade his sphere in many more. This is arguing most strangely, but certainly neither logically nor reasonably, — because man has done one wrong; woman must do many wrongs, and be justified therein. Surely a second Daniel has come judgment! He also declaims against "depriving woman of her legitimate position in society," and yet he is desirous, more than his associates, if possible, to deprive her of her legitimate position; and, in doing so, advocates that she should deprive man of his legitimate position, the duty and the ability to provide for his wife and daughters, while the latter may be under his roof. A case of actual fact we well remember once coming under our own notice, pertinent to this reasoning of G. A. H. E. It is the practice in one, if not in many, of our large towns, for women to perform certain branches of trade at their own homes. We visited one of these homes in the ordinary course of our daily duty, and found the husband performing the part of nurse to an infant of a few months old, while the wife, with several of her work-girls, was following her trade, by means of which the home of both was well nigh supported. If G. A. H. E. has sufficient temerity to advocate such a state of things as this, which we contend he does

in his paper, we think his case is hopeless in the extreme; he must, indeed, be reduced to a sad necessity if he is compelled to adopt such an argument in support of his theory. If females are employed in home duties, either in the homes of their parents or in the households of others, we say it is a foul slander upon the fair sex to call them "consumers" and not producers; where would be the personal and home comfort, which G. A. H. E. now enjoys, if the performers of the domestic duties of his home are simply consumers, not producers? Did all those comforts rise into being and permanency like the weeds in the sluggard's garden? or were they not the result of careful, painstaking labour by some female hands? Oh, shame! to treat with such contempt the greatest blessings with which the creating fiat of Deity has blessed this glorious old earth of ours!

Space admonishes, and we must conclude. Our advocacy of this question is prompted by the strong desire to prevent the further degradation of the bright blossoms of humanity—lovely women. We are sure no love, no care, no comfort, no joy is like that which flows from and is part of that overflowing spring of affection—woman's heart. To harden that heart by the toils, turmoils, and callosities of trade and commerce is the most diabolical cruelty the world has seen, the heart of man conceived, or the vilest demon could rejoice over. Believing these things, most heartily do we affirm that females ought not to be employed in agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial pursuits, which is our thesis. Reader, we ask your approbation, and we know we shall not ask in vain. L'OUVRIER.

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## The Essayist.

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### ON THE DEFINITION OF POETRY.\*

It is a curious thing, that while there are few persons who do not love Poetry, there are few who, if asked, would be able to give an intelligible definition of the term. Like some of those delicacies with which nature and art furnish our tables, we feel its sweetness, and acknowledge its refreshing influence, but seldom think of inquiring how produced, or of what elements composed:

\* This essay was recently read at one of the meetings of the Literary Association in connection with the Rev. Mr. Pulsford's congregation, Albany Street, Edinburgh; it formed the opening paper in a discussion upon the above subject, and was followed by a very animated and interesting conversation. We send it to the *British Controversialist*, simply as we composed it for that occasion; and should any of our members then present, or any others to whom the subject may be interesting, think proper to favour us with a reply, we shall have much pleasure in being either supported in our views, or in being corrected by them.

more than this—of all the votaries of the muse, whether *poets*, or poetasters, who might *attempt* to give a definition of their favourite subject of study, we should have difficulty in finding two who would define it in all respects alike. Most will agree as to the refining and pleasure-yielding power of poetry; no two will do so on the nature or first principles of that which pleases and instructs.

In the present discussion, therefore, there is not much chance of my definition being accepted, while there is every reason to expect that many will differ no less from me than from one another, in their ideas of its character. In commencing our definition, then, we would premise,—That we are so constituted in mind and body, as to be made susceptible of impressions from external causes, which operate upon the imagination and finer feelings, through the medium of the eye and ear—such impressions varying in their nature and durability according to the nature of the causes which produce them. These causes exist in the mental, moral, and material universe, in the varied beauties and other soul-moving phenomena of nature, and in those resplendent virtues and intellectual beauties, which we see sometimes manifested in the human character.

In the contemplation of nature there are qualities in the phenomena presented to the eye and ear, which give rise to pleasurable or painful emotions within us: to those which are pleasant or agreeable, we apply the terms beautiful, sublime, splendid, lovely, charming, or such other adjectives as will most forcibly give utterance or expression to the feelings which the character of such phenomena inspire; while such as are in their nature painful or disagreeable to witness, we pronounce deformed, awful, shocking, or repulsive to the feelings,—similar terms being applied to such phenomena witnessed in the human character and actions, the moral and intellectual world, as give rise to similar emotions within us in their contemplation.

Now, it is in the influencing principle subsisting in the different appearances of nature, animate and inanimate, that poetry has its being, and may be defined simply as that name which is given to the language expressed in the aspect of all that we feel to be sublime, lovely, and soul-moving in the universe, which language is heard and interpreted in the feelings excited within us when viewed in their endless variety of forms.

To the minds of some, poetry is a term which embraces, in its signification, no more than that which appears in literature, or emanates from the mind of the literary bard; but than this idea nothing can be more absurd; for the influence which nature everywhere exercises over the mind of man, moving it pleasingly or powerfully is poetry. The varied manifestations of human character and passion—the humane and heroic, the beautiful and great, the self-sacrificing, awe-inspiring, and other passion-exciting features in man's character and volitions, is poetry; whatever is beautiful in matter and in mind, whatever raises in its con-

templation the soul to God, and most discovers in its constitution the glorious perfections of its Creator, is, in the highest and strictest sense of the term, poetry.

Poetry, therefore, in its simplest and purest form, is that subtle and fascinating influence pervading every object which decorates the gorgeous temple of nature,—that voice which emanates from thousands of interesting objects everywhere surrounding us in the heavens and on the earth, all of which proclaim unceasingly the wisdom, power, and goodness of their great Creator. This voice, pleasant and instructive to all, the *Poet* hears with rapture, and drinks into his soul with such effect, that he is constrained to echo it back from his bosom in strains calculated to awaken emotions in the minds of others similar to those which he himself experienced in the actual contemplation of what he portrays.

It is thus that the works of the poet have ever been received with pleasure by all classes of society : for his descriptive pictures, being all drawn from existing realities, although combined into new forms of beauty, present to the mental eye scenes at once attractive and edifying, and in which the imagination revels with a delight which no other form of literary composition can produce.

This brings us to the consideration of poetry, as we receive it through the medium of literature, or as it proceeds from the creative fancy of the bard. Poetry in this sense is generally better understood than in the higher one of which we have been speaking ; nevertheless, it may be a harder task for us to define its character in this form satisfactorily to the minds of others, than it has been to describe the poetry of nature.

It is thought by many people who read poetry, that to be able to express himself freely and readily in verse or rhyme, and to clothe his thoughts or sentences in rhythm, are the chief qualifications of the poet, and that these forms of literary composition, more than the ideas expressed therein, constitute true poetry. This is a mistake. One man may be neither able to rhyme, nor versify with readiness, and yet be a true poet ; while another may be able to do both with readiness, and yet be no poet at all. To rhyme and versify is a mere mechanical art, which may be acquired : to have a quick, clear, and true perception of character, the nature of things, and of their relations and analogies, is a faculty which the Almighty endows some with, and not others—at least, not in the same degree. The poet who is worthy of the name is no mere mechanician, who performs his work by prescribed rules and laboriously acquired ability ; for true poetry is not the production of mere art, but of heaven-gifted genius, the offspring of a mind endowed with peculiar properties, an intellect more subtle and refined than that with which the common mass is gifted, and more keenly alive to the perception of moral and physical beauty and deformity, to similitudes or analogies in mind and matter, and possessing, in a more spiritualized and higher degree, all the

finer sensibilities of our nature. The true poet, as if by a natural instinct, is drawn to, and impelled to worship at, the shrine of beauty, and while so, is no less powerfully inspired to communicate, in song, his thoughts and feelings to others of his species; nay, more—while he draws, in impassioned sentiment, his descriptive pictures of the beautiful, sublime, and awe-inspiring in the universe (which does exist), his fertile fancy teems with imagery, strange, novel, and supernatural, which have no existence anywhere in the forms in which he conceives them, save only in his own prolific imagination.

The true poet not only passionately loves the varied phenomena of nature, but he loves to depict its beauties, heightened by the colours of the imagination; to invest objects, really attractive in themselves, with qualities which do not naturally belong to them; but which, so invested, their attractions may be rendered more powerful and effective. In describing nature, human character, or incident, he is not contented with presenting to his readers the bare detail of the facts, as they came under his own immediate observation, however interesting the naked truth might be; but, with the desire to agitate or excite the feelings in the most agreeable manner possible, he clothes the objects he is depicting with attributes foreign to their nature, in order that, so decorated, they may be presented to the mental eye with additional and heightened beauty and interest. He therefore culls, as we have said, from the moral and physical worlds beauties which do exist, and moulds them into new and superior forms, which, except in the poet's imagination, do not exist; such borrowed beauties or qualities being the properties of existing realities, certainly; but when associated with the objects they are intended to embellish or decorate, presenting, in combination, forms more striking and delightful by far than nature, *not so adorned*, holds forth to the physical eye.

Or, if we are not plain enough, he describes beauties by beauties, objects by objects, and qualities in one subject by those belonging to another,—thus: That which has not life in itself, he will invest with living and oftentimes with moral attributes, making the attractive in its own nature more so, by clothing it in the higher graces of other natures; the poetry consisting in the *power* which such similes possess to give delight to the minds of those who are capable of perceiving and appreciating their beauty. We will give an illustration or two of our meaning. There are few who are insensible to the beauty of the celestial orbs. The sun, the moon, and the stars are objects which all delight to look upon. Well, whatever they are in their own nature, to us they *appear* simply lights, “the greater ruling the day and the lesser the night;” so that in speaking of them the unpoetical, who delight not in using figures of speech, might merely say, “The night was clear, the moon and the stars shone brightly;” or, “The morning was fine, the sun rose without a cloud;” or, “It was a fine, sunshiny morning.” These or similar

terms are commonly used by the common mass to express their ideas of the weather, or the beauty of the heavenly bodies: and, as far as their design is concerned, they answer the purpose. The poet, in his moments of inspiration, speaks differently, fully aware that in their brilliancy they possess their own inherent power to give delight to the rational and sensitive beholder; and knowing that, when he presents their glorious attractions to the imagination of his readers, through the medium of words, in his poems, they will most certainly realize mentally the perception of beauties which they have often physically beheld, and are, therefore, well acquainted with. In *addition* to these *natural* attractions, he presents, while speaking of them, *others* which are *not* natural to them, but which, by his poetic imagery, he conveys to the minds of his readers at the same time; the mind, with its wonderful powers of conception and comprehension, taking in at once the view of both the natural and borrowed splendours, or other qualities with which he invests them, and thus realizing heightened pleasure from the perception of his combined or associated figures (in the power of whose impressibility the poetry subsists).

In Shakspeare's play of "King Henry IV.," the great poet says of the solar orb,—

"Yet herein will I imitate the sun;  
Who doth permit the base contagious clouds  
To smother up his beauty from the world;  
That, when he please again to be himself,  
Being wanted, he may be more wonder'd at,  
By breaking through the foul and ugly mists  
Of vapours, that did seem to strangle him."

Here the immortal bard gives to the sun consciousness, will, purpose, passion, all of which is highly figurative, and tells upon the mind with great practical force, seeing that we are struck with the idea of the lamp of day being invested with human attributes, which clothing the judgment finds no fault with, seeing that it is the borrowed garb of poesy.

In the play of "Richard II.," Shakspeare, in a fine passage, speaks of the solar orb in similar terms:—

"See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,  
As doth the blushing discontented sun  
From out the fiery portal of the east,  
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent  
To dim his glory, and to stain the track  
Of his bright passage to the occident."

And again:—

"How bloodily the sun begins to peer  
Above yon busky hill!  
*The day looks pale at his distemperature;*"

or, in other words, the day looks frightened at its lord's angry and menacing aspect; a truly novel and striking fancy, the poetry of

which consists, as in the others quoted, in investing natural objects with qualities which do not naturally belong to them, and by this means working upon our imagination and feelings in a manner more powerfully and pleasingly than could have been effected without such figure of speech.

We could multiply quotations without number, both from this and other authors, all proving the same fact, viz., that one of the striking characteristics of descriptive poetry is, as we have said, the art of heightening the effect which the depiction of some moving natural objects naturally produce, by investing them with qualities or attributes which naturally they do not possess, thus increasing to the beholders the pleasure in their mental perception by associations of objects and properties both novel and striking.

We have thus so far spoken of the poetry of nature and that of art, meaning by the term art the poet's power of producing pictures in which the delightful in their aspect are not natural in their combinations. We have said there is a power in natural phenomena to move us in their contemplation, one way or other, strongly, exciting in our mental nature either delight, awe, wonder, pity, fear, or sympathy.

These phenomena are either mental, moral, or physical, being witnessed sometimes in the workings of inanimate nature, and sometimes in the character, volitions, and the circumstances which diversify and distinguish the life of man. We have further affirmed that whatever is beautiful in mind and matter,—whatever is pleasing, refining, and capable of moving for the better the finer feelings of our nature,—whatever in the moral and physical universe is capable, in its contemplation, of raising the soul to God, and softening and improving the rude and unpolished features of the human mind, whether it be nature as it is, or nature as the poet represents it, is poetry in the truest sense of the term.

Here we might reasonably stop, having said enough to form the groundwork of a discussion upon this interesting topic; but, were we to do so, we fear that we might give occasion to our critics to say, that in speaking of poetry under the designations of natural and descriptive only, and leaving untouched that class of it so much esteemed, and which is of so high a character—the conceptive, of which the Epic is the purest type,—we had thus shown a deficiency of knowledge regarding the subject in hand. But of the conceptive little more need be said, save that the poet aims at accomplishing the same ends, namely, of pleasing, edifying, and improving his readers by fictitious history, that he endeavours to realize by the faithful and embellished description of the true; for, knowing all those features or passions in human nature, which, in their workings, have produced the best and the worst results to mankind individually and collectively, and failing readily to find such a copious supply of facts as will answer his purpose, he draws upon his fancy, and *creates* character and incident, forming out of the *finest* and *worst* features of moral and intellectual natures characters or beings

so much better or worse than we find in this world—so much more beautiful or hideous—that his pictures, realized in the mirror of the imagination, either charm us into a greater love of the excellence of virtue, or awaken within us a deeper sense and greater hatred of the deformity of vice, while they also improve our taste for the beautiful in God's works, and in all that art produces in imitation of them. In this respect the aim of the artist and the literary poet is one, though the means they employ to accomplish their ends different.

J. D.

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## The Reviewer.

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*Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe.* By GEORGE ELIOT, Author of "Adam Bede," &c., &c. William Blackwood & Sons: London and Edinburgh. 1861.

NEVER was our grandfathers' standard objection to all novels, that they give false views of life, less applicable than now. The supernatural, which constitutes the principal element in works of the "Castle of Otranto," or "magic lanthorn" school, is now altogether eschewed, and the romantic attachments of a noble baron or of a "female markis," to use Sam Weller's expression, excite infinitely less curiosity and interest than the flirtations of a pretty dairymaid and the passionate love of a village carpenter. The philosophical critic and the unsophisticated young lady agree in accepting the degree and extent of its "realism," as our modern phrase is, as the test of a novel's excellence. The one tries the story and the actors by the laws of human nature and his experience of life, while the highest praise the other can bestow is, "It's so natural." The effect of this tendency is most healthy upon the reader and upon the novel. It has raised this description of writing to a higher position than it ever occupied before, so that whereas formerly if a novel was admitted as fit to be read at all, it was only as one of those which Bacon says are to be "tasted" or "swallowed;" now not a few of them require to be "chewed and digested." Amongst these we class those of George Eliot.

One important result of this tendency has been the limitation of the exercise of an author's power to a much narrower sphere. Excellence is only attainable in those particular fields which have been made the objects of special and minute observation. Thus we find Mr. Thackeray occupied with the same descriptions of life and character in his latest novel as in those by which he won his earliest and greatest successes. Mr. Dickens has failed ever since he ceased to regard low city and town life as offering the most legitimate



opportunities for the exercise of his powers. George Eliot has at present confined himself (herself?) almost exclusively to the delineation of country life and manners. This is his *forte*. In it he has surpassed all his predecessors. He has brought to the task a breadth of conception, analytical power, minuteness, and truthfulness of observation, humour, pathos, and descriptive power never surpassed.

Remembering the aim and purpose of the book, we consider "Silas Marner" faultless. The author has steered clear of the difficulties which disfigured "The Mill on the Floss," and has produced a work in some respects superior, and in all respects but one equal to "Adam Bede." It is only half the length of that famous book; and where story, characters, and plot are so excellent, brevity cannot be considered a virtue, unless, for our consolation, we may suppose the condensing power, which has restricted it to its present limits, has saved the reader from that unnecessary prolixity, that tendency to *spin out* a narrative, which often tires us in our best novelists. We shall not be so unjust to our readers as to give them the story here, and so detract from their pleasure in reading the book itself. We must give one or two extracts to show the old power is still in full fruition. Here is a dialogue on ghosts.

"Aye, but there's more going on in the stables than what folks see by daylight, eh, Mr. Macey?" said the landlord.

"Aye, aye; go that way of a dark night, that's all," said Mr. Macey, winking mysteriously; "and then make believe, if you like, as you didn't see light in the stables, nor hear the stamping o' the horses, nor the cracking o' the whips, and howling too, if it's tow'r't daybreak. "Cliff's Holiday" has been the name of it ever sin' I were a boy; that's to say, some said it was the holiday Old Harry gives him from roasting like. That's what my father told me, and he was a reasonable man, *though there's folks now-a-days know what happened afore they were born better nor they know their own business.*"

"What do you say to that, eh, Dowlas?" said the landlord, turning to the farrier, who was swelling with impatience for his cue. "There's a nut for you to crack!"

"Mr. Dowlas was the negative spirit of the company, and was proud of his position."

"Say? I say what a man *should* say as doesn't shut his eyes to look at a finger-post. I say, as I'm ready to wager any man ten pound, if he'll stand out wi' me any dry night in the pasture before the warren stables, as we shall neither see lights nor hear noises, if it isn't the blowing of our own noses. That's what I say, and I've said it many a time; but there's nobody 'ull venture a ten-pun' note on their ghoses as they make so sure of."

"Why, Dowlas, that's easy betting, that is," said Ben Waithrop; "you might as well bet a man as he wouldn't catch the rheumatise if he stood up to's neck in the pool of a frosty night. It 'ud be fine fun for a man to win his bet as he'd catch the rheumatise. Folks as believe in "Cliff's Holiday" aren't going to venture near it for a matter of ten pound."

"If Master Dowlas wants to know the truth on it," said Mr. Macey, with a sarcastic smile, tapping his thumbs together, "he's no call to lay any bet—let him go and stan' by himself, there's nobody 'ull hinder him; and then he can let the parish'ners know if they're wrong."

"Thank you! I'm obliged to you," said the farrier, with a scowl of scorn. 'If folks are fools it's no business o' mine. I don't want to make out the truth about ghos'es. I know it a'ready. But I'm not against a bet, fair and open. Let any man bet me ten pound as I shall see "Cliff's Holiday," and I'll go and stand by myself. I want no company. I'd as lief do it as I'd fill this pipe.'

"Ah! but who's to watch you, Dowlas, and see you do it? That's no fair bet," said the butcher.

"No fair bet!" replied Mr. Dowlas, angrily. 'I should like to hear any man stand up and say I want to be unfair. Come, now, Master Lunday, I should like to hear you say it.'

"Very like you would," said the butcher. 'But it's no business o' mine. You're none o' my bargains, and I aren't a going to try and bate your price. If anybody 'll bid for you at your own vallying, let him. I'm for peace and quietness, I am.'

"Yes, that's what every yapping cur is, when you hold a stick up at him," said the farrier. 'But I'm afraid o' neither man nor ghost, and I'm ready to lay a fair bet. I aren't a turntail cur.'

"Ay, but there's this in it, Dowlas," said the landlord, speaking in a tone of much candour and tolerance, 'there's folks, i' my opinion, they can't see ghos'es, not if they stood as plain as a pikestaff before 'em, and there's reason i' that. For here's my wife, now, can't smell, not if she'd the strongest o' cheese under her nose. I never seed a ghost myself; but then I says to myself, "Very likely I haven't got the smell for 'em." I'm putting a ghost for a smell, or else contrariways; and so I am for holding with both sides; for, as I say, the truth lies between 'em, and if Dowlas was to go and stand, and say he'd never seen a wink of "Cliff's Holiday," I'd back him; and if anybody said "Cliff's Holiday" was certain sure, for all that, I'd back him too. For the *smell's* what I go by.'

"The landlord's analogical argument was not well received by the farrier—a man intensely opposed to a compromise.

"Tut, tut," he said, setting down his glass with refreshed irritation; 'what's the smell got to do with it? Did ever a ghost give a man a black eye? That's what I should like to know. If ghos'es want me to believe in 'em, let 'em leave off skulking i' the dark and i' lone places—let 'em come where there's company and candles.'

"As if ghos'es 'ud want to be believed in by anybody so ignorant," said Mr. Macey, in deep disgust at the farrier's gross incompetence to apprehend the conditions of ghostly phenomena."

Here is a prospective old maid's view of matrimony:—

"I've no opinion of the men, Miss Susan. I don't know what you have. But as for fretting and stewing as to what *they'll* think of you from morning till night, and making your life uneasy about what they're doing when they're out of your sight—as I tell Nancy, it's a folly no woman need be guilty of if she's a got good father and a good home. Let her leave it to them as have got no father and can't help themselves. As I say, Mr. Have-your-own-way is the best husband, and the only one I'll ever promise to obey."

The story is made to hang in a great measure upon the fortunes of a pretty golden-haired child. There George Eliot evinces more than even his usual power. We know nothing more charming in any novel than the pages devoted to these.

We need add no more, but beg all our readers to get the book, assuring them they will be more than repaid for the time spent in the reading.

Before leaving it, however, we desire to offer a word in season to all who follow the advice we have just given. Make the best of it. We are constantly hearing lamentations over the decadence of the powers of our most famous authors, and not without cause. We read their later works, and wonder why we are not moved into ecstasies as we were by the perusal of their early ones. Perhaps, in this instance also, "familiarity breeds contempt." The powers of any author may be unequal to the increased vigour and freshness we crave for after the novelty of style has ceased to charm. This may be. But we believe that the first fruition of a novelist's mind is generally the best. Scott never excelled "Waverley," nor has Thackeray surpassed "Vanity Fair," nor Dickens improved upon "Pickwick." We do not expect George Eliot will ever excel "Adam Bede." May we be disappointed!

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## The Topic.

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### IS LORD JOHN RUSSELL JUSTIFIED IN DECLINING TO BRING IN A REFORM BILL?

#### AFFIRMATIVE.

A minister may lead, but cannot drive, the House of Commons; and when he sees clearly that the members are determined upon a course, he best serves, not only the dignity of the cabinet, but the interest of the state, by abstaining from the introduction of measures which will be scornfully rejected. The present House of Commons, by its conduct last year, clearly declared that it will not reform itself at the bidding of a ministry, although their position may depend upon such action. Hence, to bring in again, this session, a question so thrown over in the last, is not to serve the interest of those principles to which Lord John Russell is still devoted, but really to place obstacles in the path of settlement.—F. A.

Whatever may be the private opinions held by a minister of the Crown in this country, we maintain he ought not to bring forward any measure which he

knows would result in the defeat and consequent resignation of the Government. Seeing, therefore, how opposed the present House of Commons is to any measure of Reform, we maintain that Lord John Russell acted wisely in stating, at the opening of the present session of Parliament, that he did not intend to introduce any bill for extending the suffrage.—C. O. O.

At first sight it might be thought that his Lordship was not justified in declining to bring in a Reform Bill, after his many promises; but as circumstances occasionally absolutely necessitate the abandonment of intentions, and as the people have latterly shown no particular, or, at all events, no sufficient, anxiety about the matter, I incline to the belief that Lord John Russell has acted, at the present time, entirely in accordance with the requirements of the actual state of things.—R. D. R.

To attempt the incessant agitation of

the Reform question in the House of Commons, after the experience of last session, would be, on the part of a veteran minister like Lord John Russell, neither statesmanlike nor justifiable. The real difficulty of any cabinet in dealing with this problem at present is the supineness of the legislature, only to be obviated by a decided "pressure from outside." The mistrust of the lower strata of our English society by the very class who ought to know them most intimately, namely, the middle classes (or labour-employers), as well as the intense political selfishness of the middle ranks, who, although themselves have but been wielding any real power in the House since their admission by the legislation of 1831—32, already vie with, if they do not out-do, in so-called Conservatism, the old country party; together with, and perhaps more than all, the real difficulty, whether property should have any higher political or enfranchised power than person, i.e., whether all within the pale of voters should be equal or graduated, as in municipal voting. In face of these elements of discord, is it wise to place Reform, like the Maynooth Grant, every session on the notice-book? We believe not.—Z.

"The wearer of the shoe knows where it pinches," is a pithy and truthful saying; and it is appropriate to the inquiry if Lord John Russell is justified in declining to bring in a Reform Bill during the present session of Parliament. The people themselves are best able to state their requirements; and when occasion required, past history shows that they were not slow in asserting and demanding their rights. In the present instance the cry for Reform has become so remarkably apathetic and unmeaning, that it is not surprising that ministers do not think it necessary to introduce a Reform Bill this year. Representatives are very unwilling to vote for a measure that would, perhaps, unseat them, unless their constituents took the matter up, and compelled them to enforce its suc-

cess. Until the people "out of doors" do really become desirous for an amendment of the present system of Reform, I think it to be useless for ministers to bring measures into the House that, in endeavouring to please every party, please none; and, therefore, deem Lord John Russell to be perfectly justified in the course he is adopting in declining to introduce such a measure.—J. C.

We think that recent events justify the course adopted by Lord John Russell, in declining to bring in a new Reform Bill. The indifference of the people to this subject has been unmistakably manifested. Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made by Reform Leagues and Unions to get up an excitement on the subject, the public remain apathetic. That Reform is unpopular with the House of Commons is proved by the recent divisions on Locke King's and Mr. Baines's motions; and the course Lord John has pursued on this subject is characterized alike by great foresight and prudence.—J. A.

To the important question selected for consideration in the "Topic" for this month, we unhesitatingly give an affirmative answer. We think the present government is fully justified in refusing to bring in a Reform Bill. Our constitution has well sustained the shock of time, and is now the envy of all civilized nations, and all classes of society are loud and earnest in its praise. Surely, then, all changes, and especially fundamental ones, should be introduced with very great caution, and after earnest and mature deliberation. Now, we believe that this country is not at present prepared for a large extension of the franchise. We are of opinion that such is at this moment the indifference generally prevailing on this subject, in spite of the clamours of windy demagogues, that had Lord John Russell brought a Reform Bill before the Commons in Parliament assembled, it would have been thrown out. Of patchwork Reform Bills we have a very great horror, and the Commons of England

have shown their sound judgment in rejecting them. Lord John Russell acted wisely in not bringing in a Reform Bill. He felt, doubtless, that that was not the proper time for so doing, and that the country is not now ripe for sweeping changes. Under these circumstances, we think that able statesman was fully justified in the course he adopted.—T. L. P.

Spite of the influence of the Reform Leagues, whose members can be numbered by units, it must be obvious to every right-thinking and unprejudiced mind, that at the present time the general body of the English people do not demand political Reform. Lord John Russell, seeing this to be the state of the public mind, very wisely forbore to bring before the House of Commons and the country another Reform Bill, feeling sure it would be rejected. Those Radical Reformers who look at universal suffrage as the Utopian scheme by which the world can at once be made all that is lovely and beautiful, and crime, ignorance, and superstition overthrown, hold that Lord John Russell is a traitor to his country in not giving them that which they required; but seeing that the great champion of Reform, John Bright, has at last come to the same conclusion as Lord John Russell, that the people of England are indifferent to Reform; seeing, also, that the House of Commons, by a large majority of 245 to 193, threw out Mr. Baines's £6 Franchise Bill, we must, looking to these facts, say that Lord John Russell acted judiciously and wisely in declining again to bring in a Reform Bill until such was asked for by the people.—NEMO.

#### NEGATIVE.

For two weighty reasons, Lord John Russell is *not* justified in declining to bring in a Reform Bill. First.—A large portion of the community, destitute of the franchise, is worthy of it; and it is the duty of the statesman to regard the just claims of the people whom he governs, and to endeavour to satisfy

them. Secondly.—Lord John Russell's reasons for not bringing in a Reform Bill are not justifiable ones. The plea that other interests demand so much attention, that a Reform Bill cannot receive a due measure thereof, is but an excuse for evading the subject. The real reason is an indisposition to introduce such a bill, and indifference regarding the whole subject of Reform.—S. S.

Lord John Russell has proved false and faithless to the people, to whom he was pledged to bring in a Reform Bill. He not only betrays them, but also reviles them; accuses them of apathy, which he alone has induced it by their placing implicit confidence in him. Bound in honour to fulfil his word, given to those whose influence elevated him and his colleagues to power, he not only refuses to try and carry a Reform Bill, but breaks his promises, and violates all that honourable men would hold most dear. Such a course is calculated to destroy all confidence in public men. When the day of reckoning comes, as come it will, public opinion will declare its verdict on this great question, and visit upon Lord John Russell its severest and most richly-deserved punishment, for his shameful abandonment of Reform. No man, be he friend or foe, will or can justify such conduct.—S. W.

Lord John Russell, in introducing the Reform Bill of 1852, said:—"I know there are some who say that it is better to legislate on a subject of this kind, when the passions of the people have been aroused; that then there is great discontent on the one side, and great fear on the other. I totally differ from that opinion. If we think it desirable to make any further extension of the right of voting, or to make any amendment in the state of the representation, it is well to consider the question with calmness, in a time of tranquillity, and to confer those franchises without compulsion, as the reward of past conduct, and as security for the permanence of the institutions of the country." If

the above be a true opinion, can we justify his lordship? When we remember the pitiable, as well as contemptible way, in which he told the House of Commons, on the first night of the session, that in consequence of the apathy of the people he should bring in no Reform Bill, and that there had been no "Indignation Meetings,"—can we reconcile the statement made in 1861 with the one of 1852, when he, like a true statesman, would have met the growing wants of a great people, and given them that which, by their intelligence and industry, they are entitled to? If such be political honesty and consistency, the people's eyes will soon be opened, and they will see how they have been trifled with, and learn to expect nothing from that class who alone reap the advantages of their industry, while it withholds all power from them.—SAM.

"It was his intention, at the earliest possible period, to introduce a bill containing provisions for the reduction of the franchise; nor was he discouraged by seeing that this bill was compelled to be withdrawn, for he had seen that, while measures for the advancement of liberal principles, in conformity with the opinions entertained by the majority of that House, had been frequently postponed, the result had been that, whenever they had obtained a victory, they had remained permanently enrolled amongst the statutes and institutions of the country. It was, therefore, with the utmost confidence that he looked forward to the carrying of a measure of parliamentary reform." Such were the sentiments uttered by Lord John Russell, in June, 1860, on the withdrawal of his ill-fated Reform Bill. In the whole of his speech, then, not one word is to be found about the alleged apathy of the Parliament and of the country, on the question of reform. He gave, as his reasons for withdrawing his bill, the want of time to carry it. He says:—"The Government had come to the conclusion that they should not be able to go through

the Committee, and obtain the assent of the House to the various clauses in the Reform Bill, in the time that could be devoted to it in the present session." Can anything be plainer than that the ministry intended, and were bound, as honest men, to re-introduce their bill this session? And can we account for their failure to do so in any other way than that they are influenced by a spirit of dishonesty and insincerity? Their disgraceful conduct, as regards Reform, is quite after the style of their vile truckling to the House of Lords in the matter of the Paper Duty, last year.—J. G. J.

Lord John Russell, after having frequently expressed his allegiance to Reform, nominally redeemed his pledge by introducing a bill which, in magnitude, scarcely exceeded that of his predecessors; but, apparently finding place preferable to Reform, he withdrew it, pleading, as an excuse, the apathy of the people, the natural result of so puny a measure. He owes his position, as a British minister, to his advocacy of Reform; but now that it threatens the stability of his official seat, he casts it from him, as useful only as a stepping-stone to that exalted and dizzy eminence "from which no honest man returns."—ZWINGLE.

When any man has promised to do a thing, he ought to perform it, were it only for truth's sake, and especially one so eminent as Lord John Russell. If we see the ablest statesmen of our land breaking promises which they have made to the public and to the nation, need we wonder if M.P.'s and others in humble circumstances follow their example? I think that the noble lord is not doing his duty in declining to bring in a bill which would grant the suffrage to the working classes, when we see thousands of hard-working men—not £10 householders—honest, industrious, and intelligent, who contribute so much to the wealth of this country, and who are taxed as much in proportion as other classes of the community.—W. G. C.

We think Lord John Russell is *not* justified in declining to bring in a Reform Bill, because, 1st,—the Government owned it to be needed, and consequently, promised it to the country; and, 2nd,—the people *do* desire a Reform Bill, notwithstanding Lord John's statement that they are not in earnest for it. The Derby Ministry owned that a Reform Bill was called for. Even this party felt that some further privileges must be extended to a country so enlightened and progressive; and, in acting upon those feelings, in their cramped and narrow-minded way, they brought forth a Reform Bill just the opposite to what the people required. But who pointed out the weak points of that bill, and carefully and properly asked the country to notice them, and see how they undermined the more healthy propositions contained in it? It was Lord John Russell, the leader of the succeeding and present Government, who overthrew the Derby Administration because Englishmen *wanted* Reform—and a far more comprehensive Reform than the Derby Government proposed. This conduct implied a promise of Reform; and the vows of statesmen ought to be held as sacred

as those of other honourable men. But does Lord John Russell think that the germs of revolution must swell ere a Reform Bill can be carried through both Houses? And because this is not so, is that a proof that the people are not in earnest for Reform? The country, it is true, is not agitated now as in 1831-2, when Macaulay's eloquent tongue sounded its warnings in the Lower House, and drew the probabilities of the future from the experiences of the past, in this and other countries. But is it, therefore, certain that the country may not now become as excited as it then was? We believe that Government acts wisely and justly which meets the first approaches of a revolutionary tide, and saves the people from its flood of envy and of passion, ere their exasperation throws them upon its mighty waves. The public meetings constantly taking place in the larger towns, show that the people *are* in earnest for Reform; working men of intelligence and respectability co-operating and forming societies, powerful and enduring, are determined to obtain a voice in the British Government; and Lord John's late policy has but strengthened their determination.—HARWOOD.

## The Societies' Section.

*Young Men's Literary Association.*—*Dublin Athenæum.*—On the 11th of February, the opening meeting of the spring session of this society was held in the rooms of the Dublin Athenæum, Anglesea Street, when a large number of members and their friends attended. The proceedings having been opened with prayer and the confirmation of the minutes of the previous meeting, Mr. G. H. Smith delivered an address upon the subject of the *British Controversialist*, and in the course of his remarks traced the history of that Magazine from its first starting to the close of the past year, and noticed the leading features of its

management. The lecturer then showed how advantageous the perusal of its pages would prove to members of Young Men's Associations generally, who in it would find interesting illustrations of the manner in which essays, debates, &c., should be undertaken and prepared. While fully admitting that in debates carried on at the meetings of societies the remarks made should be extempore, Mr. Smith showed that great benefit resulted to the young mind from the reading of well written debates, such as those which from month to month graced the pages of the *Controversialist*, because arguments

which, from the lips of a speaker, appeared sound and apposite, might, if placed before the eye in black and white, turn out to be fallacious and unmeaning. The lecturer then noticed the "Topic" department of the Magazine, and characterized it as one of the greatest and most practical helps ever offered to members of Literary Associations. Its study would induce in them habits of condensation and sound thought, which would result in the improvement of their essays and remarks, for it would require more reflection to enable them to give their reasons on any question briefly and intelligibly, than it would to speak for twenty minutes on the same subject. At the conclusion of the address the following

resolution was passed unanimously:—"That the Library Committee of the Dublin Athenæum be requested to procure, and have placed in the library, all the back volumes of the *British Controversialist*, and that they be also requested to have the monthly parts placed in the reading-room, as they are issued." The meeting shortly afterwards terminated, many of the members expressing their intention of subscribing to a work which had been shown so fully and satisfactorily to meet their requirements as thinking, reasoning men. The Library Committee have since procured the back volumes, and notified their intention to have the current numbers placed in the reading-room, pursuant to the above resolution.

## LITERARY NOTES.

Sir A. Alison, historian of Europe and sheriff of Glasgow,—pardon the anti-climax,—is employed on a "Biography of Lord Castlereagh."

General Grey is about to publish a life of his father, the Reform Bill Earl Grey.

The complete works of Thos. Hood, the elder, are to be issued in uniform vols., edited by his son.

A new serial from the laboratory of Messrs. Chambers, is talked of; hence, probably, the immigration of one of the brothers (Robert) recently to London.

The *Temple Bar* story, "For Better, for Worse," is said to be written by Miss Power, a niece of the late Countess of Blessington.

Thackeray, it is said, is to take up "The History of England," at the point where death snatched the pen from Macaulay's hand.

In a new French drama, "Beatrix, the Madonna of Art," written expressly for her by M. E. Legouvé, one of the purest and best modern playwrights, Ristori has entranced Paris.

J. H. Walsh, editor of the *Field*, and author of "British Rural Sports," &c., (known as "Stonehenge"), is, in conjunction with "Pan," of the *Field*, to

issue shortly an extensive and erudite work on "The Horse."

It is reported that Dion Boucicault, actor and playwright, has netted upwards of £300 per week from "Colleen Bawn," an adaptation of the Limerick novelist, Gerald Griffin's (b. 1803; d. 1840) tale of incident and passion, "The Collegians," who scarcely got half the sum for the original authorship.

The *Daily News* gives currency to a report of the discovery of a genuine Shakspeare autograph, of date 1588.

Mrs. Oliphant (authoress of "Margaret Maitland," &c.) is preparing a "Life of the Rev. Edward Irving,"—Carlyle's fellow-teacher, Chalmers's assistant, Coleridge's disciple, and the mystic of the "Albury school of prophets." Born in Annan, 1792, died in Glasgow, 1832.

A copious polemic literature—like a flying cloud—has risen on the minds of controversy, stirred up by the "Essays and Reviews." Work after work is announced, almost daily.

Julius Frese has translated "The Mill on the Floss" into German.

Rev. Adam S. Farrar, M.A., Tutor of Wadham, is to be Bampton Lecturer for 1862.



The MSS. of Macaulay's last volume have been placed in the British Museum; and some of the latest pages he wrote are framed in glass, that the general public may see them.

T. F. Ellis, Esq., Recorder of Leeds, and one of Lord Macaulay's executors, died 5th April.

In Odessa there are newspapers published in Russian, French, German, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, and an Italian one is projected.

The Bannatyne Club, named after George Bannatyne (born 1545, died 1606), a collector of MS. literature, composed of Scottish literary antiquaries interested in the preservation of curious memorials of the taste of past ages, and other monuments of history, as might run the risk of perishing, and founded by Sir W. Scott in 1823, has been closed. On the evening of the 27th of March, a piece of silver plate and a purse of 350 sovereigns were presented to the secretary, Mr. David Laing, by Lord Neaves, in the name of the members.

Havaleck's statue, by Behnes, has been placed in Trafalgar Square, London.

It is stated that in Charles Dickens' last provincial reading tour, he cleared, exclusive of expenses, commission, &c., £20,000.

A second edition of Professor Emile Laisset's excellent translation of the works of Spinoza, first issued in 2 vols. 18mo. in 1842, has recently been issued by M. Charpentier, Paris.

G. H. Lewes, the biographer of Goethe, author of "The Noble Heart" &c., is preparing a volume of "Selections from Modern English Dramatists," with biographic and literary introductions from F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig. We hope its sale will not be confined to Germany alone.

The indefatigable and many-booked Master of Trinity, Dr. Whewell, has the third volume of his "Platonic Dialogues" in the press.

Rumours of a new poem by Alexander Smith, are in circulation; let us hope with "good foundation."

Rev. R. C. Jenkins is to issue "The Life of the Last of the Crusaders, Cardinal Tuban," a name not well-known to many people.

Pycroft's voluminosity is becoming prodigious! He has a new work, entitled "Agony Points," nearly out.

A fragment of the diary which John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, wrote during his imprisonment at Constance, 1415, was discovered in the Imperial Library at Prague, by Professor Hoffer. It is shortly to be translated into English.

The Guild of Literature and Art is about to be resuscitated.

Dr. Temple, who has the *place d'honneur* in the "Essays and Reviews," has just published the sermons preached in Rugby School Chapel, between 1858-60,—we presume as a silent protest against the present opinion of the public.

The name of the Longworth-Yelverton book is to be, "Martyrs of Circumstance."

A history of the Conservative party, from the defection of Peel to the resignation of Derby, 1859, is soon to be published.

While Matthew Arnold, Professor of Poetry, Oxford, has been lecturing about "translating Homer," Professor J. S. Blackie, of Edinburgh, translator of Goethe's "Faust," and the dramas of Eschylus, has set about doing it. His version, which is in the old ballad style and tone, will, probably, soon be published, at least in *part*.

In the parish church of Trotton, Sussex, a monumental inscription has recently been erected in memory of the bearer of a brilliant name and melancholy history,—Thomas Otway (1651—1685), the dramatist. His father was clergyman of that parish, and this tardy tribute has been set up by a relative's descendant.

"Balder," part ii., by Sydney Dobell (born 1824), author of "The Roman," 1850, &c., will shortly be issued.

An "authorized" memoir of Lord Macaulay is in preparation.

## Essays and Reviews.

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THE *genesis* of the work, of which we now resume our examination, has been given thus in the *Edinburgh Review*, by an author who evidently speaks from a knowledge of the facts, and who has not stated them in any way to the disadvantage of the writers : — “ In 1854, an enterprising publisher in London . . . started a series of ‘ Oxford’ and ‘ Cambridge Essays,’ to be contributed, with their names, by members of the two Universities. The speculation answered for a time. But, after the appearance of four volumes, the demand or the supply failed, and the series came to an end. In this conjuncture, it occurred, we believe, to one of the contributors, that the publication might be continued, but in a more contracted form. For many years past there has floated before the minds of the more liberal-minded English churchmen the vision of a journal which should treat of theological subjects in a manner resembling the free and scientific tone in which they are handled in France and Germany. Such a scheme was discussed in 1835, between Dr. Arnold and Archdeacon Hare. Whately, Hampden, and Pusey were proposed as possible contributors. One of its main objects was ‘ to make some beginning of biblical criticism, which, as far as relates to the Old Testament, was, in England, almost non-existent.’ The scheme of a liberal theological review, thus long delayed, fructified in the minds of three or four of those who had already furnished essays to the extinct series, and the result was a volume which appeared in the early spring of 1860, under the title of ‘ Essays and Reviews.’ Many scholars and divines were invited to contribute; but the number was, through various causes, reduced to seven, who were mostly unacquainted with each other. The first Essay having been preached, in substance, as an Oxford University sermon, in the previous year, was naturally ready before its companions, and hence its peculiar place. The last in the volume owed its position, no doubt, to the delays arising from the scantiness of leisure at the command of its able, but overtasked author. The order of the rest was equally accidental.”

The foregoing circumstantial narrative of the fortuitousness of the agglomeration of a series of papers, which are pervaded by a singular unity of purpose, sentiment, and co-fitness, being authoritatively given, is, of course, indisputable, and adds weight to our arguments of last month, on the *possibility* of miracles.

Though it is only a guess, we do not think we err far in believing that the editor and central spirit of the work—*ipse doli fabricator*—  
1861.

was and is the fourth Essayist, the Rev. Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D., Vicar of Great Staughton, Hants.\* This gentleman was, we believe, educated at Merchant Taylor's School, London, whence he went, on one of Sir Thomas White's thirty-seven scholarships, to St. John's College, Oxford, of which he has been a fellow and tutor. He took a second-class degree in letters in 1825. Between 1836—1838, and 1850—52, he was examiner in letters. During the five years, 1839—1844, he held the professorship of Anglo-Saxon. In 1842, he was one of the select preachers. He was collated, in 1850, by his college to his present charge, Staughton Magna, Hunts., of the annual value of £545, and he was Bampton Lecturer in 1851, when he chose for his subject "The Communion of Saints; an attempt to illustrate the true principles of Christian Union." These lectures, which are learned and striking, attracted less attention than they deserved; and they show, very conclusively, that their author had already let the cable of his creed slip—pretty considerably. They are free in speech, manner, faith, and style. Subsequently to this he appeared as a contributor to the "Oxford Essays," and wrote especially a noteworthy paper, entitled "Schemes of Christian Comprehension," on a subject somewhat similar to that which forms his present theme. This appearing, as it did, in a series of miscellaneous treatises, attracted less by its singularity than his present Review, which holds place amongst a distinctively theological set. Enough, however of *personalia*: let us proceed to examine the "Séances Historiques de Genève. The National Church."

IV. The Review starts with a statement of the differences between the two distinguished Genevese thinkers, Comte Léon de Gasparin and M. Bungener, upon *Multitudinism* and *Individualism*, and asserts, that "the questions at issue between these two Genevans are of wide christian concern, and especially to ourselves." There are times for change, and, in our day, many evils cohere to religion, which "have apparently not the remotest connection with the gospel. Hence grave doubts arise in the minds of really well-meaning persons, whether the secular future of humanity is necessarily bound up with the diffusion of christianity." "A very widespread alienation" from christianity, as "ordinarily presented in our churches and chapels," is said to exist, and "the ordinances of public worship, and (the) religious instruction provided" in them, are not used "to the extent we should expect, if they (the people) valued them highly, or if they were really adapted to the wants of *their nature as it is*." A desire for change, therefore, prevails, and it is declared "vain to seek to check that open discussion out of which alone any satisfactory settlement of them can issue." "The scorp-

\* Son of Rev. Harry Bristow Wilson, D.D., born in London, 1774, one of the four masters of Merchant Taylor's School, of which he wrote a history. In 1816 he was appointed rector of the united parishes of St. Mary Aldermary, and St. Thomas the Apostle. He was an antiquarian and religious writer. Died Nov. 21, 1854.

tial movements in this generation are the result of observation and thought, not of passion." The possibility, applicability, and need, is doubted of a "revelation to empires, pagan or even atheistic, of which the origin runs far back, beyond the historic records of Judea or the West," and that the gospel—"sound has gone into all the earth." These doubts are held to be legitimate.

"It has been customary to argue that, *a priori*, a supernatural revelation was to be expected at the time when Jesus Christ was manifested upon the earth, by reason of the exhaustion of all natural or unassisted human efforts for the amelioration of mankind." "It would not be very *tasteful*, as an exception to this description, to call Buddhism the gospel of India, preached to it five or six centuries before the gospel of Jesus;" "but, on the whole, it would be more like the realities of things." "Traditional christianity" fails us when we think "respecting the souls of heathendom;" and, regarding their salvation, we must judge "by our own moral instincts (rather) than from the express declarations of scripture writers, who had no such knowledge as is given to ourselves of the amplitude of the world." Not *creed*, but *character*, shall determine the destiny of man; and hence, many doctrinal statements "must be thrown into the background, if not abandoned." "The whole religious history of mankind" requires review, "and the form under which, and the machinery by which," christianity is to be spread, needs reconsideration. In primitive christianity "morals come before contemplation, and ethics before theoretics," and the three first gospels "embody more exact *traditions* of what He (Jesus) actually said than the fourth does." These "three synoptics" place us "at the very root of the gospel *tradition*." Some early Christians had no belief in a corporeal resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 12), but St. Paul argues with such elaborateness in that chapter, without expelling them from the church, and "it was only in an extreme case that he sanctioned excommunication for the cause of immorality." "From what has been said, we gather two important conclusions: 1stly, of the at least equal value of the christian life, as compared with the christian doctrine; and, 2ndly, of the retaining within the church both of those who were erroneous and defective in doctrine, and of those who were, by their lives, unworthy of their profession." "The apostolic churches were, therefore, multitudinous, and they early tended to become national churches."

"Doctrinal limitation"—"a principle at variance with true multitudinism"—"has since been the rule for almost all churches;" but is "not essential." It was the purpose of the gospel "to enter into the marrow of the national life; whereas heathenism had only decorated the surface of it;" though it, too, "had its national churches"—a form of life which "has shown itself in all nations when they have made any advance in civilization."

"In many cases, solemn inferences from the *figurative* expressions of the Hebrew literature have been crystallized into christian

doctrine," and in almost every age and country "the development of christianity necessarily followed the forms of the national life." "A national church need not, historically speaking, be *christian*" (!) It should supply "some positive elements in christianity on grounds more sure than the assumption of an objective faith once delivered to the saints." "The first article of the Church does not assert the inspiration of the Bible." *Canonical* "may mean either books ruled and determined by the Church, or regulative books," and, "though one say—the word of God is *contained in Scripture*"—"it does not follow that it is *co-extensive* with it." We are at liberty to distinguish the true from the false, the real from the imaginary, in it; "the dark patches of human passion and error which form a partial crust upon it, and the bright centre of spiritual truth within." "Ill consequences follow from not acknowledging freely the extent of the human element in the sacred books." "There were current in the primitive church very distinct christologies." "The freedom of opinion which belongs to the English nation, should be conceded to the English churchman." "The *act* of subscription is enjoined, but its effect or meaning (is) nowhere *plainly* laid down; and it does not seem to amount to more than an acceptance of the Articles of the Church as the formal law to which the subscriber is, *in some sense*, subject."

"The signification of subscription" is reduced to a minimum; of the law regarding it, we are told, "the meshes are too open for modern refinements," and it is suggested that both should be repealed as obsolete, and the utmost the Church should demand is this—"You shall not teach or proclaim in derogation of my formularies; it should not require *any* act which appears to signify 'I think!'" Thus the endowments of the Church would become more extensively circulative. "Speculative doctrines should be left to philosophical schools. A national church must be concerned with the ethical development of its members." Among the heathen, "all life was a worship" (!) Ideology is suggested as the best interpreter of Scripture, though it is confessed that within its limits, "critical or exegetical," there "lie infinite degrees of rational and irrational interpretation." "The ideologist may sometimes be thought sceptical, and *be* sceptical or doubtful;" "but discrepancies in narratives, scientific difficulties, defects in evidence, do not disturb him as they do the literalist." "Histories to some become parables to others, and facts to those are emblems to these." The impossibility of securing the salvation of all the members of any church is admitted, but it is hoped that at last—"all, both small and great, shall find a refuge in the bosom of the Universal Parent, to repose or be quickened into higher life in the ages to come, according to His will."

This Review is largely charged with casuistry, and is remarkable for its deficiency in straightforward honesty. It is ingeniously

composed to confuse the thoughts; and every here and there irrelevant digressions are introduced to distract attention, and to break for the moment the logical connection of thought. Yet several fallacies appear obtrusively throughout the process of his argument.

The Church is multitudinous only in relation to its *efforts* and its visible membership; but it is individualist in its *effects*, and in regard to the connection established between the believer and the Saviour. It accepts *both*, not *either*.

Church membership may be, and is, multitudinous; but Church teachership is distinctly individualist. It is a *sought* office. Undefined aims and thoughts cannot be allowed to the teachers, as to the members of a church, because the province of the one differs from the other, and the utility of the teacher would be destroyed by such a scheme of indefinite teacherhood—while the utility of a church is increased by the width of its stretch over the multitude to be taught.

Subscription is only *enforced* on those who present themselves as already convinced, as witness of their sincerity, and guarantees for their consistency; not on the unwilling or averse. The Church has an *end* in view, and has a right to choose (and to adhere to) its means. The honest acceptance of a creed is no barrier to further inquiry; but it is a security for its being careful, critical, and deliberate. It is an anchor on board a ship, that may be used if needful, and ought always to be there, ready for use.

In this Review, every objection mentioned as felt or thought is stated as if indubitably proven, and as if acknowledged as such by all great and good men; and, so far as this is false, the reasoning founded on it fails.

The general tenor of the Review is to encourage and cause a lax and dishonest style of subscription, and to promote a distinction between the *public* teaching and the *private* thinking of the clergy; and, so far as it tends to such a divorce of religious profession and common honesty, it must be wrong either in premises or conclusion. Religion is not only *holiness*, but *wholeness*.

We have devoted larger space to this Review than we have been (or shall be) able to give to the others, because it deals more with practical life than the others, and because we conceive the writer to be the chieftain and leader of those "rudimentary spirits—germinal souls," by whom this ideological neo-christianity is being propagated. We now turn to that on the "Mosaic Cosmogony." Its author, C. M. Goodwin, M.A., is the only Cambridge man among the writers. He is a member of the scholastic profession, we believe, and has been withheld by conscientious scruples from occupying a position in the Church. He is a gentleman of well-known attainments, of decided views, and of active and earnest mind. He signalizes the controversy between science and scripture.

V. "On the revival of science in the sixteenth century," some of its conclusions "were found to be at variance with popular and

long-established belief." "Protestant instincts, however, in the seventeenth century, were strongly in sympathy with the augmentation of science." "The brilliant progress of astronomical science subdued the minds of men; the controversy between faith and knowledge gradually fell to slumber." All the old difficulties "have recurred in the present century, in consequence of the growth of geology." Between science and scripture "the conciliators are not agreed among themselves, and each holds the views of the other to be untenable and unsafe." The author insists on "the frank recognition of the erroneous views of nature which it (the Bible) contains," and proposes "to analyze some of the popular conciliation theories." Physical science goes on unconcernedly pursuing its own paths; while theological science "maintains but a shivering existence, shouldered and jostled by the sturdy growths of modern thought." "Modern science (has) reversed nearly all the *primæ facie* views to which our senses lead us respecting the constitution of the universe." "Philosophy is reduced to mere guesses and possibilities, and pronounces nothing definite," but science maps out for us the azoic (life-wanting), the palæozoic (antique life), the secondary (composite growth), and the tertiary (present life type), periods of geologic progress. Of the Creation, he asserts that "in reality two distinct accounts are given us in the book of Genesis." "Neither astronomical nor geological science affects to state anything concerning the first origin of matter," and so on that point no question is raised. To "the first special creative command," it is objected that "light and the measurement of time are represented as existing before the manifestation of the sun." The work of the second day does not show that Moses "was aware that the sky is but transparent space." The most noticeable feature in the third day's work is "that trees and plants, destined for food, . . . are the earliest productions of the earth;" and on the fourth day two great lights were made, showing that vegetation had commenced, "independently of the warming influence of the sun." On the fifth day the waters "are called into productive activity, and bring forth fishes and marine animals, as also the birds of the air." On the sixth day the earth "brings forth living creatures, cattle, and reptiles, and also the beasts of the field, *i.e.*, the wild beasts." The formation of man is distinguished by a variation of the creative fiat—"Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." "Man is said to have been created male and female, and the narrative contains nothing to show that a single pair only is intended." In a note it is remarked, that "It is in the *second* narrative of creation that the formation of a single man out of the dust of the earth is described, and the *omission* to create a female at the same time is said to be repaired," and then we are informed in the text that "in the earliest view taken of creation, men and animals were supposed to have been, in their original condition, not carnivorous." "On the seventh day God rests from His work, and blesses the day of rest, a fact which is referred to in the commandment given from Sinai as the

ground of the observance of the sabbath rest *imposed upon the Hebrews*." So far Mr. Goodwin's analysis of the Genetic chapter of the universe, and then we are assured that its "meaning is, *primâ facie*, one wholly adverse to the present astronomical and geological views of the universe—the whole account is given from a different point of view from that which we now unavoidably take." "The task which sundry modern writers have imposed upon themselves is to prove that the Mosaic narrative, however apparently at variance with our knowledge, is essentially, and in fact true, although never understood properly until modern science supplied the necessary commentary and explanation." He then reviews the Chalmeric and Bucklandian "modes of conciliation, and decides that "it is needless to discuss the scientific probability" of them, and speaks of them as "reducing the noble description which has been the admiration of ages to a pitiful *caput mortuum* of empty verbiage." Hugh Miller's "Testimony of the Rocks" is next taken to task, as well as Archdeacon Pratt's "Science and Scripture not at Variance," to show that "theological geologists overthrow one another's theories;" and he asks, "How can it be otherwise, when the task proposed is to *evade* the plain meaning of language, and to introduce obscurity into one of the simplest stories ever told, for the sake of making it accord with the complex system of the universe which modern science has unfolded?" He asserts that "the writers of this school" represent the Mosaic narrative "as a series of elaborate equivocations"—a story which "palters with us in a double sense," and he thinks that it would be better if now and hereafter we should recognize it as "not an authentic utterance of Divine knowledge, but a human utterance, which it has pleased Providence to use in a special way for the education of mankind."

The argument that, as the theories of theological geologists "are at variance with each other, they are mutually destructive," has been shown to be fallacious by Archdeacon Pratt, thus: "Newton's theory of gravitation and Descartes's theory of vortices being at variance, are mutually destructive, and therefore neither is true,"\* besides being replied to thus:—"Let it be observed that the four authors Mr. Goodwin compares concur in considering (1) that the Mosaic account is true; (2) that it was communicated to the writer by inspiration; (3) that it teaches that matter is not eternal; (4) that God created it in the beginning; (5) that the beginning may have been countless ages ago; (6) that the document describes a creation which was distributed over six portions of time; (7) that man was created out of the dust in the sixth period; (8) that the sabbath was instituted for the benefit of man, and in commemoration of this work. The only points on which they differ are these: (1) Whether the six periods are six ordinary days or not; (2) whether the brief account of the creation in these six periods is sufficiently full to

\* "Science and Scripture not at Variance." 4th ed. postscript, p. 14.



justify us in expecting to find in nature such corresponding phenomena as to enable us to test the truth of the narrative. It is upon these last points alone that they are, according to Mr. Goodwin's theory, mutually destructive. But these are points on which either the narrative may not be sufficiently explicit, or, at any rate, some of the four expositors may be too dogmatical. In neither case is it proved against the writer of Genesis that he wrote what he knew he had no authority for declaring." \*

Mr. Goodwin has not interpreted aright the logic of contradiction. "Of any two contradictory propositions, the one must be true and the other false;" † *e.g.*, two and two make four; and two and two *do not* make four, are not mutually destructive. One must be admitted, and the other dismissed. *Both* cannot be true, but one must. If it be said that they are contraries rather than contradictories, then the law is, "Of two contrary propositions, both cannot be true; but both may be false;" ‡ and, "though one of the contraries is false, the other may be false or true:" so that contraries are not necessarily "mutually destructive," and Mr. Goodwin's argumentation will not stand; for, though all these contrary opinions *may* be false together, some of them *may* also be true together, and he has not attempted to eliminate the *possible* truths from the *certain* falsities. The objection made, however, is otherwise wholly irrelevant; for no argument adduced against *human* expositions of a document professedly divine, can affect the genuineness of a record of such a nature;—unless we agree to regard the human as inspired, that we may prove the divine to be uninspired.

The sublimest reach of geologic suggestion finds its corroboration in scripture. If the earth was packed, compacted, and fitted for the habitation of man only in the age-long lapse of *millions* of centuries, how great must be the Creator's estimate of the chief denizen in it? Can geology tell? No! But scripture reveals the infinite worth of the soul, and so reads the riddle that science is silenced by. Nor do we think a loftier idea of creative omniscience and prescience has ever been communicated to man than scripture suggests to a thoughtful soul in these words:—"The Lord God made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field *before* it was in the earth, and every herb of the field *before* it grew" (Gen. ii. 4 and 5). The Eternal is here brought before our thoughts as calling into perceptive being all possible forms of worlds and world-life, and then, in one constructive, creative act, *willing* them into existence in instant perfection, yet with powers of potential development inherent in them, so that, from the perfection of their ideal state, they should pass, in the process of ages, to the perfection of their real state, passing through all the necessary grades of change to fit them for the ulterior foreordinations of His providence and grace—at the

\* "Science and Scripture not at Variance," 4th ed. postscript, p. 14—15.

† "Spalding's Logic," p. 169.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

successive moments predetermined by Him. How long the eras of preparation for the reception of humanity may have been, is not revealed; for God intended us to know His works through our own efforts, and the merely *superficial* phenomena of the latest great epoch of change are all that are apparently revealed in the Mosaic Genesis. At least, this seems all that is necessarily implied in the text. Yet, if it be required to interpret these chapters as containing a cosmogony, I cannot find anything to hinder us from seeing in each *day* mentioned therein the first *day* of a new period—just inaugurated by Omnipotence.

Scripture postulates Omnipotence as the prime force in creation, but science acknowledges only the machinery through which the Creator realizes his designs and criticises the operations of Omnipotence by an induction of observations made upon the mere elements He has set in motion. An argument drawn against a mere *accident* cannot be relevantly brought against an *essential*. The *essential* purposes of revelation are to institute a worship, to make known a Saviour, to lead to holiness of life. Our understanding of any part of it as a revelation of the *modus operandi* of creation is only the accident of an accident, and cannot therefore prevail against the main design of the scriptures. Until it is *proven*, 1st, that scripture reveals a cosmogony; 2nd, that we comprehend the precise signification of the terms in which the cosmogenetic narrative is couched; 3rd, that science has attained infallible certitude in its interpretation of Nature; 4th, that science *contradicts* scripture, there can be no valid argument against the truth of the Bible from the facts of geology. It is curious to observe the continual recurrence in such reasonings as this Essayist deals in of the following two assumptions: 1st, the absolute certainty of science; 2nd, the absolute uncertainty of scripture—assumptions which vitiate all argumentations built on them. Is it quite true that *all* "Mankind has learnt caution through repeated slips in the process of tracing out the Truth?" (E. and R., p. 252.)

The sixth Essay treats of "The Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688—1750." Its author is Mark Pattison, B.D., Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. This gentleman took a second class degree in Letters, 1836; gained the Denyer's Theological prize in 1841, for an "Essay on the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for the Salvation of Man," and again in 1842, for one "On Original Sin." He was a fellow and tutor in his college, and held the office of public examiner, 1848—50. He is known to be (or to have been) a "*Quarterly*" Reviewer. He appears to be a more practised and politic writer than some of the others, and has scarcely committed himself so egregiously. Yet some of his statements are singularly incorrect: he speaks, for example, of the Georgian period, 1750—1830, as "an age whose literature consisted in writing Latin Hexameters." (E. and R., p. 261). The age of Goldsmith, Cowper, Burns, Crabbe, Coleridge, Wordsworth,

Southey, Rogers, Campbell, Shelley, Byron, Keats; of Hume, Robertson, Gibbon, Johnson, Smith, Mill, Mitford, and Mackintosh; of Reid, Kames, Stewart, Brown, Alison, and Jeffrey; of Burke, Bentham, Matthews, Godwin, and Hazlitt; of Sterne, Ingham, Radcliffe, Austen, Galt, Banim, and Scott, as well as of Paley, Watson, Blair, Parr, Butler, Tatham, Horne, &c., spoken of thus in the 19th century!—

"Within what books does this our Censor read,  
That he is grown so wise!"

Truly, "the *facts* of history cannot be disposed of by forgetting them." (E. and R., p. 255.)

VI. "The view of the eternal verities of religion which prevails in any age is in part determined by the view taken in the age which preceded it." "There is a law of continuity in the progress of theology, which, whatever we may wish, is never broken off." The author proposes to review "those immediate agencies in the production of the present, which had their origin towards the beginning of the 18th century,"—viz., Toleration, Evangelicalism, and Rationalism—but especially the last. "If we are to put chronological limits to this system of religious opinion in England, we might, for the sake of a convenient landmark, say that it came in with the revolution of 1688, and began to decline in vigour with the reaction against the reform movement about 1830." In the 18th century, "the rationalizing method possessed itself absolutely of the whole field of theology." "Reason was at first offered as the basis of faith, but gradually became its substitute." The first half of that period undertook "to show that there was nothing in the contents of the revelation which was not agreeable to reason;" the last to exhibit "the historical proof of the genuineness and authenticity of the Christian records." "Neither branch of the argument can claim to be religious instruction at all," yet each "raises in its course some of the most momentous problems which can engage the human mind." Of the *origines* of christianity, "Gibbon alone approached the true difficulties, but met only with opponents, victory over whom was a sufficient humiliation." Honest inquiry into these matters is now excluded, "from a fear that it might prove too fertile in results," and hence our age, "while it professes that its religious belief rests on historical evidence, refuses to allow that evidence to be freely examined in open court." "Theology had almost died out when it received a new impulse and a new direction from Coleridge. The evidence-makers ceased from their futile labours, all at once, as beneath the spell of some magician." The 18th century spoke an "artificial monotony of proof that is no proof." Theology is—1st, and primarily, the contemplative, speculative habit by means of which the mind places itself already in another world than this; a habit begun here, to be raised to perfect vision hereafter; 2nd, and in an inferior degree, it is ethical and regulative of our conduct as men, in those relations which are temporal and transitory." "The names which once commanded universal homage among us—the Souths, Barrows, Tillotsons, Sherlocks—excite, perhaps, only a smile of pity." (!) "We have no classical theology." (!) Stillingfleet, Gibson, Prideaux, Tillotson, Rogers, Butler, Warburton, &c., are quoted to prove that it was then thought that "a man's religious belief is a result which issues at the end of an intellectual process." "Our conduct was thought of not as a product or efflux of our character, but as regulated by our understanding; by a perception of relations, or a calculation of consequences." "The pulpit does not mould the forms into which religious

thought in any age runs, it simply accommodates itself to those that exist." "The ideas out of which the protestant or the puritan movement proceeded were generated elsewhere than in the pulpit." The sermons of the 18th century are remarkable for "the good sense which pervades them," and their writers were "turned out accomplished gentlemen upon the classics and a scantling of logic." It is stated that, "no time can lessen whatever force there may be in the objection against a miracle; it is felt as strongly in one century as in another," and that "it is not the speculative reason of the few, but the natural conscience of the many that questions the extirpation of the Canaanites, or the eternity of hell-torments." "The merit of Butler's *Analogy* lies in its want of originality." This he strives to prove, and characterises it as "a first effort of English theology to find a new basis for doctrine, which should replace those foundations which had failed it," and it was fain to "forfeit depth to gain in comprehensiveness." The theology of that time is said to have excluded "on principle not only all that is poetical in life, but all that is sublime in religious speculation." Yet its defect "was not in having too much good sense, but in having nothing besides." "Its theory of life was not lofty, but it was true as far as it went." "The reason was never less extravagant than in this its first essay of strength. Its demands were modest, it was easily satisfied; far too easily we must think when we look at some of the reasonings that passed as valid." "The idea that theology is polemical" is wrong. Butler "comes forward not as an investigator, but as a pleader," in "a life and death struggle of religious and moral feeling to maintain itself, and to show "that it was safer to believe Christianity true than not." "But the more he demonstrated the less people believed," and a sect (the methodists) arose who determined that "because legal preaching, as they phrased it, had failed, they would essay gospel preaching," and then evangelicalism developed in the church. After the reformation "every foot of ground that scripture lost was gained by one or other of the three substitutes; church authority, the spirit, or reason;" the last during the 18th century failed, and, if we should ask what succeeded, we are informed that we have "undertaken a perplexing but *not altogether* profitless inquiry."

This seems to be "a lame and impotent conclusion" to deduce from a review of "the past history of the theory of belief in the Church of England;" yet it is all we get. We regard this Essay as an elaborate misapprehension—we shall not say misrepresentation of the theological literature of the early part of the 18th century. The true logic of investigation appears to us to have been consistently carried out from the era of the reformation. The appeal then made was from tradition to scripture. "Search the Scriptures" was the command to which that age listened. In this search the internal evidences developed themselves, and it was a paramount want of the succeeding time that it should be shewn "that there was nothing in the contents of revelation which was not agreeable to reason." This being shown, and the doubts of sceptics proven to be groundless, it was equally necessary to prove the invulnerability of the outworks of the citadel of faith, and to establish "the genuineness and the authenticity of the Christian records," and we quite agree with the author in asserting, that the "school which treated the exterior evidence was the natural sequel and supplement of that which had preceded it,

which dealt with the intrinsic credibility of the Christian revelation. This historical succession of the schools is the logical order of the argument." (E. and R., p. 261.) "The age of feverish doubt and egotistical introspection" may now have come to some; but those to whom it has come cannot fashion out of it "a new basis for doctrine." We are as little advocates for "an unmeaning frost-work of dogma" as Mr. Pattison himself, but we are as opposed to scepticism—the cowardice of thought—as we are to mere doctrinism. We object to this essay chiefly that elaborate premises are laid down—tending to involve religion in doubt and darkness—but that no conclusion is stated, and men are left to gather from the hints scattered here and there, that there is no evidence for Christianity at all—except its advantageousness as a social creed and a state organ. Is the following sentence intended for a confession?—"The excuse for this want of manliness in men who please themselves with insinuating unpopular opinions which they dare not openly advocate, is that it is an injustice perpetrated by those who have public feeling on their side." It is not generally recognized as English thus—

"To hint a doubt and hesitate dislike."

Our rapidly filling pages admonish us that we must be brief in our notice of the seventh Essay—the product of a mind marked for careful culture, singular force, and skilful erudition. Professor Jowett is a man of mark in his University and in our literature. He is painstaking and zealous even to overlaboriousness it is said. This Essay is elaborate, formal, orderly, and full. It is the longest, and, in many respects, the most valuable, and the most dexterously composed.

VII. Professor Jowett signalizes the "fact that great differences of opinion exist respecting the interpretation of scripture," and remarks that these, "seem to run up at last into a difference of opinion, respecting Revelation itself—whether given beside the human faculties, or through them; whether an interruption of the laws of nature, or their perfection, and fulfilment." "We do not at once see the absurdity of the same words having many senses, and this extreme variety of interpretation is found to exist in no other book but of the Scriptures only." Yet it is not "to philological or historical difficulties that the greater part of the uncertainty in the interpretation of scripture is to be attributed." Interests have grown up around them, which cause them "to be maintained long after critics and philosophers had seen that they were indefensible." In "the externals of interpretation," "the same rules apply to the Old and New Testaments as to other books," but "the sense of scripture has become confused by the help of tradition in the course of ages, under a load of commentators." "This object is to read scripture like any other book, with a real interest, and not merely a conventional one,"—"to separate the elements of doctrine and tradition, with which the meaning of scripture is encumbered in our own day." "In our own country, and in the present generation especially, the interpretation of scripture has assumed an apologetic character;" "while among German commentators there is for the first time in the history of the world, an approach to agreement and certainty." Biblical criticism has been "truer to the traditions of the church than to the words of Christ." Many of its "interpretations

would destroy one another if they were all placed side by side in a tabular analysis."\* "It is better to close the book, than to read it under conditions of thought which are imposed from without." "Almost all Christians agree in the use of the word inspiration, but that word has received more numerous gradations and distinctions of meaning, than, perhaps, any other word in the whole of theology." But "there is no appearance in their writings that the Evangelists or Apostles had any inward gift, or were subject to any power external to them different from that of preaching, or teaching which they daily exercised; nor do they anywhere lead us to suppose that they were free from error or infirmity." Several instances of (apparent) difference are quoted, and it is then laid down as a maxim, that "the same fact cannot be true and untrue, any more than the same words can have two opposite meanings." "The meaning of scripture is one thing; the inspiration of scripture is another." The contrast between life and scripture is next enlarged on as a proof of the "habit of silence, or misinterpretation," into which we have got. "The Bible is *not* a book of statutes, in which words have been chosen to cover the multitude of cases." A number of difficulties are stated, and we are told, that "until these and the like questions are determined by interpreters, it is not possible that there should be agreement in the interpretation of scripture." "If words have more than one meaning, they may have any meaning," and "the book in which we believe all religious truth to be contained, is the most uncertain of all books, because interpreted by arbitrary and uncertain methods." "In this conflict of reasons individual judgment must at last decide."

"The christian religion is in a false position when all the tendencies of knowledge are opposed to it." "The path of the critical interpreter of scripture is almost always a thorny one in England." No other science of hermeneutics is possible, but an inductive one, that is to say, one based on the language, and thoughts, and narrations of the sacred writers." The following rules for interpretation are next laid down and illustrated:—1st. Scripture has one meaning—the meaning which it had to the mind of the prophet, or evangelist, who first uttered or wrote, to the hearers or readers who first received it." 2nd. "Interpret scripture from itself,"—"a real interpretation of like by like." "There is nothing miraculous or artificial in the arrangement of the books of scripture." There is a greater degree of unity than continuity in scripture.

"Scripture has an inner life or soul; it has also an outward body or form;" and in the interpretation of the language of it grammatical rules and canons of criticism which are applicable to classical Greek ought to be avoided, for scripture has "many features which are altogether peculiar to itself, and such as are found in no other remains of ancient literature." These peculiarities are noted in a six-fold division. "Our knowledge of the New Testament is derived almost exclusively from itself." The grammar, the logic, the rhetoric, and the metaphysic of the New Testament are next briefly commented on, and we are told it is to be read, "not without a sense that as we read there grows upon us the witness of God in the world, anticipating in the rude and primitive age the truth that was to be, stirring more and more unto the perfect day in the life of Christ, which again is reflected from different points of view in the teaching of His apostles."

"Interpretation is the province of few;" "but applications are made by all." "There is also a use of scripture in education and literature." "There is no such treasury of instruments and materials as scripture." It has been said, "that Homer is Greece;" with much more truth may it be said that "the Bible is

\* See "Logic of Contradictories and Contraries," *ante*, p. 363.

Christendom." "The new truth which was introduced into the Old Testament rather than the old truth which was found there, was the salvation, and the conversion of the world." "The least expression of scripture is weighty; it affects the minds of the hearers in a way that no other language can." "In some cases we have only to enlarge the meaning of scripture to apply it even to the novelties, and peculiarities of our own times." The words of Christ "present to us a standard of truth and duty, such as no one can at once and immediately practice—such as, in its perfection, no one has fulfilled in this world." "Yet the Epistles contain lessons which are not found in the Gospels, or, at least, not expressed with the same degree of clearness." "There are examples in the Old Testament which were not written for our instruction." "The divisions of the christian world are beginning to pass away," and hereafter the Bible "will cease to be the battle-field of controversies." "Its discrepancies of fact, when we become familiar with them, will seem of little consequence in comparison with the truths which it unfolds." "The power of the Gospel resides not in the particulars of theology, but in the christian life." Some advice to those about to become clergymen follows, and then, speaking of the standing of a free inquirer in the church, the professor concludes thus:—"He may depart hence before the natural term, worn out with intellectual toil; regarded with suspicion by many of his contemporaries; yet not without a sure hope that the love of truth, which men of saintly lives often seem to slight, is, nevertheless, accepted before God."

In this Essay several incongruities present themselves, *e.g.*—1st, It is a foundation thought of it that the scriptures are like any other book; yet, 2nd, they are unlike in their influences, possibilities, uses, and objects. 3rd, They are themselves full of discrepancies, errors, and falsity; and yet, 4th, are to be the guide of humanity into truth of thought, word, life, and effort. 5th, Their teaching has only one meaning; but, 6th, that meaning may be enlarged and adapted to any time, 7th, The application of scripture depends on its interpretation; yet, 8th, though scripture is to be applied by all to heart, speech, and behaviour, interpretation is the work of a few. 9th, We may know the Bible to be false, uninspired, and uninstructional; yet, 10th, use it as if truthful, errorless, and "given by inspiration of God"—"profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." 11th, We may know that it makes pretensions which it cannot substantiate; and yet, 12th, employ it as if these pretensions were valid, and as if its divineness were undoubted and indubitable. This is a strange conglomerate of thought to be called *Rationalism*! Scripture cannot at once forfeit and possess our confidence; it cannot be the chief love of our souls, if its teachings and claims be known to us as false; and the love of truth, if pure within us, should lead us to spurn rather than to cleave to it. A bundle of inconsistencies, such as this Essay brings before us, leads us to look for a cause of it; and, though we know that Professor Jowett once held the office of Logical Lecturer in Balliol College, we are fain to find one in this seeming self-reference,—"The greater part of his learning is a knowledge of the (scripture) text itself." If "it is one of the highest tasks on which the labour of a life can be spent, to bring the words

of Christ a little nearer to the heart of man" (E. and R., p. 380), Professor Jowett has surely gone about his task in a wrong method!

Let us examine more closely this fundamental principle, "Scripture has only one meaning." It purports to be the word of the Omniscient, and hence it should, *a priori*, be many-meaninged. National proverbs, snatches of song, quotations from poets, and all the best works of the best authors, have many meanings, and are not confined to one only. How many meanings, for instance, have been found in the characters of Shakspeare's plays—in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"—in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments?" Why should scripture be rigidly confined to one signification, while human writings receive many? Why restrict our Lord's parables more than Babrius', Pilpay's, or Fontaine's fables? acknowledge a "double sense" in "Gulliver's Travels" and "The History of John Bull," and not in Job or John? or recognize in Dante, Goethe, and Carlyle mystic meanings underlying the mere words they utter? If words are only to have one meaning, what is to become of wit, satire, apologue, novel, sermon, and history? for they will only be collocations of words, not inducements to laughter, sadness, morality, holiness, and political guidance. Do we interpret any human life merely by its own acts and intentions, and not also by its harmonies or contradictions to the times and purposes by which its activities are limited? If this with Cromwell and Mahomet, why not with Christ and Moses? Is univocal always equivalent to unequivocal? We do not think this canon of criticism will stand. Look, now, at the facts of nature—to how many meanings do they give sanction! The poet, the painter, the chemist, the agriculturist, the botanist, the miner, all see a different meaning in the same landscape; and even a shadow on a single dial in a garden walk will convey very different significations to different on-lookers, according to the feelings which actuate them. How much more, then, the—

"Calm, eternal dial, to a Sun  
That changeth not."

"Before the eyes of the Chaldee astrologer were displayed the same starry heavens which now attract nightly the observations of the modern astronomer; and the same expanse which invites his investigations, and leads him to sublime, if not always sober theories, displays its glories also to the boor, who gazes on the firmament unthinkingly, rejoices with a sensual delight in the spectacle presented to him, or forms the most incongruous notions respecting those objects and their Divine Creator. Though the universe be one and the same since human eyes were first opened upon it, it has been, and is, in some degree, a different universe, with respect to the impressions made by it to every individual who perceives it, and very sensibly and obviously so to different classes of men."\* If so

\* Rev. H. B. Wilson's "Communion of Saints:" Bampton Lectures, 1851, p. 50.



with the *works*, why not with the *word* of God—if they are the veritable issues of the same *Infinite Being*?

That Professor Jowett agrees substantially with the other Essays and Reviews in the volume, may be proven, *inter alia*, by reference to pp. 340 and 343, where he homologates the principle about prophecy advocated in Essay 2nd, pp. 341 and 349; where he adopts the geologic difficulty of Essay 4th; and, 387—389, where there occurs an abstract of Essay 1st. Did space permit, many other coincidences of thought, words, spirit, and feeling, might be adduced. We regard this Essay as substantially harmless, from the contradictoriness of its reasonings, and as an evidence that Rationalism has not yet reached that state of development in which strength is predicable of it—self-consistency.

Our examination of the "Essays and Reviews" *must* now be brought to a close. Already we have trespassed beyond our usual allotment of space. We have been led to this in our anxiety not to prolong these articles, and increase their number. We have been able only to mention some of the most obvious defects in the logical concatenation of the thoughts of these reasoners. Had we chosen to subject any one of the Essays to a complete investigation, many points of detail would have been raised of great importance, and many more proofs of inconsistency of thought would have appeared. Had we gone further, and examined the teachings and opinions of the several writers, greater flaws in reasoning would have been observable. All that we aimed at in these papers, was to subject these writings, which have stirred the churches so much, and lead to the hesitancy of so many individuals, to the simple test of the logic of consistency. We do not think that any or all of the authors have issued unharmed from the process.

We have nothing to say *against* the publication save this, that such crude and undeveloped thoughts ought not to have been issued by men of mature years and of responsible position. If the studies of their lives have only led them this length, they have much yet to learn. The objects at which they stumble have been all felt and overcome in the christian experience of many. Yet let us do homage to the honesty of the men who hazarded the life-earned reputations they possessed in an endeavour to stir the stagnation of thought in the Church, and to maintain the utility of controversy to the Church and in the world.

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Some, in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know *what might be said*, and not *what should be thought*. Some have certain common-places and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous.—*Bacon*.

## Philosophy.

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### ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRE-RAPHAELITE SCHOOL OF PAINTERS CORRECT?

#### AFFIRMATIVE REPLY.

IN bringing this debate to a close, it becomes our duty to review the arguments advanced on the opposite side, and, if possible, to answer them.

Our principal opponent is E. M., jun., and we must, at the outset, thank him for some information both new and curious. Having explained that his position, with reference to this question, was "not so much that of a propounder and advocate of art principles, as that of a defender of principles long established, against the innovation of almost untried and little more than theoretic art dogmas," he tells us that "the Pre-Raphaelite school of painters is a birth of modern times," and contrasts it with that which has been "the growth of ages." This declaration filled us with surprise. We should have deemed it hardly credible that any one entering a debate of this character could have fallen into so egregious a mistake—one, too, from which a few minutes' reflection upon the terms in the question to be discussed would have saved him.

As we stated in our opening article, the title of "Pre-Raphaelite" was chosen because it conveyed the fact, that the principles of this school must be sought in the painters before Raphael. This being the case, what becomes of E. M., jun.'s predilection in favour of the generally recognized art-teaching, on the ground of its antiquity? His position is completely reversed. The great masters are not unanimous in answer to his appeal to their authority, and, indeed, if the weight of their influence is to be in proportion to their age, Gialto and Ciambue are of more importance than Raphael, Michael Angelo, or Rubens. We are sure our friend, E. M. jun., has a large "organ" (as the phrenologists would say) of veneration, and we trust he will now allow it a fair exercise, and then we may claim him as a convert, as he will see that the principles he has hitherto opposed are THE EARLIEST, and therefore not to be characterized as "an innovation." In another sentence, he complains that "there exists no great undiscovered principle of art which it has been the mission of this new school to reveal and illustrate." We cannot conceive how it could be the mission of any school to reveal and illustrate an "*undiscovered*" truth, whether great or not. It matters little, we should think, if *undiscovered*, of what degree of importance it is. If, by this extraordinary sentence, E. M. jun., means to say that no new principle is brought to light, we agree with him; but are then met by a new difficulty, which is, to reconcile this complaint

with the other, viz., that this school is an innovation. The harmony between these two statements is to us "undiscovered."

We proceed to his next remark, which runs as follows:—"That which is the pervading doctrine of the system is nothing more nor less than the exaggeration into a servile imitation of nature, unchecked by discriminating intellectual interpretation,—of that unaffected devotion to nature which has ever been most intense in the greatest painters." It will be a sufficient reply to this to quote the words of Mr. Ruskin,—“You observe that I always say interpretation, never imitation. My reason for doing so is, first, that good art rarely imitates; it usually only describes or explains. But my second and chief reason is, that good art always consists of two things: first, the observation of fact; secondly, the manifesting of human design and authority in the way that fact is told. Great and good art must unite the two; it cannot exist for a moment but in their unity; it consists of the two as essentially as water consists of oxygen and hydrogen, or marble of lime and carbonic acid.” (Two paths. Lecture 1. p. 18.)

The misapprehension of Pre-Raphaelite principles shown by E. M., jun., is shared by the other writers on the negative side. “Servility of imitation” is a favourite charge of their’s; and yet, we challenge them to produce any passage from the writings acknowledged as expositions of their system which inculcates it. Faithful interpretation of fact is insisted upon, and nature is exalted as the only source of inspiration; but room is left for the exercise of the intelligence and imagination of the artist in the selection and the composition of his materials.

Upon one point all are agreed, viz., that from nature only can right ideas of art be gained. The difference between the two systems is in the degree of faithfulness to be preserved. Much has been said about the office of the imagination in painting, and the ideal has been exalted in preference to the real. Our opponents have argued as though there was no place for the imagination in the Pre-Raphaelite theory; but this is a mistake, as the passage already quoted from Mr. Ruskin will show. “J. Johnson,” in his article, cavils at the dictum of that writer, that its office is “to conceive a fact as it really was likely to have happened, rather than it most prettily might have happened,” and asserts, if this be so, “away go the best poets and their works as so much lumber, because they have dealt with things not realizable in fact; their imaginations have gone out after objects so purely ideal, that, up to this present, have found no reflex in actual life.”

Can nothing be ideally true that has never been realized? If the conception be such that, in the nature of things, it could not have happened, or occur in future, is it on that account more properly imaginative? We have hitherto supposed that the imagination was bound by certain laws, and that an accordance with probabilities was one of them, and do not feel inclined to accept as its highest form that which trenches most upon the impossible. Lawless fancy of

this kind would, we conceive, be more likely to produce "nonsense pictures" than an imagination which built its productions upon a foundation of truth.

In painting an historical picture, for instance, which kind should we most desire to see exercised? Should we prefer to have the scene presented to us as it might most gracefully have occurred, or as far as it is possible to ascertain, as it really did occur? The parallel which has been drawn between poetry and painting does not hold sufficiently good to prove that what is a safe rule for the one is equally applicable to the other. In subjects chosen from past history, or from the creations of our best poets, the ideal may be allowed more license than in those taken from modern times. In landscape painting it ought to be most restrained. What, we should like to know, is the ideal of a tree? If that which professes to be a representation of a tree violates all laws of tree growth, as, for example, by giving it so excessive a development of limb that the trunk could not sustain or have produced it, or encumbering it with such a profusion of foliage that the branches would be inadequate to its support, then it deserves not to be called "an ideal," but a monstrosity. So with anything else. A knowledge of nature only can give just ideas, and upon these, and in strict subservience to them, must the imagination be exercised. There is no such thing as an "abstract imitation of nature," for which E. M., jun., with his usual felicity of expression, contends. All study must be rigidly realistic.

We disclaim, on behalf of the Pre-Raphaelites, any intention of trying in fruitless rivalry to compete with photography. Its usefulness, in its place, we admit; but, as we have said before, mere imitation is not fine art at all. E. M., jun., very truly says that photographic representations, "for fidelity of minute delineation, can never be equalled, nay, not even approached in accuracy, by a Michael Angelo. What chance, indeed, have the works of such painters as he, whose trees are of unrecognizable species, of further enduring celebrity, seeing that now more accurate portraiture of nature can be mechanically elaborated? What hope of success can now animate the possessor of brains, in competition with the possessor of lenses?" We do not think some people have much to fear, though we admit that Michael Angelo's reputation has, if it any degree depends upon the painting of his trees; but we were not aware that it did. He has been hitherto noteworthy on account of his wonderful fore-shortening, and the sublimity of his conceptions, both in painting and sculpture, but principally the latter.

We must hasten to a close, but cannot pass by a sentence from the article of "Albert," as it illustrates so thoroughly the mistaken view held by many in regard to what Pre-Raphaelite principles are. Speaking of the difficulty under which he supposes the school to labour in treating historic events, he says of the painter, "He must have landscape or edifice in which to place his actors; but he is not

permitted to reconstruct the ruined piles in which his scenes occurred. The artist so hampered must either abandon this great branch of his art, or limit himself to a few meagre attempts."

How far this is correct, "Albert" may judge for himself by a visit to the German Gallery in Bond Street, where a picture of "The Presentation in the Temple," by Holman Hunt, a leader of the school, is exhibited. In this wonderful work every accessory has been studied and accurately drawn in Jerusalem, to which city the artist had repaired in order to execute it. Eighteen months were devoted to the accumulation of exact material, the reading of Jewish records, and the taking of minute studies. Hence the architecture of the temple, the gold-plated floor, the roll of the prophets in the hand of the rabbi, and the phylactery bound to the forehead, have the sanction of authority. The figures, too, were drawn from life, the doctors being portraits of aged Jews. This is a fair specimen of the kind of work these principles we advocate lead to, and we are quite content to let it stand as such. It will bear comparison with many of the works produced by the old masters, and with all modern imitations at them. We infinitely prefer that a painting of so sacred a subject should be wrought in so conscientious a spirit, to that levity which has thoughtlessly depicted scenes from the sacred narrative, as though the actors were fellow townsmen of the painter, and wore the costume of his age. Even E. M., jun., will allow that such "*ideality*" is excessive, and will perhaps be unable to show that Mr. Hunt's picture is inferior to that abortion of an old master in whose "Flight into Egypt" Joseph is seen leading a donkey with a stable-lantern in his hand; or to that other, "The Sacrifice of Isaac," in which Abraham is portrayed as discharging at the head of his devoted son an immense horse pistol.

We have now finished our task, and have, we hope, fairly placed the whole subject before the reader. To him we appeal for his decision, and confidently rely upon a verdict in favour of the much-abused but truth-loving school of Pre-Raphaelite painters. EDMUND.

#### NEGATIVE REPLY.

ONE of our great writers has remarked, that if he might be permitted to write a nation's songs, he cared not who had the writing of its laws. Without endorsing the thus implied assertion that a true poet of the people is virtually the most potent of legislators, we yet admit the also implied intimate and reciprocal relationship existing between political, social, and religious condition, and true poetry—using the word poetry in its true sense,—as whatever in music, languages, or painting, is imbued with the "faculty divine," politics and poetry, dissimilar as they appear, have a certain close connection, a oneness of interest; progress in one being productive or significant of progress in the other; decadence in one indicating or resulting in the other's decline. Each reacts immensely on the other. So also does the state of religion

affect poetry;—the more devotional and in harmony with God's universe man becomes, the truer poet is he. Selecting the one branch of poetry which it is our object now specially to discuss, we say that the state of the art of painting, at any given time, is in accordance with the co-existing condition of political liberty and religious social institutions. It has always been the case, that a nation enjoying liberty, and earnest in its religion, has been prolific in the production of high art. The schools of painting in Italy flourished most when Italy was freest in thought and action, and when from her churches there breathed a devotion which had not then developed into spiritless conventionalism, or arrogant dogmatism, or degenerated into blasphemous mockery and profane presumption. We purpose to subject the Pre-Raphaelite school of painters to the test afforded by its corresponding state of political liberty and of religion. If these are not what they should be, then must we infer that their result, Pre-Raphaelitism, is not correct. Few true Englishmen will be at variance with reference to the political and religious standards to adopt. These we may state to be our glorious British Constitution, as represented by the Sovereign, Lords, and Commons, and the Christian faith, as expressed in the Protestant ritual of the Anglican Church. The paintings which are the boast of this nation, the great productions of her gifted sons, are those in harmony with these foundations of her greatness, and are necessarily opposed to Pre-Raphaelite theories. The principle which pervades the constitutional liberty of this country is in direct contradiction to Pre-Raphaelitism. Our country crouches not under the despotic sway of an autocrat, whose will is law, nor is it the victim of a more tyrannous oligarchy. It is not the subject of a self-aggrandizing factions' fierce wrangling, nor is it a prey to democratic no-law, and mob oratory; and so high art in our midst is not ruled by the caprice of one exponent, nor is it subservient to a self-constituted school; it is unaffected by the cavillings of rival cliques, neither is it at the call of every mere copyist.

Now, in all these respects, the art which is accordant with our political system differs from that of the school under discussion. Pre-Raphaelitism corresponds to systems of government, happily unrealized in our land; and inasmuch as such systems are false, so is their exponent false, and will never become dominant as a characteristic school in Britain till our constitutional principles are discarded—a consummation not probable. The politicians typified by Pre-Raphaelitism are easily recognizable,—none of their defects being toned down, as in the case of the pseudo art, by those delicacies which even false art can, to a certain extent, command. The blustering, bullying demagogue, who lords it over the mob,—the hypercritical fault-finder,—the illogical advocate for admitting the “unwashed” to a participation of government, *et sui generis*—exceptions to the class as a whole, of British statesmen—each is shadowed forth in the Pre-Raphaelite school of perverted and false art.

Turning to the influence of our national religion on painting, we find displayed in our great art productions that reverence for truth, without slavish subjection to conventionalism; that earnestness of purpose, without fanaticism or bigotry, and that freedom of thought, without wild license of speculation, which so emphatically characterize the incomparable ritual of our church; while in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites, we see the counterpart of much that is spurious and objectionable in certain somewhat prevalent forms of religion, such as sectarian narrow-mindedness, predominant asseveration of some one doctrine, misdirected zeal, pharisaical sanctity, unlicensed escape from fundamental essentials, and daring profanity in the approach to all that is the highest, and purest, and best.

We think no art student will question the inseparable connection between the condition of a people, politically and religiously, and the development of art; least of all will a Ruskinite do so,—Ruskin dwelling very emphatically in his works on this reciprocal relationship. Looking at the Pre-Raphaelite school of painters in light of this relationship, we discover it to be the exponent of opinions utterly opposed to those this nation recognizes as true,—opposed to all that we hold dear, estimable, and sacred. And on this ground alone, were none other wanting, we refuse subscription to the canons of the school.

Having in a previous article on this subject discussed the Pre-Raphaelite principles, we now proceed to the examination of what has been advanced in opposition to our views. The first writer, "Edmund," we find, as might be anticipated, depreciates the employment of the ideal, and exalts that of the real in art. He says, "that the idealists are always producing more or less formal conditions of art, and the realists striving to produce in all their art either some image of nature, or record of nature." We need not recapitulate what we have previously said as to the mutual dependence of the ideal and real; and how that, following the guidance of either the one or the other solely, will never result in genuine art. As a pendant to "Edmund's" estimate of realists and idealists, we quote the following from the last number of the *Quarterly Review*:—"The one paints that which he sees before him without choice, and without attempting to combine those features which may be brought together without departing from the truth, and which, from skilful contrast, produce the greatest impressions upon the mind; the other seeks to unite them in one beautiful whole, in harmony with the scene, or event, he wishes to represent, and the sentiments he desires to call forth." All of "Edmund's" article that bears directly on the question at issue has principle reference to this one phase of it. The same may be said of that bearing the signature "An Outsider." Anticipating this treatment of the subject we laid special stress upon the absolute necessity of idealism to the existence of true art. A painting, however minutely faithful to fact in its delineations of details, if it want the certain indescribable something which the imagination can alone express, and

which, though existing in fact, is too ideal to be transferred to canvas by the copyist's skill, will never excite in the heart deep emotions; will never call forth the mind's grand thoughts; and will never accomplish the noble purpose of elevating the soul above the minutiae of matter to a conception, dim and distant though it may be, of the divine. The works of those great masters, who, without neglecting attendance to the actual, have made it but the scaffolding to the erection of their edifice of imagination, demonstrate with incontrovertible power the truth of the principles which have actuated them in their labours. "The blue hills and solemn skies of Perugino and Raphael, and the purple-shadowed mountains and rich foliage of Titian and Giorgione, the bold rocks and shady pools of the Carracci and Domenichine, make an impression upon us such as no Dutch or German landscape, with all its wonderful minuteness of execution, could ever produce."\* Pre-Raphaelism does at times even represent nature, not as she is seen by the human eye, but as she is imagined to exist; thus in practice contradicting professed principles of truthfulness of representation. Thus, for example, a Pre-Raphaelite artist, to be consistent, should paint distant hills green, and not, as they are seen by the eye, in consequence of the interesting atmosphere, blue; and yet, if he does this he is not true to his profession of painting as he sees. Other contradictions might be adduced that are involved in the principles of this school; but we refrain. Enough, we imagine, has been advanced to convince all unprejudiced thinkers that the principles of the Pre-Raphaelite school of painters are not correct.

E. M., JUN.

## ARE THE MODERN PHENOMENA, DESIGNATED "SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS," GENUINE? AND HAVE WE IN THEM SATISFACTORY EVIDENCE OF INTERCOURSE WITH THE INHABITANTS OF THE SPIRITUAL WORLD?

### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

THE force of prejudice is perhaps nowhere more strongly marked than in Scotland. The nature of its people appears to coincide with the rugged character of the country; and those peculiarities which in English society are undulating and ill-defined, are in Scotland broad and prominent. A few days ago, the writer of this paper heard an amusing illustration of the tenacity with which Scotchmen cling to hereditary forms of thought, and the fear they manifest respecting any violation of the religious conventionalisms of society. In England we sing, whistle, and play on musical instruments, on both Sundays and work days, without the slightest idea of violating any law, human or divine; but in Scotland to *whistle* a hymn tune on Sunday is looked upon as a violation of the sabbath, and as an

\* *Quarterly Review*, April, 1861.



act offensive to the majesty of heaven. No man who has any regard for the good opinion of his Scotch friends dare *whistle* on the day of rest. Near the picturesque and health-giving little village of Rothsay there resided two Scottish gentlemen. Their houses were closely adjoining each other, so that the gardens of the two residences were only separated by a hedge. An English gentleman chanced to be on a visit to the occupier of one of the houses, and one Sunday, after dinner, host and guest strolled into the garden for a walk. The Englishman, in a reflecting mood, commenced to whistle a hymn tune, and his host, whose face wore an expression of alarm, suddenly stopped him, and said, in a low tone of voice, "Mr. —, you must not whistle here; it's the sabbath day. I don't care so much about it myself, but (pointing with the thumb of his right hand over the hedge) what will the folk think *over the dyke*." The Englishman was silenced. Next Sunday he had an invitation to dine with the Scotchman in the adjoining house. After dinner they were rambling in the garden. The Englishman determined to try the effect that whistling would produce upon the nerves of his friend, and, during an interval in the conversation, he commenced whistling a solemn tune. He was immediately checked and remonstrated with by his host for what is considered in Scotland so gross a violation of the sabbath. His friend, however, to show that it was not so much on his own account as in deference to the prejudice of the general public, said, "Not that I care so very much about it, but what will they say *over the dyke*?"

We have in this anecdote an apt illustration of the tenacity with which persons cling to narrow prejudices and exploded notions, and the spirit in which reasonable innovations are met. Prejudice and unreasoning opposition are strikingly illustrated in the Sadducean cry which has been raised against modern phenomena that indicate intercourse with the world of spirits.

On the testimony of the sacred writers, and on the concurrent testimony of contemporary and closely succeeding historians, we believe in the resurrection of Christ. The balance of probabilities, notwithstanding the remarkableness of the occurrence, being in favour of its truthfulness. For one grain of evidence that can be adduced to prove the genuineness of that remote occurrence, I can bring a ton in favour of the genuineness of the phenomena connected with modern spiritual manifestations. The majority of the people in this kingdom believe the former, because they have been trained from infancy to believe it, and can give full weight to the evidence in its favour; they reject the latter, because they have been taught that belief in such things is superstition, and that visible intercourse between the inhabitants of the natural and spiritual world is in the present day impossible.

It is extremely desirable that prejudices and preconceptions be removed as far as possible, and that we enter upon the consideration of this subject with minds free and unbiassed; ready to receive

evidence and acknowledge facts, even though they shatter to fragments all our previous ideas of natural and spiritual laws and operations.

The business that lays immediately at our hands in the present controversy is this,—“Are the phenomena designated ‘spiritual manifestations’ genuine,” and done without trick or mechanical contrivance? If this be settled in the *negative*, the controversy may be considered at an end; but if decided in the *affirmative*, then the question for consideration will be how are they produced? Are they the result of known or unknown natural laws, or are they produced by invisible and intelligent agents? Before quoting the testimonies of witnesses, a few words on Negative Article No. I. may not be out of place. The writer is manifestly very partially acquainted with the subject upon which he has written. He quotes a few of the most rudimentary phenomena, and gives the absurd inferences of the Rev. N. S. Godfrey, Rev. W. C. Magee, Rev. E. Gillson, and others—inferences evidently deduced from the examination of a very limited number of facts. He then says, “We ought to argue and reason upon the inductive method.” Very sensible advice, which I trust the contributors of articles on this question will bear in mind, and which, by at once adducing proofs in favour of the reality and genuineness of the phenomena, I intend to follow. I shall avoid the testimonies of American writers, not because they are less trustworthy than those of Englishmen, but because the evidence of gentlemen whom, by their residence in our midst, we have daily opportunities of questioning, is of more weight in a matter of this kind, where the apparent improbabilities are so great, and where nothing but *personal observation* or an overwhelming amount of unquestionable testimony will afford satisfactory evidence to intelligent minds. Testimonies:—

The late Robert Stephenson, Esq., M.P.—I know, on the testimony of a personal friend of the late Mr. Stephenson, that he attended private *séances* in London, and saw manifestations which convinced him that the effects were not produced by any trick or mechanical contrivance.

Mr. Robert Chambers, publisher of *Chambers’ Journal*, has attended *séances*, and witnessed many remarkable phenomena. On one occasion, at the private residence of a friend, he was informed, by knockings, that he was in conversation with the spirit of his father. In order to test the reality of the connection between himself and the invisible agent, he asked the power to play upon the accordion, which was lying on the floor, the favourite air his father was accustomed to play upon his flute. The accordion immediately, *no one touching the keys*, played “Ye banks and braes o’ bonnie Doon.” “That,” said Mr. Chambers, “was my father’s favourite Scotch tune, and that the manner in which he used to play it.” He then said, “Play my father’s favourite English air,” and the accordion immediately played “The last rose of summer.” Mr. C. acknowledged that it was his father’s favourite English air.

Mr. Chambers was so impressed with the extraordinary character of the phenomena he witnessed, that he proceeded to America, in company with Mr. Dale Owen, author of "Footfall on the Boundary of Another World," for the purpose of fully investigating the subject. He has now returned to England, and we may expect to receive some valuable information from so accomplished a writer and so careful an observer.

Dr. Collyer, Beta House, 8, Alpha Road, St. John's Wood, London, has for several years been a lecturer on biology, popular delusions, &c., and until the last six months was an entire unbeliever in spiritual manifestations. He first attended a *séance* on the 11th of October, 1860. Since that time he has seen several remarkable manifestations, and now admits that they are not, and cannot be, produced by mechanical contrivance or optical illusion.

Dr. Gully, Hydropathic Institution, Malvern, one of the shrewdest and most cautious Physicians in the Kingdom, says, in speaking of a modern spiritual *séance* he attended:—"Then, the accordion music. I distinctly saw the instrument moving, and heard it playing, when held only at one end, again and again. I held it myself for a short time, and had good reason to know it was vehemently pulled at the other end, and not by Mr. Howe's toes, unless that gentleman has legs three yards long.

"I have heard Blagrove repeatedly, and it is no libel to say, that he never did produce such exquisite distinct notes as those which delighted our ears. I believe, I am speaking the truth, when I say, that not one person in that room could play the accordion at all. Mr. Howe cannot play upon it."

Mr. Kymer, solicitor, late of Ealing, now in Australia, says, in a lecture on spiritualism, delivered in London,—“I stood for a few moments at the end of the table; my attention was immediately arrested by sounds; it was stated to be my little boy who had passed away some years ago. I asked if he recollected how pleased he was while on earth, to place a chair on my return home. The chair was immediately moved round the corner of the table, and by no visible agency, it was placed behind me, and I sat down upon it.” Mr. Kymer, further said, “It was then spelt out by sounds on the table, *some will show you their heads to night*. The table was then quietly raised, or lifted up several times, *a hand appeared* above the table, and took from the dress of one of the party a miniature brooch, and handed it to several at the table. *Several hands and arms were then distinctly seen by all at the table*, of different forms and sizes. A spirit hand took up a Bible which was on the table, and opened it. This was seen by all. A leaf was folded down. The hand took a pencil and marked two verses, 16 and 17 of 13th Matthew,—“But blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears for they hear. For verily I say unto you, that many prophets and righteous men have desired to see these things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear these things which ye hear, and have not heard them.” A personal friend who resides within twenty miles of New-

castle on Tyne, was present when the above occurred, and vouches for the truth of the statements."

I have seen spiritual manifestations under every variety of circumstances in my own house, in the houses of private friends, in the residences of professional mediums, among believers and unbelievers, in daylight and gaslight, and, as in the majority of instances, I arranged the meetings, and directed the course of proceedings, I know that there was no collusion, trick, or mechanical contrivance. Having had much experience in the wonderful phenomena of electricity, mesmerism, and biology, and having read almost all the most important works on the occult sciences, I was naturally very sceptical as to any interference with natural mundane laws. During years of examination, I was not entirely satisfied that the phenomena were not produced by hidden, natural, physical, and psychological mundane laws; trick or collusion is altogether out of the question, and never has been proved against those who profess to be the agents in the production of genuine spiritual manifestations. I have, when sitting at a heavy four-legged Spanish mahogany table, with a single, delicate, unprofessional lady medium, seen the table rock, rear, and roll in a manner which it would be impossible for the strongest person to produce, by unseen pedal or tactile manipulation. I have heard questions answered by tables knocking, the answers to which no one in the room knew; I have seen tables float and dance in the air when nothing visible supported them; I have heard bells ring untouched by any visible human being, I have had my body and clothes pinched and pulled when nothing visible was touching me; I have held a guitar, and heard played upon it tunes, when no embodied human being was touching the strings, and no discoverable contrivance existed for producing the music. Annexed are the details of some remarkable phenomena, out of the multitude that have come under my personal observation, which, if given in full, would fill a volume of the *Controversialist*.

To the private residence of a friend I took a gentleman, for the purpose of enabling him to witness extraordinary phenomena which, at that time, I did not believe to proceed from super-mundane agencies. There were in the room about eight persons, principally members of the family. Three of the household and myself sat at a table, and several questions had been answered by knocking on the floor. The stranger whom I had introduced, remained silent during the greater part of the evening, and after we had experimented a considerable time, I said to him, "Have you any questions to ask?" He replied, "Ask how much money I paid into the Custom House to-day." I made the inquiry of the agent moving the table, and was informed the sum was £39 15s. 9d. I turned to my friend, and said, "how much have you paid?" He remarked, pulling a piece of paper out of his pocket, "I do not know till I reckon up the amounts; there are several small sums." On adding the items together, the amount exactly corresponded with that knocked out by the table.

In the month of September last, I attended a *séance*, and after witnessing many very wonderful phenomena, a gentleman and I rose for the purpose of leaving the room. When we got to the door, and were at a considerable distance from the moving table, he said, "before we go, I'll make a suggestion to the spirits to put one of these candles out." There were two candles burning on a large table. I said, "*do so, but do not express yourself, so that any one in the room can know what you want done.*" This was agreed. We then went to the party round the table at the other end of the room, and he said, "Spirits, will you please to do what I have suggested to this gentleman I would ask you to do?" Three affirmative knocks immediately followed. He said, "do it then." The table immediately began to dance across the room, and gradually came near the larger table. After the smaller table had moved uneasily for about half-a-minute, it *rose into the air, glided over the edge of the table where the candle was burning, and coming suddenly down on the wick of the candle, knocked the wick into the grease, and then gently glided down to the floor.*

The readers of the *Controversialist*, who desire to see the best arguments in favour of the theory, that the phenomena are produced by natural mundane laws, will find them in Professor Roger's work, on the "Philosophy of Mysterious Rappings, &c.;" it may be had of Balleere, price 7s. 6d. I really do not know where to recommend the opponents to look for arguments against the genuineness of the phenomena, or I would do so with pleasure. The fact is, there are none worth a moment's consideration T. P. B.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—II.

IN the investigation of this singular question, we shall render the reader of this periodical some service by giving a few extracts from the "Confessions of a Medium,"\* before stating our own opinion. The phrase a "spiritual medium" is used by the writer as "the most intelligible," but under "a strong mental protest." After escaping from the labyrinth in which he had been entangled during seven long years, and enduring for some time "a restless and unsatisfactory silence," he was at length compelled to write his confessions under an "impulse weighing upon him with the pressure of a neglected duty." We cannot transfer to these pages the relation of his early experiences which account for his subsequent fitness for becoming a medium through whom spirits are supposed to make revelations. He early accepted the theory of animal magnetism, and the phenomena of clairvoyance, and the "Rochester Knockings," followed by similar but more extraordinary phenomena at Norwalk, in Connecticut, "half converted him to the new faith before he had witnessed any spiritual mani-

\* "The spiritualists at home.—The Confessions of a Medium." H. J. Tredder, London, 1861. Price Sixpence.

festation." The arrival in New York of certain bodies, soon after this conversion, originated a circle of table-rappers and movers, and one of them was the author of these confessions. At his first essay the answers returned by the supposed spirits of his mother, brother and a cousin, deeply impressed his mind; but it "did not then occur, what has since occurred to him, that these questions concerned things which he knew, and that the answers to them were distinctly impressed on his mind at the time." After repeated meetings he found that one of the party, whom he disguises under the name of Miss *Fetters*, and he could, without the help of others, produce the usual phenomena. "They did not," however, "succeed in obtaining any answers to their questions, nor were any of the party "impressed by the idea that the spirits of the dead were among them. In fact, these table-movings would not of themselves suggest the idea of a spiritual manifestation." Ultimately, "the spirits of deceased relatives and friends announced themselves, and generally gave a correct account of their earthly lives." He "confesses, however, that wherever they attempted to pry into the future they usually received answers as ambiguous as those of the Grecian oracles or predictions which failed to be realized." The writer was not then "troubled by the fact that the messages were often incorrectly spelt, that the grammar was bad, and the language far from elegant." He did not reflect that "the new and sublime truths," communicated by these spirits, had formerly passed through his own brain as the dream of a wandering imagination. Like that American philosopher, who looks upon one of his own neophytes as a man of great and profound mind, because the latter carefully remembers, and repeats to him his own carelessly uttered wisdom, he saw in these misty and disjointed reflections of his own thoughts the precious revelation of departed and purified spirits. At the time, however, he had no doubts but "that the spirits visited him, and that they made use of his body to communicate with those who could hear them in no other way. Beside the pleasant intoxication of the semi-trance, he felt a rare joy in the knowledge that he was elected above other men to be their interpreter." For two or three years his life is described "as a very happy one. Not only were those occasional trances an intoxication, nay, a coveted indulgence, but they cast a consecration over his life. His natural faith rested on the sure evidence of his own experience; his new creed contained no harsh or repulsive feature; he heard the same noble sentiments which he uttered in such moments repeated by his associates in the faith, and he devoutly believed that a complete regeneration of the human race was at hand." Stilton, the leading actor in these scenes, "had an answer for every doubt" which occurred to our author. "No matter how entangled a labyrinth might be exhibited to him, he walked straight through it." When asked, "how is it that the spirits of great authors speak so tamely to us? Shakespeare last night wrote a passage which he would have been heartily ashamed

of as a living man. We know that a spirit spoke, calling himself Shakespeare; but, judging from his communication, it would not have been he." Mr. Stilton's reply was,—“It probably was not Shakespeare; I am convinced that all malicious spirits are at work to interrupt the communications from the higher spheres. We were thus deceived by one professing to be Benjamin Franklin, who drew for us the plan of a machine for splitting shingles, which we had fabricated and patented at considerable expense. On trial, however, it proved to be a miserable failure, a complete mockery. When the spirit was again summoned, he refused to speak, but shook the table to express his malicious laughter, went off, and has never since returned.” To “obtain a pure spiritual atmosphere” Stilton excluded all but “mediums,” and those “non-mediumistic believers in whose presence the spirits felt at ease. The result seemed to justify the place. The character of the trance,” as our author had frequently observed, “is vitiated by the consciousness that disbelievers are present. The more perfect the atmosphere of credulity, the more satisfactory the manifestations. The expectant company, the dim light, the conviction that a wonderful revelation was about to dawn upon them, excited his imagination, and the trance was really a sort of delirium, in which he spoke with a passion and eloquence he had never before exhibited.”

One of the features of the trance condition the author of the confessions regards as “too important in its consequences to be overlooked. It is a feature of which many *mediums* are undoubtedly ignorant, the existence of which is not even suspected by thousands of honest spiritualists. A suspension of the will, when indulged in for any length of time, produces a suspension of that inward consciousness of good and evil, which we call *conscience*, and which can be actively exercised only through the medium of the *will*. The mental faculties and the moral perceptions lie down together in the same passive sleep. The subject is, therefore, equally liable to receive impressions from the minds of others and from their passions and lusts. Persons in the reception condition, which belongs to the trance, may be surrounded by honest and pure-minded individuals and receive no harmless impressions. They may even, if of a healthy spiritual temperament, resist for a time the aggressions of evil influences; but the final danger is always the same. The state of the *medium*, therefore, may be described as one in which the will is passive, the conscience passive, the outward senses partially, sometimes wholly, suspended, the mind helplessly subject to the operations of other minds, and the passions and desires released from all restraining influences.” The author “makes the statement boldly, after long and careful reflection, and severe self-examination.”

The “secret circle had not held many sessions before a remarkable change took place in the character of the revelations.” The spirit of Joe Martin, who died a drunkard, appeared and clamoured

for a dram, and, upon Miss Fetters drinking off a glass, "retired to make room for Erasmus, who spoke Latin, or what appeared to be Latin." None of them could make much of it; but Mr. Stilton declared that the Latin pronunciation of Erasmus was probably different from them, or that he might have learned the true Roman accent from Cicero and Seneca, with whom doubtless he was now on intimate terms. As Erasmus generally concluded by throwing his arms, or rather the arms of Miss Fetters, around the neck of Mr. Stilton, his spirit apparently fraternizing with the spirit of the latter, they greatly regretted that his communications were unintelligible. "I confess," continues the author, "I cannot recall the part I played, in what would have been a pitiable farce, if it had not been so terribly tragical, without a feeling of utter shame. Nothing but my profound sympathy for the thousands and ten thousands who are still subject to the same delusion would compel me to such a sacrifice of pride. Curiously enough, as I thought *then*, but not now, the enunciation of sentiments opposed to my moral sense, the abolition in fact of all moral restraints, came from my lips, which the actions of Miss Fetters limited at their practical application. Upon the ground that the interests of the soul were paramount to all human laws and customs, I declared, or rather my voice declared, that self-denial was a fatal error, to which half the misery of mankind would be traced." After describing the effect on the mind of Stilton's wife, who "was now and then frightened at the utterances which no doubt sounded lewd or profane to her ears," but who was calmed into passive submission by a glance at her husband; and the manner in which his own dark suspicions were invariably allayed by Stilton's logic, our author states, that he "threw himself again and again into the trance, with a richness of soul which fitted him to receive even the darkest impressions, to catch and proclaim every guilty whisper of the senses; and while under the influence of the excitement, to exult in the age of license which he believed to be at hand. But darker, stronger grew the terror which lurked behind this spiritual carnival. A more tremulous power than that which he now recognized in coming from Stilton's brain was present, and he saw himself whirling nearer and nearer to its grasp. He felt, by a sort of blind instinct, too vague to be expressed, that some American agency had thrust itself into the manifestations, perhaps had been mingled with them from the outset."

The failure of the clairvoyant sense in a particular instance "disturbed the complacency of his theories. He saw that he had accepted many things on very unsatisfactory evidence; but, on the other hand, there was much for which he could find no other explanation." After frankly admitting that even now he "does not pretend to explain all the phenomena of spiritualism," he adds,— "This, however, I determined to do, to ascertain, if possible, whether the influences which governed me in the trance state came from the



persons around, from the exercise of some independent faculty of my own mind, or really and truly from the spirits of the dead." Accordingly, his "first endeavour to solve the new questions was to check the *abandon* of the trance condition, and interfuse it with more of sober consciousness." In this he found great difficulty at first; but having at length "noticed attentively the expressions made use of by Mr. Stilton and the other members of the circle, he was surprised to find how many of them he had reproduced. But," he asks, "might they not, in the first place, have been derived from me? And what was the vague, dark Presence which still overshadowed me at times? What was that Power which I had tempted, which we were all tempting every time we met, and which continually drew nearer, and became more threatening? I knew not, and I *know not*. I would rather not speak or think of it any more."

The conduct of Stilton to his wife and to Miss Feters "produced a growing presentiment of some approaching catastrophe." He felt distinctly the presence of unhallowed passions in their circle. That catastrophe "came sooner than he had anticipated, and partly through his own instrumentality, though in any case it must finally have come." It occurred "at the house of one of the most zealous and fanatical believers," to which our author had "come rather unwillingly, for he was getting heartily tired of the business, and longed to shake off his habits of spiritual intoxication." We cannot transcribe the tragic scenes which followed, but the account of them our readers should peruse in the pamphlet for themselves. The substance was this, that Stilton shamelessly abandoned his wife, and absconded with Miss Feters, who was declared to him by the spirits to be his "true spiritual wife." From these sad scenes our author "stepped suddenly to the door, and drew a long, deep breath of relief," as he found himself alone in the darkness. "Now," he said to himself, "I have done tampering with God's best gift. I will be satisfied with the natural sunshine which beams from His word and from His works. I have learned wisdom at the expense of my shame."

The writer of the first affirmative article on this subject concludes with a recommendation to those who defend the negative side of the question at the head of these pages, to "write from the standpoint of experience, rather than from that of prejudice" (p. 310). We have given attention to his advice, and allowed a writer, who for seven years gave himself up absolutely to the control of his belief in these manifestations, to speak from experience. We are now in a position to ask this doctor if he followed his own prescription to others? He has written "after eight years' close investigation." We should like to be informed, in his next article, if, by *writing from investigation*, he means that he has *written from experience*? From all we know of the history of spirit-rapping and table-moving, we are under no inducement to make any experiment in self-delusion; and no one who reads "The Confessions of a Medium," will follow T. P. B.'s advice, to write from personal

experience, but will prefer imitating his example, and confine himself to close investigation, but not for "eight years," for as many hours spent in reading the accounts given by spiritualists themselves will suffice.

T. P. B. will, however, allow us to give him some advice in return for his. It is this: read the chapter in the first volume of "Mackay on Popular Delusions," in which the author gives a variety of instances of "the love of the marvellous and disbelief of the true." To T. P. B., and "large numbers of sincere inquirers," the Bible "does not carry satisfactory evidence of the truth they seek, and are anxious to believe respecting a future state of existence" (p. 306). Thus the very pretensions of the faith in spirit-rapping involves the renunciation, not only in our belief of what the Bible has revealed, but in all the great principles which experience and science disclose to us day by day. If the two millions in the United States who were once carried away with this monomania are still believers, it is against, not only common sense, but repeated exposures of the fraud and jugglery of which the originators were convicted by men of science and theology. Professor Faraday, in our own country, in 1853, published a letter, in which a contrivance was suggested by which such persons as T. P. B., if really anxious to judge from experience, may, in *eight minutes* at furthest, disprove the inferences drawn from "eight years' close investigation." The truth or falsehood of spiritual manifestations was subjected by the professor to a *mechanical test*, and the belief in visitations from a spiritual world was, in England at least, supplanted by shame that any one should not only mistake the exercise of their own unconscious powers for spiritual agency, but also the suggestions of their own minds for something more satisfactory than Divine revelations in the Bible. That the phenomena produced are extraordinary will be admitted by any one who has been one of "the circle;" but every test hitherto applied has demonstrated that the phenomena are strictly and purely physical. The effects on the mental, moral, and physical organizations of the human constitution are, accordingly, most deleterious where too great or too constant excitement is kept up. The effects on the morals of men and women are shown in "The Confessions of a Medium;" and on the mental and physical, in the fact that the epidemic in the United States sent in a marvellously short period *two thousand persons to the madhouse*, and in the general prostration of health consequent upon the frequent repetition of table-turning. They constitute an assemblage of facts which ought not to be left unnoticed, and, if possible, unexplained, by the physician, the physiologist, the mental philosopher, and the psychologist. The readiness with which so many can abandon their faith in Divine revelations, and the credulity with which they can substitute the ravings of men intoxicated with the love of the marvellous and the unnatural excitement of this species of trance; the lamentable distrust in "the oracles of God" which have neither deceived nor disappointed the nations of the earth through eighteen

centuries, and the confidence with which so many accept the incoherent, unintelligible, and contradictory utterances of the *spiritual media*, constitute another class of manifestations worthy the study of divines and Christians. Though scientific investigation has exploded the inference that departed spirits can communicate with mortals, much remains unexplained that may, under future inquiries, contribute to our knowledge of ourselves; but that these phenomena can add anything to what God in His word has disclosed of a spirit world is worthy the well-known credulity of the incredulous.

BALTHASAR BECKER.

## History.

### WAS THE SECESSION OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND JUSTIFIABLE?

#### AFFIRMATIVE ARTICLE.—III.

"I DESPAIR," said the great Dr. Chalmers, "I utterly despair of ever being able to make the English people comprehend the question of Non-intrusion." The difficulties which perplexed the good doctor were not entirely imaginary. Leaving out of sight such as obtain an account of mere difference of nomenclature, a very considerable obstacle exists in the abstract and spiritual nature of the Headship of Christ over the Church, which, in the religious point of view, is the great principle for which the Church of Scotland contended. The Church is a visible body existing in the world, and within the range of sense. Christ is as the nobleman who went into a far country; and His supreme authority, even when not actually despised, is often overlooked. The English Reformers did most nobly vindicate the exclusive claims of Christ to be Prophet and Priest of His Church. But it was not given them to understand His kingly rights; and hence they allowed the monarchs of the land to arrogate to themselves supremacy in things spiritual as well as civil, and thus to constitute themselves head of Christ's body, the Church.

The question, "Was the Free Church of Scotland justified in her secession from the State Establishment?" may be discussed under various aspects. We might enlarge on the grievous character of patronages, by which pastors, unwelcome and unworthy, were forced on protesting congregations. We might point out the hostility of patronages to scriptural precedent and injunction, and to the liberties wherewith Christ has endowed His people. We might indicate their lack of harmony with the institutions of an age which recognizes in the people the source of all political power.

We might trace their inexpediency in their results,—in the simony, and sacrilege, and unholy trafficking which have ever in all places attended them; and in the rancorous hostilities and jealous sentiments which they have introduced where only love and kindly charity should have prevailed. We might show that the Church of Scotland has ever repudiated and deprecated patronages in all her acts and decrees, her standards and confessions. Nay, that while for many years she had been illegally oppressed by them, her freedom from them, and from every species of civil interference, is the very law of the land—is part and parcel of the very constitution of the United Kingdom, and is solemnly guaranteed and recognized by every monarch who ascends the throne of Great Britain. Or, we might insist on the spiritual nature of the origin, laws, constitution, and objects of the Church of Christ. We might demonstrate that He has brought her into existence, has redeemed her members at the price of His blood, and has constituted them free from all civil interference—subjects of a kingdom not of this world. That He has never committed any jurisdiction over the Church into the hands of the civil magistrate; and that, while He has reserved certain privileges for the christian people, he has delegated the keys, emblems of His own authority, into the hands of His ministers, responsible to Himself alone. These topics are necessarily involved in any thorough vindication of Free Church principles. Some of them have been handled by the previous writers, who, however, have chiefly treated the question from an historical point of view. We propose now to make a few brief observations on some portions of our subject which have not yet been treated of; answering as we proceed the principal objections that have arisen: and concluding with a *résumé* of the position of the Church in regard to the civil courts at the period of the disruption.

#### I. The grievous character of patronages.

The church history of Scotland everywhere indicates the fact, that whenever the system of patronage prevailed, it was employed either for mercenary or political ends. At first it was introduced into Scotland by grasping priests, who, by a judicious retailing of it, obtained possession of more than half the wealth of the whole country. It was restored by the Stuarts, anxious to consolidate their tyranny. It was reimposed the last time, in 1712, for traitorous ends, by a treason-hatching Tory party. And its effects have ever been consistent with its origin. Thoughtless, idle, ungodly, simoniacal, and avaricious men, who were able to flatter a patron, or to put money in his purse, were induced to enter the Church as a means of livelihood. Thus, for example, were caused the moral desolation and spiritual darkness that overspread the land during nearly the whole of last century.

II. The unscriptural character of patronage forms a most important element of the question. What are the means which the Head of the Church has sanctioned for the appointment of pastors over His people? Under which system are we to expect

His blessing? Has He affirmed the "rights" of lay patrons? It is mockery to inquire. It was no lay patron, but "the multitude," that elected the seven deacons, who were to be "men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom" (Acts vi. 1.—6).

The "very chiefest apostle," when he wished to send messengers to Jerusalem, would not nominate them himself, but wrote thus to the churches of Greece:—"Whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send" (2 Cor. xvi. 3). And when it is required concerning him who should be ordained to the office of bishop, or elder, that "he must have a good report of them that are without" (1 Tim. iii. 7), it is evidently assumed as too plain to need injunction that he must have a good report of them that are within. It was with votes of the people\* that Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every church (Acts xiv. 23). And when the very highest ministry of the Church was vacant, it was the people, the 120 disciples, who nominated Barsabas and Matthias candidates for the apostolic office. "They appointed two;" "they prayed;" and "they gave forth their lots" (Acts i. 15—26).

Many other passages might be referred to in which the principle of popular election is directly asserted. But the doctrine underlies the whole of the New Testament. The people are everywhere admonished of their responsibilities in regard of the gospel ministry. They are warned to "beware of false prophets, which come in sheeps' clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves,"—"to believe not every spirit, but to try the spirits, whether they be of God,"—"to receive not into their house, neither bid God-speed," those who have brought unto them any other gospel.

This then is the real touchstone of the controversy. We inquire of the scriptures, and we find that while they know nothing of any "Lord's over God's heritage," they speak out plainly and decisively for the cause of liberty. Let T. U., sigh as he will over "the little power of correct judgment possessed by the people," and of "the difficulty of satisfying, perhaps, large minorities." What then? Surely T. U. is not wiser than the apostles?†

III. The church of Scotland has ever been hostile to patronages.

T. U. has asserted that "the views now propounded by the non-intrusionists were gradually developed from time to time" (P. 241.) Let us see, we will begin, as early as possible, at 1560, the time of reformation.

First Book of Discipline.—"It appertaineth to the people, and to several congregations to elect their minister."

\* This is not expressed in our present English version, though it was so in the earlier translations. The term employed is *χειροτονια*, signifying a voting by outstretched hands. It is used in the same sense in 2 Cor. viii. 19,—*"Chosen of the churches to travel with us."*

† Strangely enough, after expressing his anxiety to satisfy minorities, this writer immediately commences to abuse the presbytery of Auchterarder for respecting the unanimous vote of a whole parish. Surely, his reasons also "sometimes conflict with each other."

Second Book of Discipline, 1578.—“So that none be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince, or by any inferior person without lawful election and consent of the people over whom the person is placed ; as the practice of the apostolic and primitive Kirk, and good order crave.”

Memorial 1690.—“The burdensome bondage of patronage is not yet removed ; whereby the church is robbed of the liberty of choosing her own guides entrusted with her greatest concerns.”

1712.—The church's commissioners in the House of Lord's affirmed, “that ever since the reformation from popery, the Kirk hath always reckoned patronage a grievance and a burden.”

Act of Assembly 1736.—“The church is by duty and interest obliged still to endeavour to be relieved from the grievance of patronage.”

IV. The constitutional rights of the church may be briefly stated. At the revolution in 1690, the independence of the church was affirmed and established. Patronage was completely abolished, and the rights of the patrons were bought and paid for ; 600 marks compensation being assigned for each patronage. At the union of the two countries, in the early part of last century, the liberties of the church as established at the revolution were confirmed and settled “for ever.” Each sovereign who has since reigned in Britain has sworn, in coronation oath, to maintain and preserve these rights and liberties “inviolable.” Yet the church was robbed of them in 1712. And it was because these could not be recovered, and because also that fresh invasions were being made that the Free Church seceded.

We have not time to examine the negative article by “Saul,” who must have acquired his name on account of the superior altitude at which he towers above the queen's English (P. 328.)

He contends that “the real point” is that the church broke the law. Now, whether this be true, or not true, we have shown that the church acted in accordance with her statute-book, and “whether it be right to hearken unto men more than unto God,” Saul, judge ye.

Full details of the Auchterarder case have already been given. But many similar cases arose. In the words of Dr. Hamilton, “it became the fashion in the north, to carry every cause out of the church courts into the Court of Session.” No portion of the church's jurisdiction was left uninvaded. Officers of the church were interdicted by law from taking their seat in her courts. Throughout one whole district, the preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments were forbidden to the ministers of the church, by the Court of Session. In another case, the church was interdicted from ordaining fresh ministers to meet the wants of an increasing population, and this, too, where there existed no right of patronage, no benefice, no stipend, and no place of worship. Ministers suspended, and deposed by the church were reinstated by the civil courts. Spiritual censures were prevented or removed by law. In one case, the Court of Session interdicted the deposition of a minister who had been found guilty of theft.

In another, it interdicted a presbytery from proceeding with the trial of a minister accused of fraud and swindling. In another instance, the presbytery was interdicted from investigating the case of a minister accused of drunkenness, profane swearing, and obscenity. And the work of sacrilege was not stayed even here. With unholy hands the civil judges presumed to touch the very table of the Lord; and individuals who in drunkenness had disturbed public worship, were admitted to the sacrament by the mandate of the civil court.

It is needless to continue the melancholy story of the church's wrongs. The time-honoured and scriptural distinction between things sacred, and things civil was entirely annihilated. The liberties for which she had wrestled with the bloody Stuarts, which had been confirmed to her at the revolution, and solemnly settled on her "for ever," at the Union; those liberties which every sovereign who has since ascended the throne has sworn to "maintain and preserve," were ruthlessly despoiled.

A convocation of ministers was held in Edinburgh to consider the state of the church. It was opened by a sermon from Dr. Chalmers, on the text, "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness." (Ps. cxii. 4.) It was resolved that the principles for which they had been contending should be maintained at any sacrifice. A petition for justice was addressed to Her Majesty the Queen, and a "claim, declaration, and protest," was forwarded to parliament. An insolent response from Sir James Graham, then Secretary of State, was the answer to the petition; and (despite the remonstrance of the Scottish members,) the "claim" was thrown out in the House of Commons by a large majority.

Submission, or secession, were now the church's alternative, and at General Assembly, in May 1843, four hundred and seventy-eight ministers of the Church of Scotland (a majority of the whole number) resigned their connection with the state establishment, and, in conjunction with their people, inaugurated the Free Church of Scotland. They left the church of their fathers—they gave up house and land, stipend, and place of worship, and much that they loved, with even the little spot of land, scene of many a holy meditation—the corner of the parish Kirkyard where the minister is buried.

Were these men justified? Were they justified in maintaining the "crown rights of their Redeemer"? Was it right for them to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to withhold from him the things that are God's? Is Christ King and Head of His own Church? Are the liberties which she possesses His gift? Are the liberties worth the maintaining? Did He buy them with His blood? Surely, if so, He will justify these men; and we must not withhold our approval? MONTGOMERY.

#### NEGATIVE ARTICLE.—III.

Was the *Secession* of the Free Church of Scotland justifiable? is the question for discussion. A. G. A. has, on the *fly*, debated a

subject to which in the first volume of *The British Controversialist*, space was given,—“Ought the Church and State to be United”?\* This is neither fair nor right. The Free Church of Scotland is a *voluntary* one by necessity—not choice. No argument drawn from the justifiableness of voluntarism can prove the justifiableness of the Free Church Secession—for the very basis and ground of its theory of a Church is, that it ought to be supported by, as it supports, the state. The leaders of the Free Church Secession were the most violent and virulent opponents of voluntarism during the long period in which the controversy upon that subject was pending. They were the men who placed every obstacle in the way of the education of young men for the ministry of voluntary churches—the great conservators of test-oaths and confession-signatures. They believed not merely in the expediency, but in the scripturality of State-endowed Churches; and it is only reluctantly and sorrowfully that they endure their present state of orphanage. They have expressly reserved their right in their standards, to return to the service and pay of the state so soon as the state will give them the demand they make—liberty—to do as they like. By voluntarism they cannot be justified; they have only one justification so far as I can see, at present, and that is—success. Yet the sustentation fund is failing year by year, and the pews are emptying, and the schools are being closed, and their professors are being intruded into every University—to save the cost they have been to the Church.

I contend that the Secession was unjustifiable. 1st. Religiously. 2nd. Politically. 3rd. Socially. 4th. Morally. 5th. Economically, or 6th. Expediently.

1st. To justify the schism, there ought to be some distinct, tangible, heretical, or dogmatical error resiled from, revolted against, and separated from; or there should be some grave doctrine, essential teaching, or requisite practice witnessed for, and appealed to. But her doctrine, discipline, form of worship, practice, laws, traditions, &c., are the same in every point, except one, *viz.*, that the Church may make, break, neglect, enforce, or conform to any law to rule according to the mood of the majority of its Supreme Church Court. The Church refuses to be bound by any law external to itself, however fair, and claims the right if it pleases to expunge the very prime principles of its own constitution—if the General Assembly so will it. To claim irresponsibility is unjustifiable, and that the Free Church Secession did, and does.

2nd. To justify the revolt of those who held office in, had taken oaths of obedience and subjection to, and had received the pay of the state, there ought to have been some plain, palpable, and well-defined violation of the legal rights, and law-given privileges of the person revolting and recalcitrant. But there was no such thing. The fault was all on the Church side, not on that of the State. The

\* See Vol. 1, pp. 200, 257, 312, 318, &c.



Church did wrong, insisted it had a right to do that, and when brought face to face with the law, and shown that they were wrong, they still persisted in holding their own doings to be right, and revolted, because not allowed to break the law with impunity.

The law gave certain parties certain rights, and denied them to others; the Church gave the latter the rights the law denied them, and when those who suffered by the illegitimate doings of those Church-favoured persons appealed against this wrongful conduct, the Free Church party held themselves to be in the right, and rather than confess their error, and retrace their steps, acknowledge themselves not infallible, they seceded from the Church, in other words, caused what they themselves delight to call a disruption. Now, that self-chosen designation for their act, shews that the Secession it names was not justifiable; for that is not a name we give to a healthy process, or a natural development, but to a violent and unnatural wrench or disseverment.

3rd. Any Secession which operates injuriously upon social life, is unjustifiable, unless it ultimately results in the production of a good, greater in geometrical proportion, than the evil it originated. But the Free Church Secession was so intense in its bitterness, that for years, men who had formerly been brethren in heart and life, never spoke to each other. The country was suffused with the worst of all hatreds, a religious one, and the whole of society has since been impregnated with a keen and censorious sectarianism which keeps men aloof from each other, hardens the heart, and lessens not only the amenities, but the charities of life. The social evil of propagating religious differences is one of no slight weight, and, inasmuch as this was done without actual need by the Free Church Secession, it was unjustifiable.

4th. Moral wrong can never be religiously right. Every secessionist had sworn not to use any means overt or hidden for the Church of Scotland. These oaths were broken. They had sworn allegiance to the crown, and submission to the law. These oaths were tossed off as worthless wythes, unworthily binding these Samsons in the house of the Philistines. These men were appointed preachers of peace and righteousness; they inculcated war to the knife against the residuary Church, and have been relentless and remorseless in their determination to keep down any and every man adhering to the Church who has the least ability; while they have taught the people that it is a holy, and a just thing to withstand the laws of their country—though these laws are the decisions of the majority of freely chosen representatives of all classes of men. They have censured the law-courts of the land, as hotbeds of injustice; they have shown despite to the Legislature; they have refused to give to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and yet they claim to be in the habit of giving to God the things that are God's. In none of these things are they justifiable.

5th. The economy of a change is advisable. The Free Church, in the first outburst of her pride, resolved to equal what the Church

had done, and to show that it was done, they planted churches, and (sometimes) schools just beside the churches, and schools already in existence, thus farther stereotyping the unsuitable distribution of religious and educational edifices, and making a plethora of church accommodation, where there were few, or none to be accommodated. Scotland acquired Church extension, but it was not such Church extension as would supply and suit the population. In this case money was spent, heedlessly, recklessly, profusely in extending churches where they were not required—and the poor were left all but ill-off as ever, for the wherewithal to worship God. Rivalry was stronger than righteousness. The money thus spent (misspent ?) would have provided permanent endowments for all time for parishes, and parish ministers, sufficient to supplement the old and inefficient supply of places of worship. Spendthriftiness is not a Christian virtue, but here it was displayed, and is even now boasted of as—Christian liberty.

6th. Expediency sometimes, though seldom, hits upon a real good ; but here there was nothing done expediently. A grave fact in history was travestied into a battle of chimney-sweepers, and led to this result—the spread and multiplication of black coats, Geneva bands, and sermonizers. Now, whenever the supply exceeds the demand, the value attached to the article, whatever it is, diminishes ; and, in this case, unless for the jealous irritability of sectarianism, this would be strongly felt. As it is, the ministry is falling into disrepute in Scotland, and very few of the best minds of the country are preparing for the pulpit. The keen competitions of life are being brought to activity into the church, now-a-days ; and as this is inexpedient, the cause which led to it is unjustifiable.

The Free Church of Scotland claims exemption from the dominion of civil law, and the right to do what it likes, when it likes, in its church courts. It claims to be the servant of Christ, whose kingdom is not *of* this world, but is *over* this world ; and in His name, and with His authority, it claims to act. It is *free* just because it is above and superior to any law—even that of its own constitution. As Christ said, “All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,” the Free Church, as His earthly representative, are the trustees of His power, and so are subject to none ! Any church seceding from any other upon such principles, must be unjustifiable, for these principles are neither justifiable to reason nor religion. Christ himself submitted to law, even when unjust and harsh ; but His professed followers broke the law, and acted in defiance of it ; then, when they were checked in their unjustifiable career, they made, it is maintained, a justifiable secession, to assert their right to contravene any law ; to enthrone *Christ*, whose laws they do interpret as seems pleasing in their own eyes, and to dethrone *Cæsar*, whose laws are interpreted by competent tribunals. “Christ’s crown and covenant” is a very pretty and nicely alliterative phrase—like the patrimony of St. Peter’s, or the Cardross case,—but who shall translate it out of the ambiguity of

a party cry, at once *esoteric* and *exoteric*, into the singleness of meaning it ought to have and express? To make such words a party-cry—the “*in hoc signo*” of a schism—was a desecration of them. The Free Church fight was for priestly power and priestly arrogance, and that they have gained, it may be seen, in the doings of popes at each assembly.

Priestly power has been more grossly abused than any other in the world. When we wish a metaphor capable of expressing a concentrated essence of tyranny, pretentiousness, uncharitable act, hid in a holy seeming, we hide it out in one word, “priestcraft.” It has been the interest and vocation of churchmen, in all ages, to arrogate a saintliness superior to humanity, and to overspur the laity. Wherever parsons have the most power, matters are worse guided; and no lot has such a crook in it as the church pastor can supply. Search the records of all possible courts, and you will be unable to find any so contradictory in form of action, so strained now, and so lax again; so remorseless when a sacrifice is needed; so haughty and insolent when discovered in the wrong; so persistently impenitent as a church court. Resistance, however noble, principled, and well-grounded, arouses enmity, but does not inspire respect. The only virtue such a court admits, is truckling servility. Learn but the art of adulatory, crooked-kneedness, and you may get on, but keep your spine erect, and your face capable, as God made it, of looking to the heavens, and you are as lost as if Erebus already contained you. Moderates or Evangelicals, it makes no matter,—they have all studied the “*anathema maranatha*.” Pope or Presbyter, prelate or preacher, they are all alike in their corporate assemblies,—greedy of power, and inimical to personal independence. Every church, as a church, has added its share to the significance of that proverb which says, “The worst of all crafts is priestcraft.” In so far, then, as the Free Church Secession has tended and helped to make tools of the laity, and popes of the clergy, to propagate and favour priestcraft, it is unjustifiable.

What an uprooting of habit, sanctified by long years! What a writhing of the soul for lack of a long lifetime’s consecrated hopes, were all caused by that secession! To talk of persecution in these days of free Parliaments, speech, newspapers, and agitation, is nonsense. Had there been a good cause to go to the country upon, there can be little doubt but there would have been a good agitation got up. But the well-known, wether-like propensities of the Scotch to leap over any religious hurdle their shepherd may set up, emboldened the men who sought for “the golden fleece;” and they got the reward of their daring; but the gigantic canvas they spread they are now compelled to reef in. They are cutting down everywhere, and lopping and pruning without stint, that they may be able to show a seaworthy ship; but the world is becoming wiser now-a-days than it was even eighteen years ago, and the people are not now to be galled with “uncertain sounds” about “Christ’s church and covenant,” unless there be also some truth underlying

the phrase. The touchstone of argument is being applied to all movements, and when we put it to the Free Church Secession, we find it indicates it was not justifiable. CERNAS.

## The Reviewer.

*Personal History of Lord Bacon.* By W. HEPWORTH DIXON, Esq. 1861.

IN criticising the work of Mr. Montagu on the subject of "Bacon," Lord Macaulay said,—*"There is scarcely any delusion which has a better claim to be indulgently treated than that under the influence of which a man ascribes every moral excellence to those who have left imperishable monuments of their genius."* Agreeing to the fullest extent with that opinion, we do not purpose, in this paper, to treat with any harshness the declarations of Mr. Dixon contained in this, his latest production—issued, as he himself says, to clear the memory of the great philosopher from that "darkness" and "foulness" with which Campbell and Macaulay, Pope and Hallam, have encircled his name. We must, at all events, give Mr. Dixon credit for having a great amount of courage in thus entering the lists against such men as we have named; and if his advocacy was based upon reason and evidence, we would be bound to accord to him a high meed of praise, on account of his triumphant success on behalf of his idol. We disagree, however, with Mr. Dixon, as to both the *manner* and the *matter* of that advocacy. It is certainly characterized by very strong and emphatic language, which can scarcely be termed courteous when applied to his fellow-labourers in the field of literature. It brands the opinion of Pope as "a lie," and alleges that Hallam wrote to make the character of Bacon "dark," and Campbell to make it "foul." It is interwoven with many strange and far-fetched metaphors, and though advanced on behalf of the founder of a sound and practical philosophy, partakes in no degree of the character of that mode of reasoning which Lord Bacon himself propounded and established. "My work," says our author, in substance, "shall scatter the 'lie' of Pope to the winds, and clear the reputation of Bacon from all stain." The intention is no doubt good; but notwithstanding Mr. Dixon's strong language and forced metaphors, bad logic and worse law, new facts and novel theories, the design, as here unfolded to us in black and white, is a signal failure. Had we been left alone, we would have been glad to have forgotten the misdeeds or failings of one who has done such incalculable good for our nation and our race as Francis Bacon. We would have remembered only his essays, his philosophy, his legal reforms, his mental capabilities, and intellectual powers; but Mr.

Dixon challenges us to unveil the career of the man, and demands that we shall regard his idol, his "god," as possessed of every good and moral attribute—as irreproachable in character, unsullied by any single vice, and untainted by any criminal charge. Under such circumstances, as we differ from Mr. Dixon, it seems only fair to him, and just to the memory of Lord Bacon, that we should now briefly refer to the *matter* of the work at present before us, in order to show that our author has not accomplished that which he undertook so fully to perform.

Sir Nicholas Bacon—who, shortly after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England, had been made Lord Keeper of the realm, and afterwards Lord Chancellor—by his second marriage had two children, Anthony and Francis. Before the latter had reached his twentieth year, while travelling in France, he heard of the sudden death of his father, and at once returned to England, to find himself in a position of comparative poverty, and forced by circumstances "to think how to live, instead of living only to think." Disappointed in his hopes of obtaining a political appointment, Francis, in his twentieth year, entered himself at Gray's Inn for the profession of the law, and in 1586 was called to the "outer bar," and appointed Lent Reader to his Inn. The position which his father had held in the State, however, still made him feel anxious to secure a post under Government for himself, and he frequently applied to his uncle, then Lord Treasurer, on the subject, though with no better success than being nominated to a reversionary office, worth, when it fell, in *twenty years* after, about £1,600 per annum. In 1585 he had been returned to Parliament as member for Melcombe, and in 1586 Taunton claimed him as its representative; while in 1588 he sat in the House as Liverpool's chosen leader. His parliamentary labours appear to have gained for him a good reputation as a useful and energetic member; for we find him, in 1592, elected to represent the important borough of Middlesex. That he, during these years, displayed his great powers of thought and speech, we cannot doubt; but we do not feel it necessary to think, with Mr. Dixon, that Lord Campbell, in not noticing these facts, is guilty of any suppression, because we believe that Lord Campbell's province was to speak of Bacon as a lawyer or a chancellor, rather than as a statesman or a politician. In 1593, we find the youthful member manfully and successfully opposing the Subsidy Bill proposed by the Ministry, which demanded for the Queen a three years' contribution of double the ordinary amount. In thus acting, Francis Bacon displayed an independence of character and a manliness of tone, which, had they been preserved, would have rendered his name imperishable in the annals of history: but no sooner did he find that his proceedings on this occasion had given offence to the Queen, and incensed her against him, than he changed his tone, and became as servile as he had before been independent. Of course, Mr. Dixon would have his readers deny this alle-

gation, because, to admit its truth, would militate against his favourite theories as to Bacon's character; but, unfortunately for both advocate and client, the facts are too strong to be overlooked or ignored. Francis wrote letters on the subject to Lord Burghley, in one of which he says:—"I most humbly pray your lordship, first, to continue me in your own good opinion, and then to perform the part of an honourable and good friend towards your poor servant and ally, in drawing her Majesty to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of my zeal, and to hold me in her Majesty's favour, *which is to me dearer than my life.*"

But to place the matter beyond the possibility of a doubt, and to show that not only was the Queen annoyed at Bacon for his conduct on this occasion, but that Bacon himself was aware of such being the case, we need only quote one passage from a letter which he wrote to her shortly after, in which, after stating that her Majesty had taken some displeasure at him, he added, "he was most anxious to offer his services to her, *that he might repair his error.*" The manner in which he did "repair his error" is ascertained by watching his conduct on the next occasion when a Subsidy Bill was proposed, and we then find that he argued as strenuously *for*, as he had previously contended against the obnoxious measure. His independence was shelved; in order to keep the Queen on his side, and the honorary appointment of "Counsel Extraordinary," conferred upon him in 1595, denotes the effect of his pliancy of principle in the proper quarter.

Meanwhile, however, one who was destined to play a very conspicuous part in England's history in after years, appeared upon the scene: this was the youthful, accomplished, yet wayward Earl of Essex. Related in a remote degree to the Queen, Essex became ere long the favourite at Court; and an intimacy soon sprung up between him and the brothers Bacon, which eventually led to the employment of Anthony as secretary, and Francis as "legal adviser and friend" to the Earl. This is the relationship in which Mr. Dixon insists upon our regarding Francis Bacon as standing towards Essex; and although we conceive that history would warrant us in placing them on a more equal and less business-like footing, we are content, for argument's sake, to let it remain as our author has stated. To Essex, the client, then, Bacon makes known his earnest desire to be appointed to the Solicitor-generalship, then vacant, and the noble Earl at once intercedes on behalf of his "legal adviser" with the Queen. He pleads again and again for him—he expatiates at length upon his fitness for the office, and upon his claims on the Royal notice on his father's account—he is refused the appointment by Elizabeth in the evening, only to return again to the subject before her with the more vigour and spirit the next morning. All that man could do he does for Francis; but the Queen had a whim, and appointed another to the place; and piqued at the non-success of his advocacy, Essex made Bacon accept from him the gift of a piece of land. So we learn from Lord Campbell's work, and so

Macaulay, and Hallam, and many others, have recorded in their writings on the subject; but Mr. Dixon apparently denies the assertion, and it is necessary to examine the question minutely, because upon the accuracy of the statements of either side depends much of the after consideration of Bacon's character. It has been often said that there are no arguments which a man overthrows with more gratification and complete success than those which he himself has constructed, and put in his opponent's mouth. So we find it in the present instance. Mr. Dixon denies Lord Campbell's statement, that Essex at this time gave Bacon "Twickenham Park," and bases his denial upon the fact that "Twickenham Park" was not only not the Earl's to give away, but actually at that time was in possession of the Bacon family. This of course seems to cut the ground completely from under poor Lord Campbell—we say seems, because from beginning to end of that writer's observations on the subject he has *never once* said that Essex gave Bacon "Twickenham Park!"

Having attributed to his opponent what that opponent *never uttered*, Mr. Dixon indulges in a long tirade about the mode in which the "Park" was held, no doubt interesting in many points of view, but only introduced where it stands here apparently to raise a cloud of dust in the eyes of the reader, and secure a plaudit from the unthinking public at the expense of Lord Campbell. Passing over Mr. Dixon's personalities and sorry sophisms, we find that in a few pages after this point-blank denial has been given to the statement of Lord Campbell, our author feels compelled to grant that a "piece of land at Twickenham" was actually bestowed upon Bacon by Essex at this time, and a reference to the "Lives of the Chancellors" will show that that is exactly what Lord Campbell has said about it! For aught we know the latter may have been as well aware as Mr. Dixon that Twickenham "Park" did not belong to Essex at all at the time. If his lordship was not before aware of it, of course he will duly appreciate the new fact thus elicited by Mr. Dixon. It appears a rather curious mode of reasoning, however, to say that because A has a coat, therefore B could never have given him a waistcoat; and yet that is the sum and substance of Mr. Hepworth Dixon's logic on the point, when cleared of its clouds of words and eloquent denunciations.

But coming to deal with the fact of a grant of land, our author urges that it was not much to boast of, because, after many improvements made upon it, Bacon only got £1,800 for it on its sale. Well, for an earl's gift, perhaps it was not a munificent one; but it was, at all events, something of value to one circumstanced as Bacon was at the time, straitened in means, and though talented and learned, not sufficiently versed in the secrets of Dixonian philosophy to be able to derive any support from the reversionary office which a kind and considerate Queen had previously bestowed upon him! But, continues our advocate, this land was bestowed

not in the nature of a gift at all, but really as remuneration for professional services rendered by the lawyer to his client. If such was the case, it appears very hard to reconcile Bacon's declining it, when first made to him, with his conduct on all other occasions when reward or payment was in question. We never find he had the slightest scruple in accepting payment for his real or imaginary services, and why should he have hesitated to take this? Mr. Dixon does not attempt to solve the mystery, and it is but fair to assume that it was in truth a "free gift," and that, when Bacon wrote of it as being made "with so kind and noble circumstances as the manner was worth more than the matter," he spoke of something which he had not professionally earned, but of which the kindness and generosity of his friend had prompted the bestowal.

But passing on, we find the client and his "legal adviser" occupied in rather a strange business for purely business people to engage in. Bacon's poverty had long preyed upon his own mind, and he looked about him for a rich heiress, by marrying whom he might retrieve his fortune, and secure an independence for himself. His eyes fell upon Lady Hatton, a wealthy widow, and to her he at once made court. At his request, Essex wrote to the lady's friends, recommending Francis to their good graces, extolling his good parts to the highest degree, and stating that so highly did he esteem his friend, that he would not hesitate to bestow upon him his own sister in marriage. The widow, however, would have none of Francis; her affections were fixed elsewhere; and shortly after the warm advocacy of Essex on his behalf, she ran away with Sir Edward Coke, whose after life she succeeded in making anything but happy. Now it is not going too far, we think, to say that this circumstance shows that Francis Bacon and Essex were something more to each other than "legal adviser" and "client;" that they were, in fact, friends, in the usual acceptation of the term; and that the Earl took a practical part in all that contributed to Bacon's welfare and happiness. Oh, no, says Mr. Dixon, for Bacon had a great escape from Lady Hatton, and a still greater one from the sister of the noble Earl: either of the ladies would have rendered the life of the philosopher unhappy and miserable. That is quite possible, we admit; but we are dull enough not to be able to see how that militates against the Earl's claim upon the gratitude of Bacon for his conduct in the matter. Francis, at the time he sought the hand of Lady Hatton in marriage, considered, no doubt, that the alliance would be a beneficial one for him; its being fulfilled could bring no earthly benefit to Essex; and, therefore, it is a simple begging of the question to say that because the lady made her after-taken husband miserable, therefore the Earl is to be blamed rather than praised for trying to gain that which Bacon himself wished for, and strove hard to obtain.

Having been disappointed in his application for a place for some dependent, Essex shortly afterwards retires to the country in a pet, and Bacon urges upon him the folly of acting in such a way



as to incense the Queen against him. The Earl got, however, into the hands of bad companions and worse advisers; and having been appointed to the command of the forces sent to Ireland, places himself under the power of the law by returning from his post without leave. He was committed to prison. Bacon, though he never went to see him there, interceded for him with the Queen, and he was released. Again, however, he made himself amenable to justice, and was arrested for high treason; and now, finding that to countenance Essex further as a friend would interfere with his own advancement at Court, Bacon kindly leaves him to his fate, saying to the Queen:—"If I do break my neck, I will do it in a manner as Mr. Dorrington did it, which walked upon the battlements of the church many days, and took a survey where he should fall: and so, madam, I am not so simple but that I take a prospect of my overthrow." Under the circumstances, perhaps Bacon could scarcely have been called criminal because he declined to make intercession for one who now appeared past his influence and beyond his control—if he had stopped at that point. But he did not content himself with not acting for Essex at the time; he went so far as to act against him, and that constitutes the gravity of the charge which Mr. Dixon professes not to see.

The trial of the Earl was fixed for the 19th of February, 1601. Francis, though offered by his colleagues in the legal profession a subordinate place in the prosecution—for they thought that the great intimacy known to exist previously between the prisoner and the lawyer would make the latter accept such a place with alacrity—insisted upon his right to a prominent position in the affair, and took the reply. In it he indulged in all the eloquent declamation he had at command, not merely to secure a conviction of the prisoner—for that the evidence would have done of itself—but also to deprive him of the slightest claim upon the mercy of the Sovereign. He alluded to the Earl's early career, and to circumstances of his life which had no reference whatever to the offences for which he was then on trial: and when Essex appealed to him to know had not he himself written at that very time to the Queen on his behalf, Bacon retorted in loud invectives against him, as one who had proved himself a bad subject and a worse man.

The Earl was found guilty, and condemned to death. The Queen had still a liking for him, and wavered much about the issue of his death-warrant. *Now* was the time for a true friend to have said a kind word on behalf of a fallen "client"—to have seen that client, and induced him to send to the Queen the signet-ring which had been given to him in earlier and happier days, and to have procured for the prisoner, at least a commutation of his sentence. But Francis Bacon—this paragon of excellence—this model of a true friend—this loyal subject—this honourable, noble-minded man—never once goes to the Tower to offer the condemned one words of advice or of consolation—never makes the slightest move to put in motion the merciful feelings of a Queen who needed only

to be asked for pardon by Essex himself to grant it, despite of trial and condemnation! The traitor is executed. Some of his companions in guilt are heavily fined; and a Royal warrant is issued, bestowing upon Bacon £1,200,—portion of the fine inflicted upon one of them. It is a pity that Mr. Dixon could not have informed us that Bacon declined this gift, as he did the piece of land at first. Had he so informed us, we would have been ready to agree with him, that in so doing he acted the part we would have expected from a true-hearted, loyal subject, who, having done his duty to the throne in procuring the death of a traitor, refused to accept of money which would be regarded as “the price of blood.” But the cash slipped as easily into Bacon’s purse as if it had been honestly earned, and Mr. Dixon’s fine-drawn theories vanish away!

It is somewhat interesting to notice the defence which Mr. Montagu in olden days, and Mr. Dixon in this our own time, have attempted to make for the conduct of Bacon on this memorable trial. “To prove Bacon wrong in the matter”—the latter gravely argues—“we must prove Essex to be right!” It requires a large amount of credulity, indeed, to induce us to believe that such an absurd proposition could emanate from the mind of one who made the smallest claim to argumentative power, or common sense reasoning. And yet to that proposition, in its entirety, Mr. Dixon has calmly committed himself. Has it never occurred to that gentleman that *both* may have been wrong in the matter? Take a simple instance from every day life. A man is drunk in the public thoroughfare, creating a disturbance, and annoying Her Majesty’s subjects. A policeman comes up, and in the endeavour to remove the delinquent, uses unnecessary violence. Ordinary individuals would at once say, if asked their opinion, both were wrong, the man for being drunk and disorderly, the constable for acting with undue severity. Fortunately, however, for the reputation of the police-force, the Dixonian logic appears, and in order to prove the constable to have acted wrongly, you are required to prove that the drunken fellow was in the right. *That* you are not foolish enough to attempt, because it would be impossible, and therefore, according to Mr. Dixon, you will at once say the officer was right! Really, such propositions as these are childish in their nature, and still, in all gravity, they are attempted to be applied to the case of Bacon and Essex. Why, we will merely for the sake of argument admit that the Earl was a traitor to his country, and deserving of condemnation and of death,—that in public and in private he was the blackest scoundrel that ever lived; and still we maintain that *his* guilt or criminality does not in the slightest degree relieve Bacon from the odium attaching to his conduct in the matter. It is urged, indeed, that as a lawyer, and a loyal subject, Bacon was bound by the etiquette of his profession, and by his duty to the Crown, to act against Essex, when he had proved himself a rebel to the throne of England. In the name of that profession to which Mr. Dixon himself belongs,

we deny the existence of any such obligation on the part of Francis Bacon, or any other member of the bar; and we do more, for we maintain that as a lawyer who had for years previously been the "legal adviser and friend" to the Earl—who had in that capacity become acquainted with events and circumstances in the life of his "client," which, otherwise, he never would have known of, Bacon was, in etiquette as a lawyer, and in honour as a man, bound not to act *against* his client in any matter which touched in the slightest degree upon those events, or circumstances, or indeed at all. If Bacon had been asked by the Earl to act *for* him on the trial, and had declined, posterity might give him credit for the possession of those strong feelings of loyalty and of honour which Mr. Dixon claims on his behalf; but the only loyalty we can recognize as influencing Francis Bacon in the matter, is, one to his *own selfish purposes*, not to the throne—a loyalty which, trampling under foot the demands of professional etiquette, and private friendship, can find no countenance in honest and impartial minds. Mr. Dixon conceives he has advanced an irresistible argument on his side, when he puts a case to Lord Campbell, and asks him whether, if still at the bar, he would not act in the prosecution of a man for high treason, even although that man might have formerly been a client of his, and had in that capacity paid him large fees? Lord Campbell might or might not so act, for aught we know or care; but of this we are assured, that his lordship would feel it more consistent with his professional honour, and more in accordance with his private feelings to abstain from taking any part in such a prosecution. A barrister of the present day, with any pretensions to professional honour, or any shadow of a reputation, would decline a brief *against* an old client, when he did not feel warranted, on personal grounds, to act *for* him. But in reality there is no analogy whatever, between the case under consideration, and that attempted to be put by Mr. Dixon. Bacon's conduct is to be tried upon its own merits; if it was wrong, no amount of wrong doing on the part of Lord Campbell, or any other lawyer, could prove it to be right; while on the other hand, if it was right, no accumulation of evidence from Lord Campbell's proceedings in similar cases could make it more so.

But this would have been a sorry defence, if it was the only one which Mr. Dixon could advance for his "idol." "Bacon owed more to the Queen than to Essex,—argues our author,—and therefore he did well in choosing her instead of the fallen Earl; the star of the Earl's popularity at Court had set, and, therefore, the lawyer, thirsting for place and preferment, was right not to run the risk of marring his own advancement to power, by showing any favour for the dethroned favourite." What a strange world this would be, if Mr. Dixon's principles were accepted in it as genuine! They are not, however, altogether new in relation to this very subject. Mr. Montagu advanced them in his work, and we can scarcely wonder at Lord Macaulay's apologising for doing anything more in refutation of them, than "simply stating them." Let us, however, for a mo-

ment examine the evidence on the point. To whom did Bacon really owe more—the Queen, or Essex—his Sovereign, or his “client”? The former certainly conferred upon him an office *without emolument*; the latter gave his brother and himself employment in his service, when employment of some kind was to them a matter of absolute necessity. *She* had rewarded his claims on the score of merit, and family connections, by keeping him many years in a position of obscurity in his profession, when she might as easily have promoted him. *He* had done all in his power, even at the sacrifice of his own popularity at Court, to gain for him preferment in public, and happiness in domestic life. The Sovereign had appointed him to a reversionary office, which did not bring him one shilling of income for twenty years after his appointment to it. The “client” had bestowed upon him a piece of land, sold afterwards for £1,800; and notwithstanding all this, we are told that Francis Bacon owed more gratitude to the Queen than to Essex, because she had been more kind to him! She gave to him “of her abundance,”—he gave him “all that he had.” But, says Mr. Dixon, Essex had abused the friendship of Bacon, and, therefore, no argument can be raised against the advocate on the score of gratitude, since that was forfeited by the Earl’s conduct. Mr. Dixon, however, forgets that he has, contrary to all evidence, laboured hard to prove that *friendship* never existed between the two; that their relationship was purely a business one—that of a client, and his legal adviser. Since, then, friendship, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, never—according to Mr. Dixon—subsisted between them, it is difficult to see how it could have been abused by the Earl.

But passing on, we next meet with a most specious statement, which we almost imagine has dropped, through some mistake at the printer’s, out of “*Dens Theology*,” into “*The Personal History of Lord Bacon*.” It is, in substance, that as the philosopher intended to use power when attained for the benefit of mankind, he was justified in not sacrificing his opportunity of obtaining that power. Let us illustrate this principle. As John Sadleir might have intended to use the wealth of Ireland, when secured, for the general benefit of mankind, he was justified in forging deeds, cooking bank accounts, getting rid of a few troublesome directors, and doing any other extraordinary and dishonest act, when, by so doing, he would gain his object, and secure the wealth! One would really imagine that Mr. Dixon had been brought up at the feet of *Iguors*, and not in the school of Baconian reasoning, when he lays down such a proposition as this. It is in truth, nothing but an elaborate copy of the old satanic principle, that “the end justifies the means”—a principle which finds no place in the breast of any man who professes to be guided by the dictates of right reason, or of true religion. Would it not be well for Mr. Dixon to remember that man’s duty is clear and well defined;—as results are to him in the majority of cases a sealed book, his course of procedure is to be shaped by prin-

ciples which emanate from the word of One who never errs, and who requires us under all circumstances "to walk worthy of the vocation by which we are called?" Was Bacon's conduct characterized by this? We unhesitatingly answer, No.

Essex has expiated his fault upon the scaffold; and popular feeling runs high against not only the judges who had tried, the lawyers who had prosecuted, and the "legal adviser" who had deserted him, but even against the Queen herself. To turn the tide of popular feeling, to create a kind of reaction in the public mind, it was deemed desirable by the Sovereign to have a pamphlet on the subject issued, in which the departed Earl should be painted so black and terrible, that her act would appear to have been in reality one characterised more by mercy for her subjects than by cruelty to the favourite. Accordingly, such a document is prepared and printed—its pages teem with vilifications of the life and character of the Earl—his early career is pictured as the opening dawn of a traitorous and a rebellious life, and his most trivial private actions are paraded before the reader's mind as overt acts of treason against the throne. Mr. Dixon gives us no information as to this pamphlet; he never once notices even its existence; he is, from beginning to end of his work, silent as the grave about it! Why, think you, reader, has he thus acted? For no other reason that we can divine, except that FRANCIS BACON was the writer of it! It would have puzzled Mr. Dixon to prove that to become a pamphleteer against the departed Earl, even at the request of a Queen, was part of the duty which, as a lawyer and a loyal subject, Bacon was bound in etiquette and in honour to perform; and, therefore, the difficulty is got rid of by making no reference whatever to the document! We should not like to say that Mr. Dixon—who has in his work displayed so much painstaking, and such a thorough knowledge of the facts of his subject—was unaware of the existence of such a pamphlet as we have mentioned.

It has been said by Lord Campbell, that much resentment was felt at the time of the trial against Bacon for his part in the affair. Mr. Dixon denies that statement, and in support of his opinion refers to the fact that in the Parliament, which met subsequent to the trial, Bacon had been actually returned by two different constituencies, Ipswich and St. Albans. We think that fact, however, supports, rather than contradicts, Lord Campbell's opinion, because it appears to shew that the resentment against Bacon in the *metropolis*, where of course, if existing, it would rage most, was so great, that Middlesex, his former constituency, refused to have him, and he was forced to go elsewhere for his return.

In the course of events Elizabeth died, and was succeeded on the throne of England by James. To him Bacon at once made court, even before he reached London, and secured the renewal of his honorary appointment of Counsel Extraordinary to the Crown. On the day of the coronation, Bacon, with some hundreds of others, received the honour of knighthood, and very shortly afterwards,

we find him marrying a Miss Alice Barnham. Before many weeks had elapsed after the arrival of the Court in London, Bacon began to discover that the sympathies of the King were in favour of Essex and the members of his family. Such being the case, he naturally thought that the part he had himself taken against the late Earl would not recommend him much to James should a vacancy occur; and, therefore, he speedily issued a pamphlet, entitled, "The apology of Sir Francis Bacon, in certain imputations concerning the late Earl of Essex." As Bacon's conduct, if right, needed no apology whatever, we are naturally led to expect that Mr. Dixon, in his work, will be able to brand this document as a forgery. However, he does not venture on such an assertion, and we are, therefore, free to believe that that "apology" was published by Bacon in the hope of "retrieving his error," and of reinstating himself in the estimation of the public, from which his base ingratitude to the Earl had then dethroned him. It seems, too, an additional fact in support of Lord Campbell's observation, that popular feeling was strong against Bacon at the time, when we find that Bacon himself felt the necessity of such a publication as this emanating from him.

Does it not appear strange to Mr. Dixon, and those who think with him on the subject, that Francis Bacon felt no difficulty whatever in acting on the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh as we would have wished him to act on that of Essex? Although Counsel Extraordinary for the King he never spoke at all on Raleigh's trial. Will not Mr. Dixon inform us under what circumstances his "idol's" loyalty and professional etiquette—so keen and sensitive in 1601—had fallen asleep, when Sir Walter occupied the place which Essex had filled?

On the 25th of June, 1607, Sir Francis Bacon was nominated Solicitor-General, and in six years after he was promoted to the position of Attorney-General. In the latter capacity he prosecuted Oliver St. John, for publishing a libel on the King in reference to the levying of benevolences throughout the country, and we are happy to be able on this point to agree with Mr. Dixon in his opinion, that on that prosecution Bacon did not in fact argue in favour of benevolences at all, simply because the question at issue was not whether such a mode of raising money was or was not lawful; but whether a certain document written by the prisoner was or was not a libel on the Sovereign.

We then come to the prosecution of Mr. Peachem, and in that case also we gladly accord to Mr. Dixon our thanks, because he has, by much trouble and research, shown that Peachem was not in truth the simple, guileless clergyman every other writer has pictured him; but was a disgraced minister, who, at the time of his arrest, upon the charge of uttering treason, was suffering punishment for another offence against the laws of his country. But there are two features of this case which Mr. Dixon has, we think, failed to clear up, and these are, the endeavour to sway the Judges in their decision on

the point before the trial, and the subjecting of the prisoner to torture for the purpose of extracting a confession of guilt from him. Our author says both allegations are no doubt true, but as both proceedings were according to the custom of the time, Bacon is not to be considered criminal in regard to his adoption of them in this case. This was urged by Mr. Montagu, too, and Macaulay demanded any precedent in history for such an allegation. Montagu gave none, but what he omitted Dixon undertakes to supply; and a case is now cited in which a prisoner, having been already condemned by the ecclesiastical law, was handed over to the civil power, and a consultation was held among the Judges as to whether the King could, by virtue of his prerogative, have him executed without trial under the civil law also. This is the only authority which Mr. Dixon feels it necessary to cite in support of the first point we have mentioned, and it requires but little consideration to enable us to see that, in reality, that case is no authority whatever for the principle Mr. Dixon wishes to establish by it. Is it the prisoner had been tried by one tribunal, found guilty, and condemned, and the consultation was as to whether it was necessary to subject him to a *second* trial before a different court for the same offence, ere punishment could legally be inflicted on him. In Peachem's case, though, the prisoner had *never* been tried at all for the offence, before *any* tribunal, and therein, in our opinion, lies the whole difference of the matter. As Mr. Dixon rests his case on that authority alone, we are bound to assume it is the strongest in his favour which his deep research has furnished him with, and after all it just leaves the question on the narrow platform on which Macaulay placed it. Then, as to the torture, Mr. Dixon says it was the custom of the age. If so, it seems hard to account for Lord Burleigh, twenty years before Peachem's time, publishing an apology for having occasionally employed the rack, and for Elizabeth having issued a special order forbidding torture on any pretence. These are points which Mr. Dixon may deal with in a second edition of his able work. We are not quite clear that in criminal cases the use of torture was altogether abolished at the time; so we advance those considerations rather as difficulties, which Mr. Dixon has still to remove, than as arguments he has to combat.

We must, however, hasten on to the last charge made against Bacon by historians and essayists, and examine Mr. Dixon's attempt at its refutation.

In March, 1617, Bacon was made Lord Keeper of England, and in January, 1618, had the proud gratification of signing himself Lord Chancellor of the realm. A few months after he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Verulam, and in January, 1621, was created Viscount St. Albans. The King requiring supplies, the Chancellor recommended the summoning of a Parliament, which accordingly met on the 30th of January, and, strange proceeding! almost the first act of the assembled Commons was to

demand the impeachment of the Lord Chancellor for bribery and corruption in his judicial capacity! This demand assumed such a character ere long, that Bacon, while absent from the House through illness, sent a message to the Lords, asking time to prepare his defence, which was at once granted, and meanwhile Parliament was adjourned till April. In the interim the Chancellor wrote to the King, and to the favourite, Buckingham, to protect him; even writing to the former thus:—"and for the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice. However, I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times." Neither the King nor Buckingham, however, felt justified in interfering to save the Chancellor, and, therefore, when Parliament again assembled, the impeachment was proceeded with, and its charges proved by the evidence of suitors in the Court over which Bacon had for so brief a period presided. On the 21st of April, while the investigation was yet pending, the Chancellor sent a letter to the House, in fact acknowledging his guilt, though in general terms. The Lords, not satisfied with this, sent to him, requiring him to give specific answers to each of the charges brought against him; and on the 30th of the month he sent to the House a sealed reply, which, on being opened, was found to be entitled, "The confession and humble submission of me, the Lord Chancellor," and in it his Lordship said, "*I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myself upon the grace and mercy of your Lordships.*" This was accepted, the great seal taken from him, and on the 3rd of May, 1621, sentence of degradation passed upon him.

It is urged by Mr. Dixon, that notwithstanding evidence, and Lord Bacon's own confessions of guilt on these charges of bribery and corruption, we are not to hold him guilty of anything improper, because, indeed, the sums proved to have been paid to him were in reality the customary and legitimate fees forming at that time, and long subsequently, the main portion of a Lord Chancellor's income. The argument may be ingenious, but it is scarcely sound; for if such were the case, it is hard to imagine what difficulty Bacon would have had in clearing himself from any guilt in the matter, or what hesitation either the King or Buckingham would have had in continuing to lend him their influence and aid. If it was the custom of the Court, over which Lord Bacon presided, that those largesses should be received, why should he have pleaded guilty to a criminal charge founded on it alone? If conscience told him that his reception of these monies was simply a routine duty of his office, and a privilege accorded to him by custom and by patent, why should he have branded his own name with such a foul aspersion as is contained in his "Confession and humble submission"? It seems to be hoping against hope for Mr. Dixon to think that in the face of all this accumulated evi-



dence, capped by Bacon's own admissions, we are to believe that the Lord Chancellor was not guilty of anything improper in what he did.

We have, therefore, not been induced to alter our opinion of Lord Bacon as a public man by the perusal of Mr. Dixon's able work. We sat down to it with the hope that the new evidence which Mr. Dixon claimed the credit of placing now, for the first time, before the public eye, would enable us to dismiss all our previously formed opinions about the man's character; we arise from its consideration, however, more thoroughly convinced than ever of the justice of the estimate already formed of Francis Bacon by Pope and Hallam, Campbell and Macaulay. In all that relates to Bacon's statesmanlike powers, philosophical ability, mental culture, and intellectual capacity, we agree with Mr. Dixon in the main; as an essayist, we prize him; as a speaker, we admire him; as an advocate of legal reform, we applaud him; but as a man we cannot but feel that he was guilty of base ingratitude towards Essex as a friend, unprofessional conduct towards him as a former client, and cruelty towards him as a fallen man. We defy any one—except perhaps Mr. Dixon—to read Bacon's letters, detailed so largely in Lord Campbell's work, soliciting place and preferment, without coming to the conclusion that the writer of them was possessed of a meanness of spirit and a selfishness of character, unworthy of one for whom such claims have been made by Messrs. Montagu and Dixon.

We willingly accord to Mr. Dixon our best thanks for the great labour he has evidently bestowed upon the preparation of his work. As we have already stated, we do not agree with the tone of his writing; and we hope we have shown that in not agreeing with him in his opinions, we have at least some reason for ranging ourselves on the side opposite that to which he has—to our mind, blindly—pledged himself.

G. H. S.

*Bible Months; or, The Seasons in Palestine, as Illustrative of Scripture.* By WILLIAM H. GROSER, F.G.S., of the Sunday School Union, Author of "Illustrative Teaching;" "The Teacher; his Books," &c. London: Sunday School Union, 56 Old Bailey, E.C. 1860.

It is pleasing to notice the attention which is now being given by the religious instructors of the young to the geography and natural history of Palestine, because whatever renders that country no longer *terra incognita*, will add attractiveness and force to many a scriptural lesson. Mr. Groser is an earnest and intelligent teacher, and has already done much to stimulate and direct the efforts of his fellow-labourers. The work he now presents to them on "Bible Months" is a carefully prepared and an interestingly written treatise on "The Seasons in Palestine," and we cordially commend it to the attention of our readers, especially to such as have not ready access to more elaborate and expensive volumes on Biblical illustration.

## The Topic.

### HAVE THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY ACTED JUSTIFIABLY IN THE COURSE THEY HAVE ADOPTED IN REFERENCE TO THE "ESSAYS AND REVIEWS?"

#### AFFIRMATIVE.

THE doctrines taught in the "Essays and Reviews," according to the common-sense view of them, are utterly subversive of true Christianity; therefore they have justly merited the unqualified condemnation they have received from all clergymen.—ALPHA.

True christianity must stand or fall with the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. The "Essays and Reviews" advocate a rationalistic reception of the Holy Scriptures. They are worthy of the treatment they have received from the bishops and clergy.—J.

Religion has for its surest foundation the salvation of the sinner by a vicarious sacrifice. That which makes the atonement a myth, or an ideal fiction, is antagonistic to the religion of Christ. The bishops and clergy being the conservators of true doctrine and correct discipline in the church, as established by law, are justified in examining the public opinions of individual clergymen, and if found to be erroneous, in condemning those opinions, and censuring their authors. Further, we incline to believe the diocesan is justified in depriving the refractory or erroneous teacher of his ecclesiastical office and position. The "Essays and Reviews" teach the atonement to be a mythical history, in its religious aspect, having only an ideal existence. This doctrine is contrary to the doctrines of the church; therefore the bishops are justified, in the severest measures with which they have or can, punish the authors of the "Essays and Reviews."—LEX.

Philosophy, history, and man's inward experience, prove christianity a fact, and confirm the burden of revela-

tion as a solemn truth; therefore whoever questions the fact, or impugns the truth, are worthy of universal approbrium.—IN MEUS SANO.

Christianity, revelation, and the moral progress of mankind, are special objects of care to the Almighty; therefore the bishops and clergy are discharging a duty to God and man by their conduct towards "Essays and Reviews," which are a disgrace to man, and a dishonour to God.—VIS.

Historical, scientific, or idealistic speculations, suggestions, or hypotheses, can be by no means subversive of that one fact—Christ Jesus crucified for sinners;—and whatever contradicts this must be banished from the region of common sense and reason.—VOX POPULI.

Germanisms exploded long since, dished up by English speculators, are worthy of the reprobation of all thinking men; therefore the heads of the church have done rightly in exposing their evil tendency, in denouncing their untruthfulness, and warning the people of England against them.—PRUDENTIA.

The bishops and clergy, as the authorized teachers of the million, holding the high position they do in the church and the world, are justified in condemning error, and guarding their charge from its consequent evils.—D. M.

The "Essays and Reviews" being burdened with errors of faith, doctrine, and philosophy, worn out and discarded in Germany, and this being known to the bishops and clergy, they are fully justified in reprobating the work and its authors as unworthy of the thought or attention of English readers and thinkers.—DELTA.

What a mighty instrument for good or evil is man! Great and wonderful are his works. Rapid are the advances of civilization, marvellous in its effects, but—"There lives and works a soul in all things, and that soul is God." However vast the intellect of man, there is a limit beyond which he cannot pass; things that he is powerless to explain, even as a child in the hands of its Creator. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth." Dr. Temple and his colleagues may write essays to prove this and disprove the other, regarding the Word of God, without being one whit nearer their object, for—

"How unlike the complex works of man,

Heaven's easy, artless, unencumbered plan!"

They may live to find themselves entangled in the net which they have woven, and be lost amid the errors of infidelity; like the story of the ancient philosopher, who, when he could not discover the cause of the tides, threw himself into the waters of the sea and perished. The course the clergy have taken regarding these "Essays," is the only one consistent with their position. They have shown a bold front to the traitor who yet moves within their midst. They have proclaimed to the world their dissent from the principles and theories enunciated in the "Essays," as antagonistic to the doctrine which they teach, and which we from our childhood have been taught to believe.—S.

*So far as they have gone*, the bishops and clergy have acted justifiably in the course they have adopted in reference to the "Essays and Reviews." It would have been a fearful sign had such a book been published without any protest against it from the bishops and clergy. If the bishops or the Archbishop of Canterbury have the power to excommunicate such clergymen as

Rowland Williams and Baden Powell; that power ought at once to be exerted; but if neither they nor any legal tribunal possess such a power, the absence of it is cause for great regret. Such clergymen as the above-named are dishonest men, as they well know that many sentiments which they have advanced in "Essays and Reviews," are directly contrary to both the letter and spirit of the articles which they have signed, yet they continue to be members of the Church of England, and to take her emoluments, while they give good cause to the infidel to brand her with the most opprobrious epithets,—thus becoming the greatest enemies of the church on whose endowments they fatten, instead of honestly seceding from her communion, and relinquishing those endowments. With the greatest propriety, the words of Hallam respecting Grotius, may be applied to them, viz.:—"His aim was to search for subtle interpretations, by which he might profess to believe the words of the church, though conscious that his sense was not that of the imposers. It is needless to say that this is not very ingenuous." Our valuable and highly-esteemed friend, Mr. Neil, has well remarked:—"Were we not assured by actual publication of the fact in the table of contents of this work, we would have some difficulty in believing that it was written by a 'minister of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Its whole tone, form of statement, and arguments, as well as evident bearing, is, to all appearance, less rational than sceptical." Therefore the bishops and clergy have acted justifiably in the course they have adopted in reference to the "Essays and Reviews."—S. S.

Men cultivate and develop their intellects for innumerable objects. The wonders of science are explored; the depths of philosophy revealed; the grandeur of art realized; speculative industry and diligent research often draw aside the veil which unfolds new wonders that lead the mind into ways hitherto untraceable and obscure; but

theology is the quicksand on which many a noble and gifted soul has been wrecked, heedless of the limits in which his mind moves. Careless of the consequences, he endeavours to look into infinity. Doubts, because God creates that which his finite mind cannot comprehend; which his feeble intellect would reduce to reason, when his knowledge is powerless to explain the mysteries of the Great Unseen. The "Essays and Reviews" are an illustration of this. The authors, men of mighty intellect, concentrating the whole of their learning into a focus, to prove that the Bible is not a book of inspiration—only the *record*—not the divine revelation itself; that its writers received no help from on high, but were left dependent upon their natural faculties; and that miracles were not contrary to the order of nature;—striking at the root of christianity; erecting the standard of man equal with God; able to criticise and pronounce judgment upon the works of the Almighty. The clergy have done that which all true Protestants approve,—they have entered their solemn protest against the writings of the seven essayists. It is gratifying to see that the great body of church ministers hold no such false and pernicious opinions; that they are arrayed on the side of truth, still teaching the gospel as given us in God's book, the Bible, unadulterated by the learning or wickedness of man.—W.

I consider the mode which has been adopted quite justifiable. The "Essays and Reviews" have been carefully perused by me, and I think that the bishops and clergy, as faithful members of the Church of England, were in duty bound to protest against the views therein contained. It would be an endless task to enter into discussion on the various questions, and it is not always necessary to prove, in detail, the errors which men may fall into, as such a course would involve continual and useless disputes. It would, also, be an unwise precedent to enter fully into argu-

ments on mere fanciful and imaginative views; because there are men who would often express hap-hazard sentiments if they thought they should obtain notoriety from their sayings being publicly discussed, whereas, letting "them alone in their glory" would soon silence them.—R. D. R.

In the Thirty-nine Articles there are set down certain doctrines to which all priests in the Church of England have to subscribe before they are permitted to preach, or perform any public rite or ceremony in that church. Now, whatever may be our opinions in respect to the truth or error of the book, all are agreed that the doctrines taught in that book are at variance with the doctrines set down in the Book of Common Prayer; therefore the bishops are perfectly justified in the course they have taken in reference to this book, the authors of which have given to the world a theological doctrine diametrically opposed to the doctrine of that church to which they have sworn, in the most solemn manner, allegiance, and from which they are receiving large salaries for preaching and teaching, that doctrine which they are actually attempting to overthrow.—T. W. R.

In the now much talked of and much read "Essays and Reviews," nothing is urged against the fundamental truths of Christianity which has not been long ago thoroughly sifted and set aside. But the fact of sceptical opinions being boldly put forth by those within the very pale of the church, nay, not only so, but by those who are expected to be among her chief pillars and her most ardent defenders, has brought about their present notoriety. It is one of the great glories of our Anglican Church that the abilities and eloquence of her highest dignitaries have been devoted to defend her and her principles from the attack of wicked and unscrupulous, though, in many instances, deeply-learned men. We are of opinion that our bishops and clergy have acted wisely in reference to this volume of specious and eloquent sophistry. The

memorial of the clergy, and the replies of the different bishops, have shown an amount of firmness, blended with moderation, which we think worthy of all praise. Yet we would venture to express an opinion that if by any means those ministers of the Gospel who venture to publish sceptical opinions could be expelled from the Church of which they are unworthy, it would prove a very salutary warning to others. There is in truth a potency so marvellous that we doubt not but the publication of the "Essays and Reviews" will be overruled for good by Divine Providence. They may cause many to re-examine the fundamental evidences of Christianity, and many to think seriously on those truths of which they may have hitherto been only passive believers.—T. L. P.

#### NEGATIVE.

THERE ought to be no shuffling. Either the "Essays and Reviews" fall within or without the legal power of the bishops. If the former, expulsion; if the latter, silence was the proper course. To pretend that the subject requires the investigation of a special committee and a year's delay is merely a mode of getting out of a difficulty by a most inexpedient expedient. Honest straightforwardness was never more required, and has seldom been less regarded. The conduct of the bishops is plainly unjustifiable, whether the "Essays and Reviews" are right or wrong.—QUOTA.

Can there be a question in the mind of anyone that the articles of the English Church have been, not in their letter only, but in their spirit, contravened by these writers? If not, why this eager welcome by infidels? Why this outcry among Churchmen? Why this protest by Dissenters? The bishops are, officially, the guardians of that Church. They ought to have had their minds made up at once upon a plain point such as this; and if they had made them up, they ought ingenuously to have carried out, to their legitimate results, the consequences of that deci-

sion. But they have dallied with the heresy until they are ashamed of themselves; and are now trusting to the chapter of accidents to get out of a scrape. This conduct is not justifiable in the dignitaries of the Church.—PENNSYLVANIA.

No. If the doctrine taught in "Essays and Reviews" is erroneous, it was the duty of the clergy to bring the authors to judgment, and after judicial investigation, have deprived them of their position and its emoluments; they have not done this; and anything short of this is dishonourable and a neglect of duty, therefore not justifiable.—VERITAS.

The "Essays and Reviews" are the free and openly expressed opinions of good men, and therefore only to be refuted by the production of counter evidences in the same free and open manner. The clergy having failed in this respect, are not justified in what they have done.—TOLERATION.

Are miracles possible? Is inspiration possible? Is the Mosaic account of the creation credible? Can a vicarious atonement cleanse from sin and satisfy a just God? Is the incarnation and death of Deity possible or probable? If these, or any of them are demonstrable, then the "Essays and Reviews" may, with their authors, be condemned; but if not, then the bishops and clergy are not justified in their petty persecution.—AMOR PATRIÆ.

Christianity, unassisted by anathemas, persecution, and intolerance, has inherent truth for its basis, therefore, it has not only resisted all its assailants in the past, but even the gates of hell shall not prevail against it in the future; therefore, the busy meddling of the clergy has given to the puerile errors that degree of importance and that widespread notoriety they otherwise would neither have deserved nor received. The bishops and clergy are to blame for this.—QUIETUS.

Truth endureth for ever. Error vanisheth as a dream. The light of investigation vivifies the former, but

annihilates the latter. The bishops and clergy having made an attempt to suppress these speculations have rendered themselves censurable.—LOGIC.

It is easy for the bishops and clergy to thunder forth from the House of Convocation and from the pulpit high sounding words against the "Essays and Reviews," but it is not so easy to disprove in a few days the conclusions of men whose lives are untainted, and whose knowledge is proverbial. The doctrines of the essayists may be unsound, but for the priestly caste in the heat of a moment, and without a thorough knowledge of their opponents' case, to condemn them as heretics seems not only illogical, but also unchristian. Truth will conquer; but let justice be done unto all men.—F. C. S.

We believe they have not acted justifiably, for these reasons:—Those authors of the "Essays and Reviews" who belong to the Church of England, were ordained as the ministers of that church to preach, and to teach the doctrines upheld by it; if, therefore, they departed from those doctrines, and attacked some of their most vital points, it behoves the bishops, as overseers and directors of the clergy, to take more decisive action than mere "growling;" for by allowing such opinions as are expressed in the "Essays and Reviews" by their own ministers to pass comparatively unnoticed, they merely call attention to them, and show a lack of determination to maintain inviolate the integrity of their faith.—ZWINGLE.

## The Societies' Section.

### THE LITERARY INSTITUTIONS OF MANCHESTER.

To trace the rise and progress of a people from a state of barbarism and ignorance to one of comparative civilization, intelligence, and culture, is, under any circumstances, an interesting and instructive study; and the more closely we examine and investigate the moving powers in so great a revolution, the more shall we become impressed with the immeasurable superiority of mind over matter, the better shall we learn to estimate and appreciate the nobler nature, characteristics, and capabilities of man, and realize (to some extent at least) the influence and importance of mental development, and the power for good that flows from moral culture.

Time was, when our own now highly favoured land was peopled by a race at best but semi-barbarians, rude, uncivilized, and untutored in all those high and noble sentiments which best develop our full nature, and elevate man to his proper status in the natural creation; with no thought, save for the fleeting

moment; no sentiment beyond the vulgar cravings of the sensual nature; no intellectuality other than the instinct possessed in common with the brute creation; and no moral elevation or spiritual desire apart from the unintelligent ambition of a savage mind, and the rude terrors of an ignorant superstition.

And to what, we would ask, are we to ascribe the wondrous change which has transformed all this crude, chaotic human nature, and produced in place thereof, the refinement, the intelligence, the sociality, the moral and spiritual endowment and adornment which now, on every side, is offered to our gaze? What genial influences have softened and subdued the rugged elements and compounds of such a state of society, and wrought all into the one wondrous form of beauty and substantiality which, notwithstanding all its loudly talked-of defects, now exists? To what are we indebted for the reversion of that state of matters where lawlessness, ignorance, superstition, and idolatry were

supreme; and where the noble, the wholly elevated, the intelligent, and the really worthy in man, were shrouded beneath a thick veil of selfishness and rapacity, from the gloom of which shone no ray of intelligence, or spiritual knowledge, and the depressing influence of which rendered its victims insensible alike to the speaking influences of nature without, or the thrilling claims of conscience within? Truly, we must ascribe this complete change to many causes, and numerous influences, to gradual impressions and progressive developments; to the little germs of truth and enlightenment which have grown and prospered till they have become the mighty powers which base those substantial institutions, now scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land. To no magician's wand, transforming in a moment the obscure into the illustrious, the ignorant to the intelligent and cultivated, the naturally-minded into the spiritually-minded, are we to ascribe these wondrous things; but rather to the still small voice of truth, speaking oft in whispers, but ever with unerring clearness, through her many attendants and agencies, and working, by simple and natural causes, the advancement of her principles. And truly, as foremost and mightiest of these agencies and influences, must we give place to *Literature*—literature in its abstract anatomy, pulsing with the concentrated life-blood of our noblest and wisest sons, and coupled with the inspired and inspiring truths and principles of the "oracles of God" (the sublimest of all literature); bearing onward, down the swelling stream of intelligence, thoughts fragrant with immortality, and powerfully influential in their detail and economy on the lives and characters of men. And if thus we would render our homage to literature, in its abstract form, surely we shall feel a sympathy for all Literary Institutions, which, in their general scope and significance, aim at the wider dissemination of intelligence, and the attraction of more students to the knowledge and study of truth.

The object of our present paper is to present a concise sketch of the "Literary Institutions" of Manchester; but we have thus sought to introduce ourselves and our subject, feeling assured that a just appreciation of the *spirit* is the only way to gain a correct apprehension of the *letter* of an article.

"*Literary Institutions of Manchester*,"—rather an ominous title, truly, amid the *prosaic* institutions of manufactories, and workshops, and warehouses, for which our good city is so famed; but still we can boast of our real "Literary Institutions;" we, too, have our real colleges, our learned societies, our extensive libraries, our *Athenæums*, &c., &c.; and many of no mean antiquity, and no insignificant pretensions. So long back as the year 1520, Manchester was first graced with her noble and since famous Grammar School,—the liberality and discrimination of Hugh Oldham leading to the formation of the institution; and we feel justified in remarking that the fact of the many eminent scholars (and otherwise eminent men) which it has given to the world, coupled with its antiquity, admit of its being placed in the foremost rank of the "Literary Institutions of Manchester." Again, we have our Chetham's Hospital, or College, whose charter bears date 1665; and here, too, we find much to claim honour and high position in Manchester literary history. Apart from its great and much-prized utility as a training establishment, there is connected with this institution a very extensive and valuable public reference library, which has long been of much service to Manchester and other literary men. The Chetham Literary and Publishing Society also takes its title from the same source; and we think that, among those conversant with the publications of this Society, its pretensions must claim rank far above mediocrity. We pass on to notice the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, established in or about the year 1781, and which, certainly, both from its importance as a society, and the especial

giftedness of many of its individual members, claims a high, if not the highest rank, in the history of Manchester Literary Institutions. The first volume of the Memoirs of this learned body was issued in the year 1785, and the long series of volumes which it has since published (and still continues to publish) will give some idea of the extent of its operations and erudition. During this period the contributions of many highly gifted and philosophic minds have graced its records: witness (if it be not ungracious and invidious, amid so much merit and worth, to particularize) the celebrated Dr. Henry, or the still more famous John Dalton,—names that will long be remembered for their intimate connection with philosophy and natural science.

We may next advert to the Royal Manchester Institution, established in the year 1823, principally for the cultivation of a taste for the fine arts, but which, from the many series of excellent lectures that have from time to time been delivered within its walls, may well be considered to have rendered good service to the cause of literature generally in Manchester. The Manchester Historic Society next deserves a brief notice: this Society has had enrolled among its members many names deservedly high from their connection with literature, and many of its issues reflect high credit on the ability and research of their authors. We would also introduce here the Manchester Statistical Society, the exceeding usefulness and versatility of the operations of which render it well deserving of notice. Though perhaps not strictly within the province of our present paper, we may cursorily glance at the Manchester Natural History Society, which, with its extensive and well-arranged Museum, must certainly have (at least) its indirect influence upon literature and literary culture. The next Institution which presents itself to our notice is the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, established in the year 1824. This has long occupied a pre-

minent position among kindred and contemporary establishments in our city; and its flourishing condition certainly speaks well for its present, and augurs hopefully for its future, prosperity. Connected with the Institution is an extensive and increasing library. Many classes, for both sexes, also assemble within its walls for the study of the various branches of a liberal education; frequent lectures are delivered by its present highly esteemed President and other gentlemen. (The excellence of the lecture hall, in its recently erected and commodious building being a strong inducement for efforts of this description.) Great sociability exists among its members, as may be testified by their many pleasant *réunions*; and the general usefulness of the Institution must, we think, be considered undoubted. We would also direct attention to our Athenæum, founded in the year 1835, for the general diffusion of knowledge and useful information. This institution, though kindred in some respects with the one last noticed, may, perchance, be considered wider and more diversified in the range of its operations. The Institution can boast of a dramatic society, a discussion and debating society, a chess club, a gymnasium, &c., all of which, we believe, may be said to be in a flourishing condition. An excellent news-room and library form no mean adjuncts to the Institution, and must have contributed largely to its success. As having an intimate connection with the Athenæum (and we may add, in its spirit, at least, fairly claiming a place in our present paper), we may say a word on behalf of the "Manchester Field Naturalists' Society," now entering upon the third year of its existence: the objects of the Society are, to draw together a company of the admirers and students of the beautiful in nature (as Botany presents her), for mutual improvement and social intercourse; and the great success with which, under the able guidance of its talented honorary secretary, Mr. L. H. Grindon, it has



been attended, offers large encouragement for the formation of similar societies in other parts of the country. The many delightful botanical rambles, the exceedingly pleasant and instructive social gatherings which its members have enjoyed, and the large amount of kindly feeling which has by its means been brought about, would, we feel assured, cause universal assent among those by whom its merits are known, to its being placed in a forward rank among the useful and instructive institutions of our city. We can merely give space to observe that we possess a "Portico" (with a good news-room and a very valuable library), a Young Men's Christian Association, a most useful and valuable society, having for its object the well-being not merely of the material and intellectual, but the spiritual of its members; an "Owen's College," which, as a recently-established training establishment, already gives large promise of its future usefulness; a Lancastrian School, of great extent and exceeding utility; a Shakespearean Society; a Dramatic Society; a Church Institute, with its classes, essay and discussion society, &c.; an Independent College, from whose classic retreats many intelligent and eminent Nonconformist ministers have already come forth; several subscription libraries of considerable extent; a very useful and extensive Law Library; many excellent and important public schools, and a long category of minor "Literary" Institutions, more or less public in their character, which it were useless, not to say impossible (with our present facilities at least) to particularize. We cannot, however, close this paper without directing attention to our "Free Public Library," which we believe to be one of the most important, if not, indeed, the most important, of the Literary Institutions, of which Manchester can boast. This Library (now held in trust by the corporation of the city for the time being) was founded in the year 1853, by the liberality and public spirit of many generous persons in the city and else-

where (the munificence and energy of the late Sir John Potter, once M.P. for Manchester, being largely instrumental in its success), and from the first dawn gave promise of the prosperity and usefulness which have hitherto attended its career. The great number of rare, excellent, and valuable works which are to be found in the "Reference" department of the Chief Library (including a most important and extensive collection of tracts, literary, philosophic, historical, and political) at once impart to it a character as a home for the scholar, the antiquarian, and the lover of literary lore; while the general and diversified character of the "Lending" department, both of the Chief Library and branches (of which there are three), no less, indeed, than in a certain degree, the Reference Library already mentioned, invite all to a participation of the pleasure ever to be found in literary pursuits, whether it be the toil-worn mechanic who seeks his book, as his fellows seek their cups; the studious youth, anxious in his leisure hours to self-develop the wondrous powers of his own mind; the over-wrought clerk or warehouseman, who seeks to relieve his aching brain by the perusal of his favourite author; or, in short, any one who can gather pleasure, profit, or relaxation in the wondrous fields of beauty and instruction which literature opens, and derive that solid satisfaction which is ever to be found in the consciousness of lessening ignorance, and the prospect of increasing usefulness and honour.

Manchester.

ATTILUS.

*Dundee Literary and Scientific Institution.*—The inaugural *soirée* of this already flourishing institution was held in Lamb's Hotel, on Wednesday evening, April 24th, Mr. A. Kirkcaldy, President, occupying the chair. At eight o'clock, an intelligent auditory, numbering about a hundred ladies and gentlemen, sat down to tea. The proceedings were opened by praise and prayer, after which the president, in eloquent terms, addressed the meeting.

He spoke of the great want of scientific knowledge among all, and more especially the lower classes, of this large town—containing upwards of a hundred thousand inhabitants. On pointing out the necessities for obtaining such knowledge, he adverted to the advantages offered by this institution, as a healthy and uninfluenced medium. "Far, far upon the sea," was then sung by Mr. T. Nicholson; "Rolla to the Peruvians" was recited, with great dramatic ability, by Mr. W. Henderson; "Bauldy Buchanan" was sung by Mr. Tasker. Mr. Thompson, secretary, then addressed the meeting, on "The prospects of the Institution"; he viewed them as most satisfactory. The Institution had only been about six weeks in existence, yet the average number of working members was larger than that of any similar institution in the town; previously there had been no Mechanics' Institute within the burgh, but the "Literary and Scientific" had well supplied this want. The synopsis of weekly business embraced essays on Men of Distinction

in Scottish History; Chemistry; Education and the Working-classes; Steam; Spring; Professor Wilson; Light; Music; Gerald Massey, &c., &c. "The Bay of Biscay," by Mr. Robinson, and "Camp-town Races," by Mr. Wilson, were sung with excellent taste. Mr. Weiss' new song "The Storm King," (words by W. Stephen Robertson) was then sung with fine effect by our eminent local basso, Mr. James Angus. After ten minutes' interval all again assembled and partook of cake and fruit. A beautiful German aria, "Du bist so nah, und doch so fern," was sung by Mr. Wm. Lorr. "The Dirge of Wallace" was recited by Mr. W. Robertson. Mr. D. Stephen Robertson then ably addressed the meeting on "Conviviality,"—a subject well adapted to the occasion. Several others were then effectively rendered. The usual votes of thanks were then passed, after which, the strains of "Auld Lang Syne" shook the rafters, and the company dispersed.

A. T., Sec.

### LITERARY NOTES.

Gen. Zurr is about to issue a "Life of Garibaldi."

Lady Dufferin is nearly ready with a comedy.

Hull's "Coalfields of Great Britain" is to be re-issued.

"Alpinac Nives" is the title of the Latin Hexameter poem to which the Camden gold medal has been awarded. Its gainer is H. L. Lees, of St. John's College; the Chancellor's gold medal for an English poem on "The Prince of Wales at the Tomb of Washington," has been awarded to Fred. W. H. Meyers, of Trinity, Cambridge.

Mr. Walter White, author of "A Month on the Borders," has been appointed secretary to the Royal Society, *vice* C. R. Weld.

Mr. Ewing Ritchie, author of "Parliamentary Portraits," has acquired the proprietorship of *The Illustrated News of the World*.

"Silas Marner" is said to have enriched the authoress by £2,500.

A revised edition of "Natural Ontology, or the Philosophical Study of Being," has been issued by M. Flourens.

Sir E. B. Lytton has returned from the Ionian Isles.

Archbishop Whately's "Easy Lessons on the Christian Evidences" are to find a rival in a work entitled "First Lessons on the Evidences of Christianity," by the Royal Librarian, B. B. Woodward, B.A.

An English translation of the Nineteenth Volume of "Thier's History of the Consulate and Empire," concluding the work, is in progress.

It is stated that the *late* King of Prussia has left, in MSS., "A History of the Evangelical Church, and its Developments," which is to be issued under the editorship of Professor Richter.

Mr. A. Priolo, of Edinburgh, has had the prize of 100 guineas, offered by the Art Union, of London, for the best set of illustrations to Tennyson's "Idylls of the King," awarded to him.

M. Jules Simon, editor of Descartes's works, 1843, author of "*L'Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*," &c., has had a prize of 30,000 francs conferred upon him by the French Academy.

"Men of the Time," by E. Walford, M.A., Balliol College, author of Oxford prize poem, "*Venetia*," 1843, Denyer's Theological prizeman, 1848 and 1849, and writer of many books for tuition, &c., is shortly to be re-published.

A new *Vierteljahrsschrift*, or Quarterly, has been started in Germany, to be a Review of English Theological Inquiry and Criticism. It is edited in England by Dr. Heidenheim.

Vapereau's "Dictionnaire Universelle des Contemporains" is publishing in weekly numbers at half a franc, to be completed in 54 numbers.

Chambers' Day-book of Science, History, and Fact, is soon to be set agoing.

Emerson has been lecturing at Boston, United States, on "Life and Literature," subjects on which, ten years ago, Edwin P. Whipple attempted to enlighten the Bostonians.

J. E. Palpey, the historian of New England, has been appointed postmaster of Boston.

Mr. Thornton Hunt is making a semi-official inspection of the convict settlements in England. The *Cornhill* will multiply his impressions.

Garnier Pages' Second Volume on "The Revolutions in Europe in 1848," is nearly ready.

A Chair of Roman Antiquities and Epigraphy (the Science of Inscriptions) has been established in the Imperial College of France. M. Léon Bénier has been appointed Professor.

The inscriptions of the pre-Christian Roman empire are to be published by the Academy of Berlin, and those of early Christian times by the papal government.

The Political Life of P. P. Boyer-Collard, his discourses and writings, (born 1763, died 1845), Professor of the History of Modern Philosophy in Paris, an eclectic who composed his system out of those of Plato, Descartes, Reid, Kant, &c., has been edited by M. de Baranté.

Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon's work on "Bacon" is to be subjected to animal-versions and reply in a new book.

From the conventual cloisters of the Good Shepherd, near Mayence, the Countess Hahn-Hahn (born 1805), has issued a new novel, "Doralice."

A new vol. of Victor Hugo's translation of Shakspeare's Works, with introduction and notes, has been issued in Paris.

A MS. Missal of the 15th century, belonging to the Abbey of St. Lo, Rouen, was sold in Paris for 24,850 frs.

M. Dargaud, author of a "History of Religious Liberty," and M. Gerusez, author of a "History of French Literature," are to have the biennial prize of 10,000 frs. divided between them by the French Academy.

Rev. George Barber, translator of the "Grecian Antiquities" (1833) of the eminent philologist, Lambert Bos (born 1670, died 1717), with Leisner's and Zenne's notes, and many additions, died suddenly at Basingbourn, of which he was curate.

G. J. Holyoake, secularist publisher, and rationalist lecturer, author of several small works, has had presented to him a sum of £500. In 1858 he received a gift of £650.

Henry Mayhew's "London Labour and the London Poor" has been issued, completed in two of its divisions, by Messrs. Griffin, Bohn, and Co., and the third is promised speedily.

The prospectus of an "Illuminated Bible" is issued by Mr. Beeton, to be completed in 24 parts, at 2s. each.

A new edition of the Poems of André Chénier, the anti-revolutionary poet, executed 1794, is announced.

Cyrus Redding, Campbell's biographer, has in the press "Memoirs of Misera."

Nearly £1,000 has been subscribed to the "Merlet Testimonial."

The Essay and Review criticisms in the *Westminster Quarterly*, *Edinburgh, British*, and *North British Reviews*, are attributed respectively to Mr. Harrison, Barrister-at-law, Professor Mansel, Canon Stanley, Professor Rogers, and Isaac Taylor.

Muscular Christianity is to imitate tractarianism and rationalism, and pamphleteer. Macmillan has already issued Hughes' "Religio Laici," and announces Maurice's "Mote and Beam."

"The Lives of St. Peter and St. John," by the Rev. F. C. Cook, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, is in the press.

The Rev. J. Todhunter, author of several mathematical class-books, popular in Cambridge, &c., has in preparation "A Critical History of the Progress of the Calculus of Variations in the 19th Century."

"Essays and Reviews" have been republished in Boston.

The German poet-exile, Ferdinand Freiligrath, born 1810, has issued a protest against an American reprint of his works, intended for the extra-American markets.

Johannes Ronge, born 1813, has returned from London, where he taught German very ably, to Breslau, after twelve years of exile—from 1848 to 1860.

A drama, entitled "Goethe," by M. H. Blazé, is ready.

A treaty for the protection of works of art and literature, has been agreed to between France and Russia.

The third and fourth volumes of William Muir's "Life of Mohamet" are almost ready for press.

The Rev. Joseph Hunter, M.A., one of her Majesty's Keepers of the Records, and editor of several class-books for preparation of civil service, and other examinations, died 9th May.

An account of the London libraries, in the time of William Oldys, the gossiping bibliographer (born 1687, died 1761), has been discovered in the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow.

Occleve, the poetical disciple of Chaucer, in the 15th century, who spelled his own name Thomas Hockliff, held the office of Clerk of the Privy Seal, in the reign of Henry VI., Several autograph copies of warrants, &c., written by him in this capacity, have recently been acquired by the British Museum at the auction of the Saville collection.

Mrs. Cowden Clarke's edition of "Shakspeare's Plays and Poems," has been issued by Messrs. Appleton and Co., New York.

"Ourselves, Our Food, and Our Physic," is the title of a work by Dr. Benjamin Ridge, *in the press*.

The songs and lyrical poems in the English language are to be published under the editorial care of F. T. Palgrave, with the title, "The Golden Treasury."

"The Life, Letters, and Miscellaneous Works of Francis Bacon," edited by James Spedding, Esq., are to be published shortly by Longmans, as the two concluding vols. (viii. and ix.) of their library "Bacon."

Swift's Life, Journal, and Letters, the introductory volume of an edition of the Dean's works, by John Forster, is nearly ready.

Dr. H. L. Mansell, editor of Hamilton's Works, Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, delivered a public lecture on Theories of Analogy between the individual man and the systems of which he forms a part, at Magdalen College, on 24th ult.

Dr. Wm. Smith, the indefatigable editor of so many valuable dictionaries, is about to superintend a new "Dictionary of British Biography."

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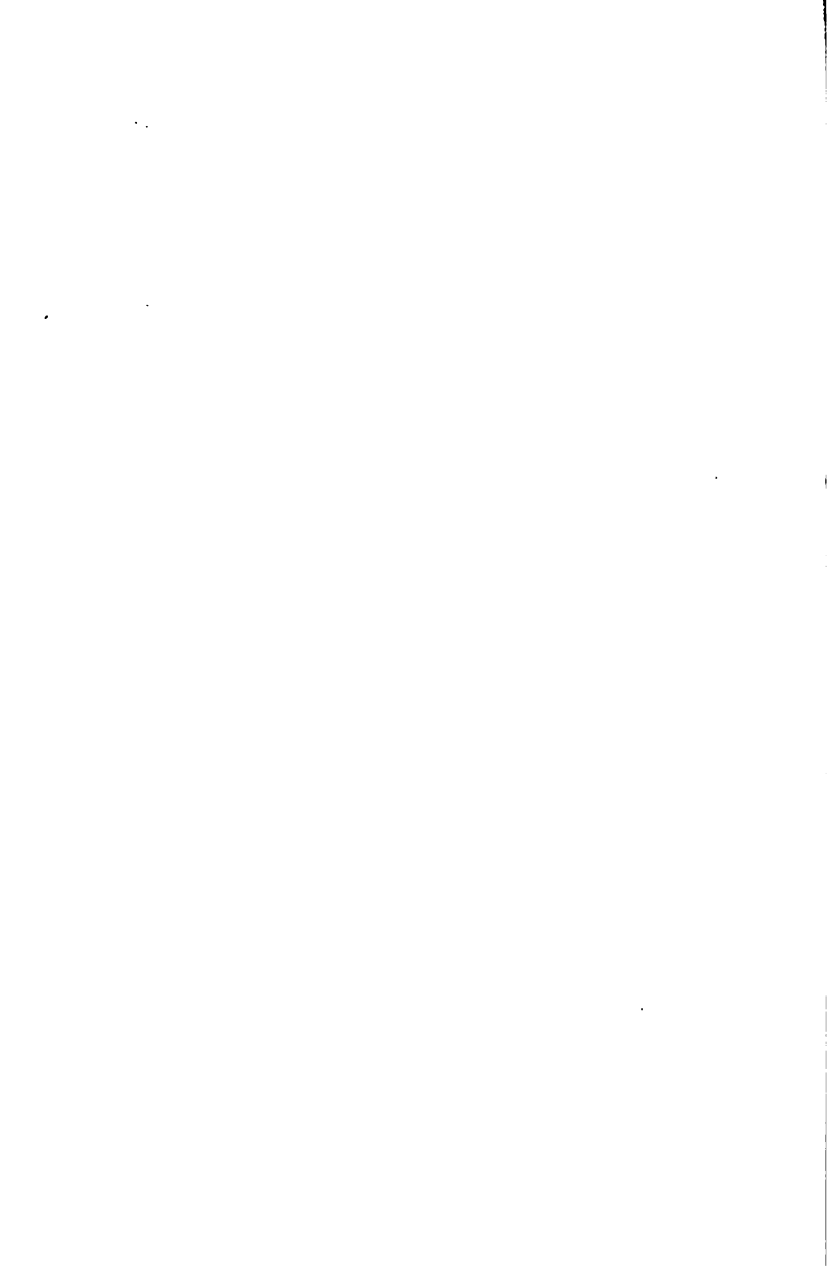
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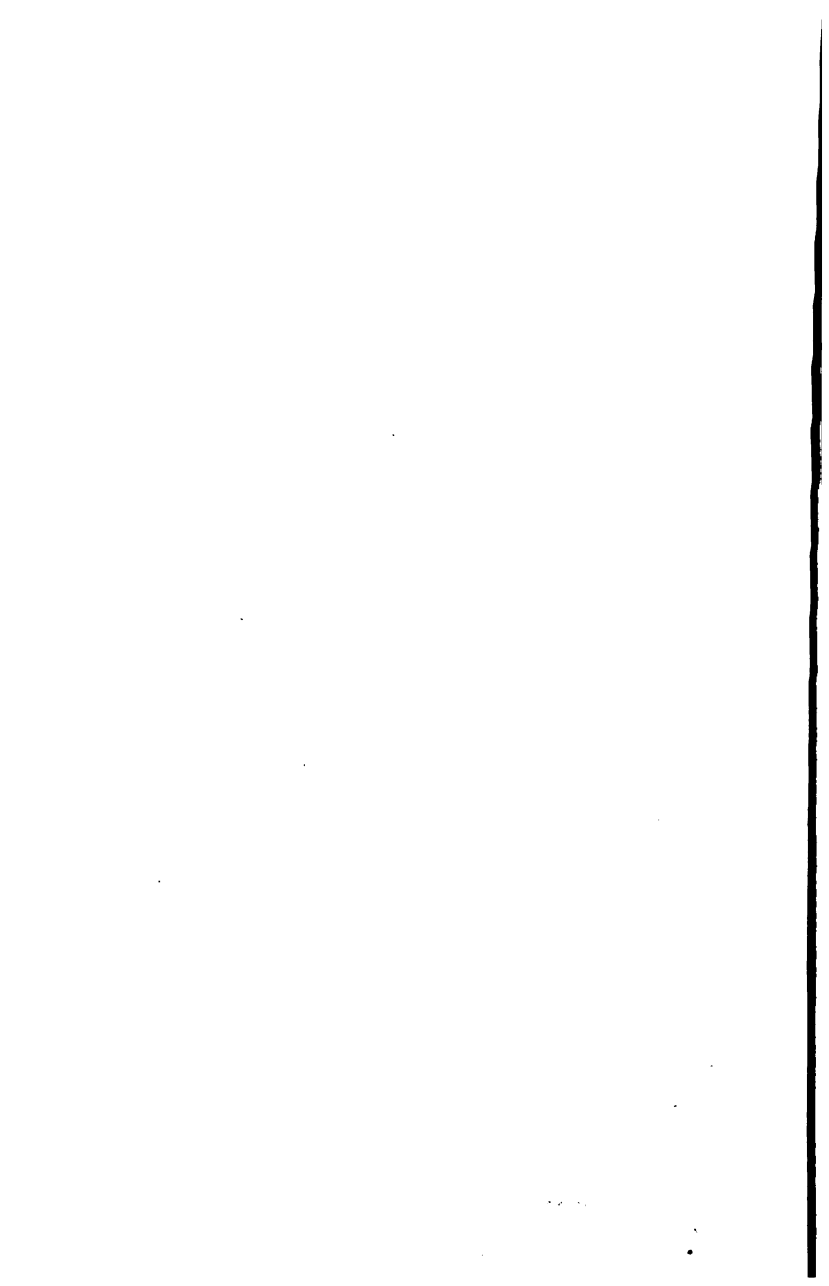
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